THE *BRAHMAYĀMALATANTRA* AND EARLY ŚAIVA CULT OF YOGINĪS

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Abstract

THE *BRAHMAYĀMALATANTRA* AND EARLY ŚAIVA CULT OF YOGINĪS

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The present thesis comprises a study of the *Brahmayāmalatantra*, a scripture of early medieval tantric or "esoteric" Śaivism, and its cult of *yoginī*s: flying, shapeshifting female deities whose occult powers practitioners sought in visionary, transactional encounters. Composed prior to the ninth century, and perhaps considerably earlier, this unpublished work of one-hundred and one chapters and more than 12,500 verses constitutes one of the most significant sources for the study of early Śaiva ritual and goddess cults. After introducing the text, the tradition, and the figure of the *yoginī*, chapters 2 and 3 review the extant literary, art-historical, and epigraphic sources concerned with yoginīs, with a focus on the background and early development of their Śaiva cult. It is within this context that the *Brahmayāmala* is situated. Particular problems addressed include the relationship between the yoginī cult of the *Brahmayāmala* and the Brahmanical Mother goddesses (*mātṛ*), the post ninth-century temples of yoginīs, early tantric Śaiva literature, and the Buddhist *yoginītantra*s. Chapter 4 investigates the *Brahmayāmala*'s form, textual strata, provenance, and social and geographic horizons, while chapter 5 examines the position the text articulates for itself within the Śaiva tradition. Part II of the dissertation consists of critical editions and translations of several chapters of the *BraYā*, which appear in print for the first time.

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Contents

List of Tables vii

List of Figures viii

I History and Sources 1

1 Introduction 2

1.1 The *Brahmayāmalatantra* and Cult of Yoginīs 2

1.2 The *Brahmayāmala* in Scholarship 23

1.3 A Note on Conventions 29

2 Early Evidence for the Cult of Yoginīs: the Literary, Sculptural, and Epigraphic Sources 31

2.1 Introduction: Yoginīs and Mother Goddesses 31

2.2 Early Sources 35

2.3 The Later Literary Evidence 73

2.4 Temples of the Yoginīs 110

2.5 Conclusions 128

3 The Cult of Yoginīs and its Background in Early Tantric Literature 131

3.1 Introduction 131

3.2 The Background of the Yoginī Cult in Tantric Śaiva Literature 133

3.3 Scriptures of the Śaiva Yoginī Cult: the Vidyāpīṭha and Kaula 153

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3.4 Yoginīs in Early Buddhist Tantric Literature 162
3.5 Buddhist and Śaiva "Yoginītantras": the Case of the *Brahmayāmala* and *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra* 175
3.6 Conclusions 187

4 The Content, Structure, and Provenance of the *Brahmayāmala* 190
4.1 Introduction: Select Topics in the *Brahmayāmala* 190
4.2 Structure and Textual Strata 200
4.3 On the Provenance of the *Brahmayāmala* 211

5 To Name a Tantra: Identity, History, and the Śaiva Canon in the Epithets of the *Brahmayāmala* 237
5.1 Brahmayāmala 238
5.2 Picumata 243
5.3 *Navākṣaravidhāna:* the "Method of Nine Syllables" 251
5.4 *Mūlatantra:* the "Root Scripture" 258
5.5 *Dvādaśasāhasraka:* the "Tantra of Twelve-Thousand Verses" 273
5.6 *Vimala* and the *Ucchuṣmatantra* 275

6 Conclusion 282

II The *Brahmayāmala*: A Critical Edition and Translation of Chapters I, II, LV, LXXIII, and XCIX 285

Appendices 424

A Chapter Colophons of the *Brahmayāmala* in its Oldest Nepalese Codex (NAK 3-370) 425

Works Cited 434

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List of Tables

3.1 A parallel passage in *Brahmayāmala* LXXXIV and *Laghuśaṃvara* 26 178

4.1 Forms of Bhairava in the *Brahmayāmala* 192

4.2 *Siddhāntatantra*s of the Middle Stream (*madhyamasrotas*) according to *BraYā* XXXVIII 217

4.3 Tantras of the Left Stream (*vāmasrotas*) and Lower Stream (*adhaḥsrotas*) . . . 218

4.4 *Bhairavatantra*s of the Right Stream (*dakṣiṇāsrotas*) 218

4.5 A parallel passage in the *Brahmayāmala* and *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* 219

4.6 The *Navātman* Mantra in the *Niśvāsottara* and the *Vidyārāja* of the *Svacchandatantra* 220

4.7 The Nine *Tattva*s in the *BraYā* 221

4.8 Individuals mentioned in *BraYā* I 230

4.9 The Eight Cremation Grounds in *BraYā* III 233

4.10 The Eight Sacred Mounds (*pīṭha*) in *BraYā* LXXXIV 234

5.1 Deities of the *Navākṣarā Vidyā* 252

5.2 The Ten Streams of Revelation according to *BraYā* XXXVIII 267

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List of Figures

1.1 National Archives of Kathmandu MS 3-370, folios 3v–4r. 4

1.2 NAK 3-370, detail of folios 3v and 4r, left third. 4

1.3 Śiva enshrined within a circle of sixty-four yoginīs. Yoginī temple, Rānīpur-Jharial, Orissa. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 12

2.1 Mother goddess bearing lotus and infant, making the *abhayamudrā*. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 38

2.2 Skanda (left) and five *mātṛs*. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. State museum, Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 39

2.3 Kubera and two *mātṛs*. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 40

2.4 Seven *mātṛs*, with Skanda (left). Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. State museum, Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 40

2.5 Bird-headed Mother goddess carrying an infant in her likeness. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. State museum, Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 43

2.6 Horse-headed yoginī from Lokhari, U.P., with like infant. Photograph by Vidya Dehejia, published in Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 159. 43

2.7 Cāmuṇḍā and Vināyaka/Gaṇeśa, Rāmeśvara Cave (no. 21) *mātṛ* shrine, Ellora. Sixth century. 56

2.8 Śiva and the Seven Mother goddesses (detail). Saptamātṛ cliff shrine between Badoh and Pathari, Madhya Pradesh. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 59

2.9 Saptamātṛ Panel, with Vīrabhadra (left) and Gaṇeśa (right). State Museum, Ashapuri, Madhya Pradesh. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 59

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2.10 *Yakṣa* at pillar base, Nagarjunakonda. National Museum, New Delhi. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 62

2.11 Theriomorphic *gaṇa* or *dvārapāla.* Deorani temple (*circa* 6th century); Tala, near Bilaspur, M.P. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 62

2.12 Head of a fanged, large-eared *yakṣa.* Pawaya, Gwalior, M.P. 5th–6th century. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 63

2.13 Mahākāla and Kālī? Ellora, Rāmeśvara cave temple, west wall of Mother-goddess shrine. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 71

2.14 Śiva "Gajasaṃhāramūrti," Vaitāl Deul temple, Bhuvanesvar. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 72

2.15 Frontal view of the Hīrāpur yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 112

2.16 Hīrāpur yoginī with *ḍamaru* drum, standing upon wheel and rat (?). *AIIS Photo Archive* (detail). 114

2.17 Hīrāpur yoginī on lotus and elephant, drinking from a skull-bowl. Photograph by Don Stadtner, from the *AIIS Photo Archive.* 114

2.18 One of nine *"kātyāyanī*s" (?); Hīrāpur yoginī temple, to the right of the entrance, exterior facade, standing upon severed head. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 115

2.19 Lion-faced yoginī, Hīrāpur temple. Photograph by Don Stadtner; included in the *AIIS Photo Archive.* 115

2.20 Ekapādabhairava, Hīrāpur yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 116

2.21 Cāmuṇḍā, Hīrāpur yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive* (detail). 116

2.22 Veneration of sandals representing a yoginī, depicted below a yoginī image's pedestal. Bherāghāt yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive.* 119

5.1 The 'Origin of Scripture' (*Śivatantrotpatti*) according *Niśvāsatantra, Uttarasūtra* 1.23–25 260

5.2 The 'Descent of Scripture' (*śāstrāvatāra*) according to *Svacchandatantra* 8 . . 261

5.3 The 'Descent of Scripture' (*śāstrāvatāra*) according to *Brahmayāmala* I and XXXVIII 263

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Abbreviations

BraYā	*Brahmayāmala*
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies
TSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
AIIS	American Institute of Indian Studies
MS, MSS	manuscript(s)
cod.	reading of the codex in question
corr.	correction
em.	emendation
conj.	conjecture
$(\dots)^{err.}$	syllables marked by the scribe as erroneous
^{ac}	ante correctionem
^{pc}	post correctionem
f., ff.	folio(s); "r" = recto, "v"= verso (e.g. "f. 4r")
~~	identifies text for which the reading adopted seems insecure
†...†	text passage deemed corrupt, for which no conjecture is offered
(¿) ... (?)	conjectural translation
+...+	a marginal or interlinear insertion
(...)	syllables only faintly legible

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By^{a}	*Brahmayāmala* codex NAK 3-370 (in part I)
A	*Brahmayāmala* codex NAK 3-370 (in the edition and translation)
By^{b}	*BraYā* codex NAK 5-1929 (in part I)
B	*BraYā* codex NAK 5-1929 (in the edition and translation)
By^{c}	*BraYā* codex NAK 1-143 (in part I)
C	*BraYā* codex NAK 1-143 (in the edition and translation)
By^{d}	*BraYā* codex NAK 1-286 (in part I)
D	*BraYā* codex NAK 1-286 (in the edition and translation)
By^{e}	*BraYā* codex NAK 6-2608 (in part I)
E	*BraYā* codex NAK 6-2608 (in the edition and translation)
Kjn^{cod}	*Kaulajñānanirṇaya* codex NAK 3-362 (NGMPP reel A48/13)
Kjn^{ed}	P. C. Bagchi's edition of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* (see bibliography)
St^{KSTS}	*Svacchandatantra,* KSTS edition
St^{cod}	*Svacchandatantra,* MS NAK 1-224
Ts^{k,kh,g}	*Tantrasabhāva* MSS "ka," "kha," and "ga," as reported by Dyczkowski

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Part I

History and Sources

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE BRAHMAYĀMALATANTRA AND CULT OF YOGINĪS

On the eighth day of the waxing moon of the month of Māgha in the year 172, Nepāl-*samvat*—Sunday, 12 January, 1052 C.E.—a certain Jayākarajīva, who resided in the vicinity of Kathmandu's Paśupatinātha temple, completed copying a Sanskrit text called, among other names, the *Brahmayāmala*. This endeavor had undoubtedly occupied him a long while, for the text fills three hundred and fifty-eight long, double-sided palm-leaf sheets (FIGURES 3.1–2). Fortunately, the product of his labors found its way into the manuscript collections of Nepalese royalty, and is today housed in the National Archives in Kathmandu.[1] But for this, precious little knowledge of a vast and important pre ninth-century work would have been possible,[2] a fate which has befallen all too many works of tantric literature. The other extant codices of the *Brahmayāmala* (hereafter *BraYā*), also of Nepalese provenance, all appear to descend from this eleventh-century manuscript.[3] Although the scripture itself was not composed in Nepal,[4] no complete manuscript appears today to survive outside of this

[1] NAK accession no. 3-370. See the MS's description in the introduction to the critical edition. Luciano Petech records the colophon and date of the manuscript as follows: "Ms. Brahmayāmala, National Archives, III.370. Colophon: *samvat 100-50-2 Māgha-śuklāṣṭamyāṃ ādityadine R.-P.-śrī-Baladeva-rājye śrī-Paśupativāstavya śrī-Jayākarajīveṇa Brahmayāmalaṃ nāma śāstraṃ likhitaṃ.* Written at Paśupati Nāth. The date is verified for Sunday, January 12th, 1052." Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal (circa 750–1482)*, 2nd ed., 44. (Petech's *samvat 100-50-2* is a typographical error for *samvat 100-70-2*; the MS reads *samvat a cū 2*.)

[2] The dating of the *Brahmayāmala* is addressed in chapter 4, section 3.

[3] Manuscripts of the *BraYā* are described and discussed in the introduction to the critical edition.

[4] The question of the provenance of the *BraYā* is taken up in chapter 4.

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region.

The *BraYā* designates itself a *tantra*: a treatise, ostensibly of divine origin, considered authoritative scripture within the cult of Śiva that is "based on the *tantra*s" (*tāntrika*)—i.e. "Tantric Śaivism." The most significant emic term for this tradition is "the Mantramārga" or "Way of Mantras."[5] It should not be inferred from the paucity of extant manuscripts that the *BraYā* was an unimportant or little-known work of tantric literature. A glimpse of the authority it once commanded may be had in the writing of the Kashmiri polymath Abhinavagupta (fl. *circa* 1000 C.E.), who cited the scripture often despite its degree of cultic and doctrinal remoteness.[6] Somewhat like the *Rudrayāmala*, the actual text would largely be forgotten;[7] yet its aura of authority would persist, on the basis of which there would emerge several new "*Brahmayāmala*s." I am aware of five: a South Indian text connected with the cult of Bhadrakālī, in which some traces of the older *BraYā* are discernable;[8] another South

[5] On the term "Mantramārga" and its scope, see Alexis Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Śaiva Officiants in the Territory of the King's Brahmanical Chaplain," 229 (n. 1). On the term *tantra*, see Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 661–62. It is noteworthy that in addition to "Mantramārga," the *BraYā* in one instance uses the term "Tantramārga" in what appears to be a comparable sense. *BraYā* XCV.29cd–30ab:

> *tantramārgaprasiddhena vidhināvarttayan sadā* || 29 ||
> *prāpnuyāta mahādevi siddhayo manasepsitāḥ* |
>
> °psitāḥ] *em.*; °psitā BY[a]
>
> "Ever repeating [the mantra] with the method established in the Way of Tantras, O Great Goddess, one would obtain the *siddhi*s the mind desires."

(*prāpnuyāta* appears to represent the "correct" optative, *prāpnuyāt*, *metri causa*, while *siddhayaḥ* is nominative in form but accusative in sense—a common phenomenon in the *BraYā*.) Harunaga Isaacson (personal communication, September 2007) draws my attention to the fact that the *Puraścaryārṇava* refers to Tantric Śaivism as the Way of Tantras as well, in 1.149ab: *vedamārgaṃ parityajya tantramārgaikatatparāḥ*, "[those who,] abandoning the Way of the Vedas, are devoted exclusively to the Way of Tantras ...".

[6] For a discussion of some of Abhinavagupta's references to the *BraYā*, see chapter 4, section 3 (n. 57).

[7] On the *Rudrayāmala*, of which no old version survives but which became "the foremost locus of ascription in Hindu Tantric literature," see Goudriaan, *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature*, 47–48. It is possible that the old *BraYā* continued to have a place in Nepalese tradition into the early twentieth century; Haraprasād Śāstrī, who more than a century ago cataloged the oldest codex of the *BraYā*, reports on views of the text then current in Nepal: "in the opinion of the Paṇḍits of Nepal the full texts of Brahma Yámala is a lakh and a quarter of slokas, and that it belongs to all the six schools of Tantra. The present work, extending over 1200 [*sic*; 12,000?] ślokas, belongs, however, to the western school." *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Durbar Library Nepal*, vol. II, reprinted in Reinhold Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and the Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*, 61.

[8] This text is preserved, incomplete, in a Devanāgarī transcription in the collection of the Institut

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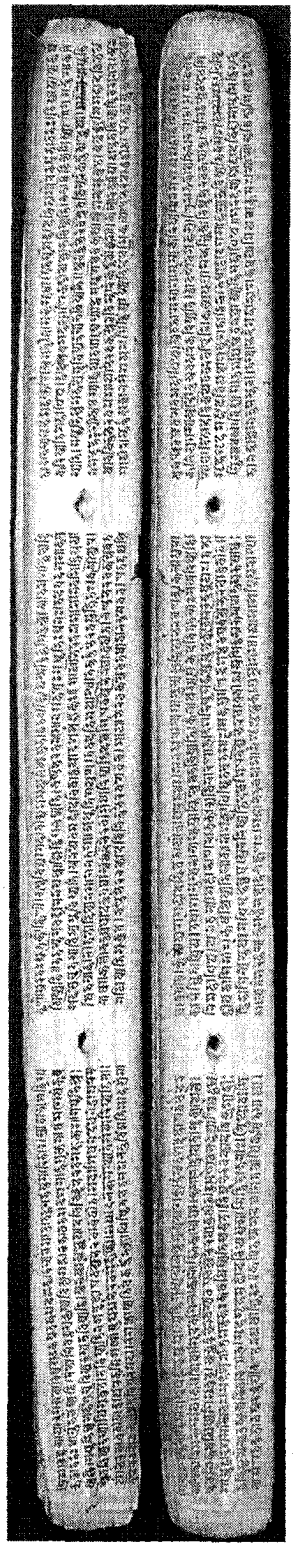


FIGURE 1.1: National Archives of Kathmandu MS 3-370, folios 3v–4r.

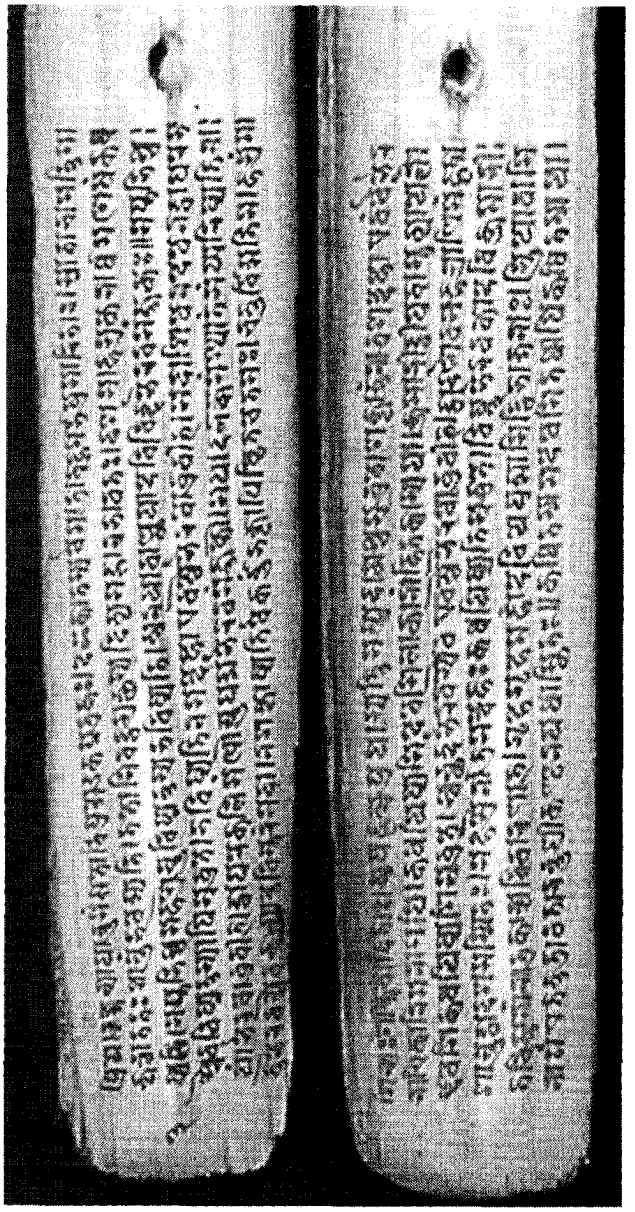


FIGURE 1.2: NAK 3-370, detail of folios 3v and 4r, left third.

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Indian *"Brahmayāmala"* related to this of which only a few chapters survive;[9] a short text preserved in a Bengali manuscript expounding a series of ritual diagrams (*cakra*s or *yantra*s), with no discernable relation to the older *BraYā*;[10] a text of the cult of Tārā by this name transmitted in an untraced Bengali manuscript, a section of which has been published;[11] and a *"Brahmayāmala"* preserved in a single, fragmentary Nepalese MS, which though eclectic, draws directly from the older *BraYā*.[12] Additionally, the *BraYā* has been the locus of ascription for several hymns of praise (*stotra*),[13] and

---

Français de Pondichéry (manuscript T. 522), copied from a manuscript from Tirukkalukkunram in Tamil Nadu. Very recently, this text has been discussed by Alexis Sanderson, who provides evidence for its South Indian provenance and shows several respects in which it demonstrates continuity with the older *Brahmayāmala*. Sanderson, "Arthavavedins in Tantric Territory: the *Āṅgirasakalpa* Texts of the Oriya Paippalādins and their Connection with the Trika and the Kālīkula. With critical editions of the *Parājapavidhi*, the *Parāmantravidhi*, and the **Bhadrakālīmantravidhiprakaraṇa*," 277– 78.

[9] This text, transmitted in Trivandrum University Library MS no. 982, is mentioned by Sanderson, ibid.; he reports that it breaks off in the fifth chapter. I have been unable to consult the text thus far. That it concerns the cult of Bhadrakālī is suggested by passages Sanderson cites in ibid., 278 (n. 143).

[10] Asiatic Society of Bengal manuscript G6392.

[11] Two chapters of this text were published as an appendix in Girīśacandra Vedāntatīrtha (ed.), *Tārātantram. Śrīgirīścandravedāntatīrthasaṅkalitam. With an Introduction by A. K. Maitra.* By all appearances from a much later period, this *"Brahmayāmala"* seems unrelated to the older text of the same name. The MS on which the edition is based apparently comes from the collection of the Varendra Research Museum Library. Maitra, introduction to ibid., 22. However, this might no longer be available, for the archive's relevant catalog of manuscripts makes no mention of it. Several *"Brahmayāmala"* manuscripts are described, but none appear likely to be the basis for the published text: number 279 transmits the *Śrīrādhākavaca* "in" the *Brahmayāmala* (the colophon reads *iti śrībrahmayāmale haragaurīsaṃvāde śrī rādhākavacaṃ saṃpūrṇaṃ*). Number 250, of sixteen folios, consists of a *stotra* of the goddess Tārā (the colophon reads *iti śrībrahmayāmale tārādevyāḥ sāmrājye saṃjñāṃ [?] takārādisahasranāmastotraṃ samāptaṃ*). Number 310 (six folios) is the "Caitanya-kalpa" of the *BraYā* (*iti brahmayāmale śivadurgāsaṃvāde caitanyakalpaḥ*. Number 303 (five folios) consists of the *"Gītāsāra"* attributed to the *BraYā* (no colophon is provided). Sachindra Nath Siddhanta, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Varendra Research Museum Library*, vol. I, 228–29. The material published from the Varendra *BraYā* codex narrates the journey of the Brahmanical sage Vaśiṣṭha to "Mahācīna," where the inebriated Buddha instructs him in "the Chinese method" (*cīnācāra*) for the worship of Tārā. As Joel Bordeaux brought to my attention (personal communication, May, 2007), this has close parallels in chapters 1–2 of the *Mahācīnācāratantra*, a text published by Marion Meisig. *Die "China-Lehre" Des Śaktismus: Mahācīnācāra-Tantra, kritisch ediert nebst Übersetzung und Glossar.*

[12] NAK 1-1557 (NGMPP reel A165/16). This undated paper manuscript, in Newari script, consists of twenty-one folios; the scribe appears not to have completed his task, or else to have copied from an incomplete exemplar. The text calls itself by several of the titular epithets of the old *BraYā* (on which see chapter 5): *Picumata*, *Navākṣaravidhāna*, and, of course, *Brahmayāmala*. The text breaks off in the twelfth chapter, unfortunately. It directly draws upon or echoes the old *BraYā* pervasively, in effect comprising a digest of the latter. Its seventh chapter, for instance, incorporates material from *BraYā* LIV and LV on the subject of Mahākāla and the Mothers, and secret signs (*chommā*). The old *BraYā* does not appear to be its only source, however, for this chapter contains material related to the *Tantrasadbhāva* as well: a passage from ff. 14r–14v has close parallels in *Tantrasadbhāva* 18.18–25.

[13] Theodor Aufrecht makes reference to at least fifteen distinct works having the *BraYā* as locus of ascription, mostly apotropaic hymns (the *kavaca* genre) and hymns of the "thousand names" genre of panegyric (*sahasranāmastotra*). Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum. An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors*, vol. I, 382; vol. II, 87; and vol. III, 81. See also n. 11 above. I have had no opportunity to

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possibly more literature that has not come to my attention.

Though surviving in just a handful of manuscripts, the old *BraYā* has in fact fared better than most early Śaiva scriptures. As Dominic Goodall shows, a relatively small number of the early *tantra*s of the Śaivasiddhānta survives; furthermore, many of the texts listed in ancient descriptions of the tantric Śaiva canon exist only in versions of post eleventh-century, South Indian provenance.[14] And little at all survives of the scriptures of the proto-tantric cults of the Śaiva Atimārga, "the Path Beyond," which apparently formed the immediate background of the Śaiva Mantramārga.[15]

Tantric traditions have been characterized in popular culture and no small amount of scholarship as quintessentially concerned with goddesses and/or ritualized forms of sexual activity.[16] But that there is no intrinsic connection with either, and that the two are not concomitant, should in fact be obvious; indeed, goddesses and ritual coitus have little or no place in several of the major, early tantric traditions. Tantric Buddhist practice systems based on the *yogatantra*s and earlier literature infrequently accord high cultic status to female deities, while sexual ritual appears to have been a comparatively late development.[17] Extant sources of the Vaiṣṇava tradition of the Pāñcarātra appear to give no place to ritualized sexuality, while the *Lakṣmītantra*—a work of the early second millennium shown to have been influenced by nondual-

consult the manuscripts of these works; but with titles such as *Sūryakavaca*, *Rāmakavaca*, and *Caitanyakalpa*, it seems most improbable that any of them is connected to the old *BraYā*.

[14] Goodall, introduction to *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra. Vol. 1: Chapters 1–6*, xxxvi–li.

[15] On the division of Śaivism into Atimārga and Mantramārga traditions, see Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 664–69; and Sanderson, "The Lākulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate Between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism," passim. Sanderson discusses what can be gleaned concerning lost scriptures of the Atimārga in ibid., and "History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras," 29–31.

[16] To catalog the varied guises in which such visions of the tantric traditions have and continue to surface is no small task; Hugh Urban's recent monograph tracing the genealogy of modern understandings of "Tantra" provides a useful starting point: *Tantra: Sex, Secrecy, Politics and Power in the Study of Religion*.

[17] Coitus and the ritual engagement with other varieties of 'impurity' appear to have their earliest attestation in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. See Steven Weinberger, "The Significance of Yoga Tantra and the *Compendium of Principles (Tattvasaṃgraha Tantra)* within Tantric Buddhism in India and Tibet," 197–200. These elements take on added importance in the *Guhyasamājatantra* and related works, literature in some respects transitional between the *yogatantra*s and *yoginītantra*s, and classified accordingly as *mahāyogatantra*s. See Anthony Tribe, "Mantranaya/Vajrayāna: tantric Buddhism in India," 212–13. In the present thesis, chapter 3, section 4, discusses the emergence of goddess cults in Tantric Buddhism.

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ist Śaivism—seems exceptional in according theological preeminence to the divine feminine.[18] And in the early pan-Indian and living South Indian traditions of the Śaivasiddhānta, female deities have subsidiary roles, while sexual ritual is little attested.[19] Arguably, these represent the predominant tantric traditions flourishing in South Asia and the lands of its cultural influence through much of the early medieval period.[20] Yet tantric traditions did develop that centered upon goddesses, including ones which harnessed sexuality as an important element in a wide range of practices focused upon achieving occult powers (*siddhi*) and liberation (*mukti, mokṣa*). The *BraYā* represents such a tradition. It in fact comprises one of the most consequential sources of evidence for early tantric Śaiva goddess cults, while sexuality has a significant presence in its systems of ritual.

In a model of the canon of Śaiva scripture advanced in chapter thirty-eight of

[18] Alexis Sanderson argues for the influence of the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya* of the Kashmiri author Kṣemarāja, as well as other Śaiva works, on the *Lakṣmītantra*, in "History through Textual Criticism," 35– 36. On the *Lakṣmītantra* and the role of goddesses therein, see Sanjukta Gupta's introduction to her translation, *Lakṣmī Tantra: A Pāñcarātra Text. Translated with an Introduction and Notes.*

[19] On the comparative insignificance of goddesses in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, an early *siddhāntatantra*, see chapter 3, section 2. Interestingly, sexual ritual does have limited attestation in some of the earliest *siddhāntatantras*, though even in these it appears marginal. See Sanderson, review of N. R. Bhatt, ed., *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama (Kriyāpāda, Yogapāda et Caryāpāda), avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha*, and of Bhatt, ed., *Rauravāgama. Édition Critique, introduction et notes*, 565; and also chapter 3, section 2, in the present thesis.

[20] Nonetheless, much of the scholarly literature has assumed an artificial distinction that, at times, goes so far as to exclude the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra and/or Śaivasiddhānta from the category of "Tantra." Note for instance David White's recent remarks: "a number of works that closely resemble the Tantras in their ritual focus call themselves Āgamas or Saṃhitās. These are works belonging to the ...Śaivasiddhānta and (Vaiṣṇava) Pāñcarātra schools, respectively." *Kiss of the Yoginī: "Tantric Sex" in its South Asian Contexts*, 17. This view, which suggests that the Śaivasiddhānta and Pāñcarātra are marginal to the study of tantric traditions proper, is based in part on what Dominic Goodall points out is an artificial distinction between *tantras* and *āgamas*: in fact, early Śaiva scriptural sources, whether *siddhāntatantras* or e.g. *bhairavatantras*, designate themselves by both these terms, and *saṃhitā* is attested as well. Goodall, introduction to *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra. Vol. I: Chapters 1–6*, xxxvi–xxxix. That the Pāñcarātra scriptures—which often do refer to themselves as *saṃhitās*—are also, by their own designation, "*tantras*," requires little investigation; note, for instance, the text title *"Lakṣmītantra"* (see above), and e.g. *Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā* 11.62ab: *pañcarātrāhvayaṃ tantraṃ mokṣaikaphalalakṣaṇam* ("[Viṣṇu created] the Tantra called 'Pañcarātra,' characterized by having liberation as its sole aim"). Cf. Yāmunācārya's *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, which refers to "the status of the Pāñcarātra *tantras* as authoritative scripture" (°*pañcarātratantraprāmāṇya*) in the prose immediately following the introductory verses. Marginalization of the Pāñcarātra and Śaivasiddhānta from the study of tantric traditions in effect reinforces the characterization, alluded to above, of "Tantra" as being intrinsically concerned with goddesses and/or sexuality, for the other most influential tantric traditions—Tantric Buddhism (in its latter phases), and non-Saiddhāntika tantric Śaivism—provide much greater attestation of goddess cults and trangsressive ritual. See also n. 32 below.

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the *BraYā*, *tantra*s are organized into three primary scriptural "streams" (*srotas*): the *siddhāntatantra*s of the "middle stream," distinguished by their focus upon the deity Sadāśiva; the *vāmatantra*s of the "leftward stream," regarded as scriptural authorities for the cult of the Sisters of Tumburu; and the "rightward stream" of the *bhairava-tantra*s. The *BraYā* identifies itself with the latter—scriptures of the cult of Bhairava, Śiva's manifestation as the archetypal skull-bearing ascetic or *kapālin*. Furthermore, an important early classification of the *bhairavatantra*s attested in the *BraYā* subdivides these scriptures into four "seats" or "mounds" (*pīṭha*): those of ritual gestures or *mudrā*s; of maṇḍalas, diagrammatic representations of the deities; of [male] mantras; and of *vidyā*s, the "lores" or "[female] wisdom mantras."[21] Mantras are gendered, for they are divinities—not infrequently referred to as "mantra-deities" (*mantradevatā*).[22] This ontological identification of efficacious sonic formulae with divinities is distinctive to the tantric traditions. The division between the Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha is in fact one between male mantra-deities and the female *vidyā*-goddesses. It is within the Vidyāpīṭha of the *bhairava*-stream of revelation that the *BraYā* situates itself, an acknowledgement of the preponderance of feminine divinities in the ritual systems it advances. While a variety of terms designate these goddesses, foremost are the synonyms *yoginī*—the feminine equivalent of *yogin*, i.e. "yogi"—and *yogeśī*/*yogeśvarī*: "female master of yoga."[23]

The cult of yoginīs is central to the *BraYā*. This scripture expounds a pantheon of mantra-deities headed by the *bhairava* known as "Kapālīśa" ("Lord of the Skull-bearers") and the supreme Goddess, his consort, known primarily as Caṇḍā Kāpālinī

[21] On the *BraYā*'s model of the Śaiva canon, see chapter 5, sections 4 and 5; see also chapter 4, section 4 (especially TABLES 4.2–4). On the subdivision of the *bhairavatantra*s into *pīṭha*s, see Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 668–71; and in the present thesis, chapter 3, sections 2 (in the discussion of the *Svacchandatantra*) and 3.

[22] Note, e.g., *BraYā* XI.43ab, referring to the *smaraṇa*-mantra (on which see chapter 5, section 3): *nānena rahitā[ḥ] devi sidhyante mantradevatāḥ*, "without this [mantra], the mantra-deities do not bestow *siddhi*." Cf. Kṣemarāja's comments ad *Svacchandatantra* 1.76cd–77ab. The latter provides the mantra of Kapāleśa[bhairava], ending with the statement, *kapāleśaḥ prakīrtitaḥ* in 77b ("[this] is proclaimed to be Kapāleśa"); Kṣemarāja remarks, *ayaṃ* ***kapāleśa*** *[prakīrtitaḥ] uktaḥ mantrāṇāṃ mantradevataikātmatvāt* ("this is said to be Kapāleśa, because of the fact that mantras and the mantra-deities are identical").

[23] Although not attested in the *BraYā*, *yogīśī* also occurs in the literature in the same sense, e.g. *Tantrāloka* 1.322a.

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("Grim Bearer of the Skull"), "Aghorī" ("Not Terrible"), and "Bhairavī." Several sets of goddesses complete the primary deity maṇḍala: the Four Goddesses (*devī*) or Guhyakās; the Four Attendants (*kiṅkarī*), also called the Consorts (*dūtī*); the Six Yoginīs; and the Eight Mothers (*mātṛ*), in descending order of status. Their names and mantric forms are delineated in chapter 5, section 3 (TABLE 5.1). While possessing distinct identities and degrees of cultic importance, these goddesses belong to a common typology, discussed below—that of the yoginī or *yogeśvarī*. The latter terms are multivalent in the *BraYā*, referring, according to context, to female initiates, i.e. human "yoginīs";[24] to specific sets of deities—the Six Yoginīs of the primary maṇḍala, most frequently;[25] and to the nameless hordes of flying goddesses said to manifest before the practitioner and grant boons, in the culmination of the most arduous rites.[26] And although in the *BraYā* the terms *devī* ("goddess"), *devatā* ("deity"), and *śakti* ("power") are preferred, related Śaiva sources frequently use *yoginī* and *yogeśvarī* as generic terms for the myriad goddesses who pervade the cosmos as expressions of Śiva's power (*śakti*).[27] In addition, "Yogeśī" occurs as an epithet of the

[24] A striking case is that of *BraYā* I.12cd–13, for which see the critical edition and translation in part II; this appears to refer to female practitioners as "yoginīs." The passage is echoed in the opening verses of *BraYā* XIV, quoted in chapter 2 (n. 200).

[25] See, for instance, *BraYā* II.11–14ab (edited and translated in part II).

[26] References to the yoginīs granting their *darśan* to the successful practitioner are profuse; cf., e.g., *BraYā* XVII (f. 92r, line 1):

> *vidyācakraṃ tu yo vetti yathāvat sādhakottamaḥ |*
> *acireṇaiva kālena yogeśyo darśanam vrajet |*
>
> °cakraṃ] *em.*; °cakrān By^{a} yogeśyo] *corr.*; yogesyo By^{a}
>
> "The best of *sādhaka*s who truly understands the Circle of Vidyās—after a brief while the *yogeśī*s become visible [to him]."

Here the optative singular *vrajet* apparently has the sense of the plural; cf. *BraYā* IV.358c, *devy[o] pratyakṣatāṃ vrajet*.

[27] Note, for instance, *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.47cd–48:

> *tattvarūpās tu yoginyo jñātavyāś ca varānane* || *47* ||
> *śivecchānuvidhāyinyo manovegā mahābalāḥ |*
> *vicaranti samastāś ca brahmaviṣṇvindrabhūmiṣu* || *48* ||
>
> "The Yoginīs should be known in the form of the reality levels (*tattva*), O fair woman. Carrying out the volition of Śiva, as swift as thought and mighty, they all traverse the worlds of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Indra."

Text as quoted by Kṣemarāja commenting on *Netratantra* 19.71 (here numbered as per Mark Dyczkowski's collation of the MSS). In contrast, the *BraYā* refers to goddesses of the *tattva*s by the term *devī*, in particular; in *BraYā* XXXI, note for instance 93cd: *tattve tattve sthitā devyo adhikārapadānugāḥ*, "The goddesses are present in each of the *tattva*s, adhering to their [respective] positions of authority." Cf.

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supreme Goddess, especially in her role as eighth of the Mother goddesses (*mātṛ*).[28]

"Yoginī" hence designates a spectrum of female sacred figures, many of which in different contexts bear distinct names. In the *BraYā*, "yoginī" most frequently refers to a subset of a broader class of goddesses, while tantric Buddhist traditions often give preference to the term "*ḍākinī*" as the generic name for such deities.[29] It does appear, however, that "yoginī" had the widest currency as the class name for the goddesses in question, and the term is adopted accordingly in the present study. This is an amorphous class of deities, all the more so owing to the use of the term "yoginī" in designating tantric adepts—female "yogis"—or even the Great Goddess (*mahādevī*) herself. It is nonetheless possible to identify characteristic attributes that are widely, but not uniformly, shared by this class of deities.

The possibility of a "polythetic" approach to classifying religious phenomena received serious treatment first, I believe, in an essay of Jonathan Z. Smith. In the polythetic mode, membership in a class is determined by possession of significant shared properties, no single one of which is necessarily held by all members of the class—in rejection of the essentialist "idea of perfect, unique, single differentia."[30] Such a polythetic approach has been applied in relation to the nebulous category of "Tantra," most notably by Douglas Brooks, who advances a polythetic definition "Hindu Tantricism."[31] While one might disagree with some of the properties identified and their relative priority,[32] this approach appears productive—and, further-

87cd: *tattvarūpā[ḥ] sthitā devyo yogaiśvaryā hy aninditā[ḥ]*, "the goddesses take the form of the *tattva*s, possessing yogic mastery, and irreproachable."

[28] In the *BraYā*, "Yogeśī" describes the supreme Goddess as eighth of the Mothers in XLV.32b and LXVII.56a. Cf., e.g., *yogīśī* in *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 3.14d.

[29] See chapter 2, section 2 (n. 46); and chapter 3, section 4.

[30] Smith, "Fences and Neighbors: Some Contours of Early Judaism," chapter 2 in *Imagining Religion: from Babylon to Jonestown*, 4–5 (quote on p. 4).

[31] Brooks, *The Secret of Three Cities: An Introduction to Hindu Śākta Tantrism*, 53–72. Similar in principle are the lists of defining criteria proposed by Sanjukta Gupta, et al, *Hindu Tantrism*, 7–9; and, in reference to Tantric Buddhism, Stephen Hodge, introduction to *The Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra: With Buddhaguhya's Commentary*, 4–5.

[32] It must be objected that the ten defining criteria Brooks adduces for "Hindu Tantrism" privilege goddess-oriented or Śākta traditions, particularly in their late medieval varieties—one of which is the subject of his monograph, *Secret of Three Cities*. Note in particular that the third criterion—which begins, "Tantrics are at once theists and philosophical nondualists" (p. 58)—excludes from the category "Tantra" the Śaivasiddhānta and Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra, which typically possess dualist the-

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more, offers a useful approach to the category "yoginī." Below, I attempt a polythetic definition of the yoginī, identifying what appear to be key shared properties characterizing this class of sacred figure. Undoubtedly, there is much scope for further refinement. This is not, moreover, the first such attempt: David White has offered an eight-part descriptive definition of the yoginī, which I both draw upon and depart from.[33]

Multiplicity. Characteristic of yoginīs is their occurrence in groups. From perhaps the tenth century, they became closely associated with configurations of sixty-four—an association that remains strong today. The multiplicity of the yoginīs is monumentalized in the stone temples dedicated to them constructed from

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ologies. Part of Brooks' seventh criterion seems in fact to have little application outside of late medieval, Smārta tantric traditions. Asserting that "tantrism does not differ significantly from Purāṇic Hinduism in the ways it conceives the world and God," Brooks makes the equally surprising claim that "Śākta- and Śaiva-oriented Tantrics assume the pantheon of classical Hindu deities;" he also utilizes Advaitavedāntic terminology for explicating tantric theology. Ibid., 67–68. None of this appears applicable to early medieval Tantric Śaivism of any variety. Criterion nine associates Hindu Tantra with ritual use of "conventionally prohibited substances" and "antinomian practices." Based upon such criteria, Brooks comes to the problematic conclusion that "Śākta forms of Tantrism are deemed to be Hindu Tantrism par excellence." Ibid., 72; see also 230 (n. 51). Furthermore, missing from Brooks' list is at least one important criterion: the ontological identity of mantras and deities, which is surely a defining characteristic of the Śaiva "Way of Mantras" (*mantramārga*).

[33] The definition White offers is as follows:

> The Yoginīs whose cults were central to Kaula practice had the following features: (1) they were a group of powerful, sometimes martial, female divinities with whom human female "witches" were identified in ritual practice; (2) their power was intimately connected to the flow of blood, both their own sexual and menstrual emissions, and the blood of their animal (and human?) victims; (3) they were essential to Tantric initiation in which they initiated male practitioners through fluid transactions via their "mouths"; (4) they were possessed of the power of flight; (5) they took the form of humans, animals, or birds, and often inhabited trees; (6) they were often arrayed in circles; (7) their temples were generally located in isolated areas, on hilltops or prominences and were usually round and often hypaethral; and (8) they were never portrayed as practicing yoga for the simple reason that yoga as we know it had not yet been invented.

Kiss of the Yoginī, 27. In point eight, White presumably has in mind *haṭhayogic* bodily disciplines, with which yoginīs were little connected. Many of the themes White identifies are indeed significant to conceptions of yoginīs, while points (2) and (3) seem problematic. There is undoubtedly a sanguinary dimension to the cult of yoginīs, and to the powers attributed to their most dangerous varieties. But as for yoginīs' "sexual and menstrual emissions," the supposed significance of these remains mysterious to me; while the fluids of female practitioners are certainly significant in some rituals, the women concerned are seldom referred to as "yoginīs," while references in primary sources to the fluids of yoginīs, as goddesses, appear rare and ambiguous. Similarly, I am presently unaware of a Śaiva tradition in which yoginīs—presumably White has in mind female ritual consorts—were "essential to Tantric initiation," and certainly not one in which they transacted with initiands in the manner suggested. On these points, I expect to write in greater detail in the future, examining the evidence on which White bases such claims.

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the tenth century, enshrining configurations of forty-two and perhaps eighty-one, but especially sixty-four goddesses.[34] In Vidyāpīṭha and tantric Buddhist sources, however, smaller pantheons are typical. Yoginīs are in fact characterized more by their multiplicity than their individual identities, for there exists remarkable fluidity in the composition of yoginī sets. No particular name or set of names—with the exception of the Seven or Eight Mother goddesses, as discussed below—becomes closely associated with these goddesses, and they are in fact frequently spoken of as an amorphous band or horde (*vṛnda, gaṇa*) that pervades the cosmos in innumerable forms and varieties. Even sources that place particular importance upon a group of sixty-four might mention numerous other yoginīs.

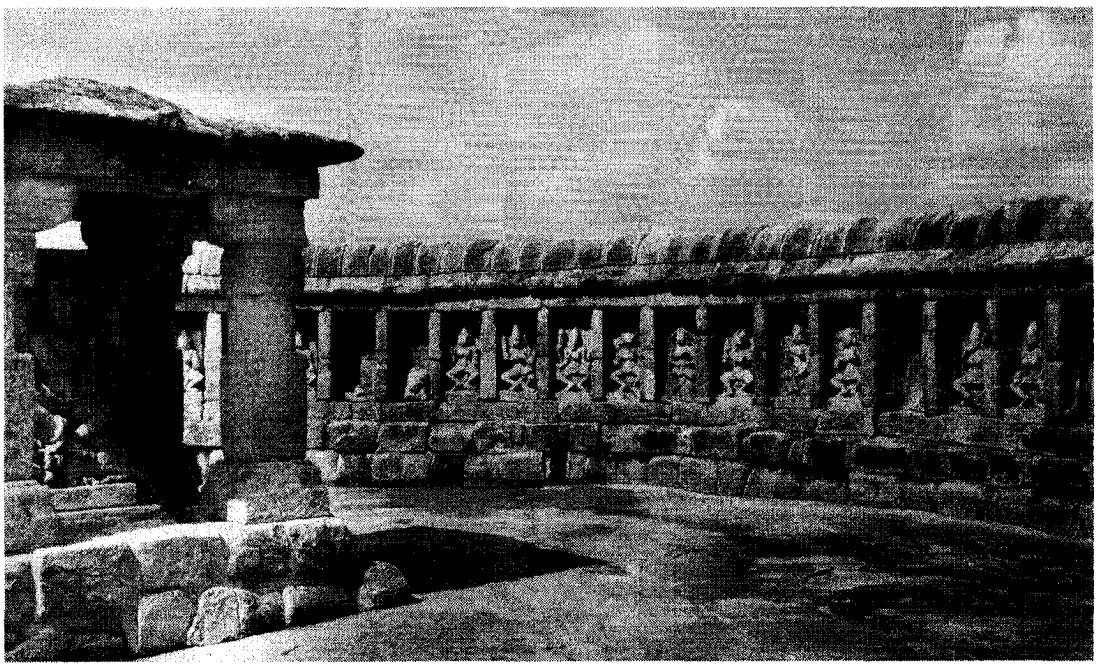


FIGURE 1.3: Śiva enshrined within a circle of sixty-four yoginīs. Yoginī temple, Rānīpur-Jharial, Orissa. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

[34] On the temples of yoginīs, see Vidya Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples. A Tantric Tradition.* In the present thesis, see chapter 2, section 4; concerning textual references to sixty-four yoginīs (primarily in Kaula sources), see there, as well as chapter 3, section 3. Ronald Davidson points out the existence of contemporary temples of sixty-four yoginīs in Banaras and Ujjain. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, 181–83.

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Manifestation in/as mortal women. Yoginīs blur the boundaries between goddesses and women, for through ritual perfection, a female tantric adept might become a yoginī. Men, however, may only seek to join the yoginīs and partake of their powers. Taxonomies reflect this phenomenon by positing yoginīs as a scale of beings, extending from powerful cult goddesses to the mortal yoginīs who emulate and even embody the deities. Thus according to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, a Vidyāpīṭha scripture, yoginīs are fundamentally of two types: *kulajā* or "born in clans," called also *mānuṣya*, "human"; and *devatāḥ*, "deities/goddesses."[35] More complex yoginī taxonomies add further layers of ambiguity.[36] Female divinization hence lies at the heart of the image of the yoginī, and comprises one of the most historically significant facets of their cult.

Organization into clans. Yoginīs, as both deities and female adepts, belong to clans (*kula, gotra*) which shape their natures and identities. Taxonomies of yoginīs exhibit considerable variety; however, in Śaiva sources, their organization into clans of the Brahmanical goddesses called the Seven or Eight Mothers (*mātṛ*) appears fundamental.[37] According to this schema, yoginīs partake in the natures and appearances of the Mother goddesses, of whom they are considered partial incarnations or manifestations (*aṃśa*, lit. "portion"). Practitioners too establish 'kinship' with the goddesses, becoming thus their *aṃśa*s, for initiation

[35] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 22.5:

dvividhā yoginīḥ proktāḥ kulajā devatās tathā |
mānuṣyāḥ kulajāḥ proktās teṣāṃ śṛṇu kulodgatim |
dvijakṣatriyaviṭśūdrakulotpannās tu nāyikāḥ ||

"Yoginīs are taught to be divided into two groups: those born in a lineage[,] and deities. Those born in a lineage are taught to be human; listen to their family line. [These] Heroines are born in Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, or Śūdra families."

Translation by Judit Törzsök, editor of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*: " 'The Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits': A Critical Edition of Selected Chapters of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*(tantra) with Annotated Translation and Analysis," 171 (Sanskrit text on p. 50). The passage following upon this one is lacunose. This passage has a parallel in *Tantrasadbhāva* 16, beginning with verse 129.

[36] Illustrative of this is a taxonomy of yoginīs elaborated in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8; relevant passages are quoted and discussed in chapter 3, section 3.

[37] Buddhist taxonomies of yoginīs, as might be expected, seldom associate the deities with the Brahmanical Mothers. The *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra*, for instance, advances several classification schemas based upon clans headed by identifiably Buddhist deities, in chapters 16–19 and 23.

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effects entry into the clans of the deities.[38] Sets of yoginīs, such as those enshrined in temples and listed in the *purāṇa*s, frequently include the Mothers among them,[39] while the term *mātṛ* ("Mother goddess") is occasionally applied to yoginīs.[40] Classification of the clans of yoginīs forms an important theme in the literature of the Yoginī cult, an example of which is *BraYā* LXXIII, edited and translated in part II of the present thesis. The *BraYā*, moreover, places the Mothers within a broader hierarchy of goddess clans, extending from deities of the most pernicious sort—such as the dangerous *ḍāmarī*—to the text's highest maṇḍala deities.[41]

Theriomorphism. A hallmark of yoginīs is polymorphism, with theriomorphic forms being especially common. From horses and lions to birds and snakes, sculptural and textual representations of yoginīs attest a wide variety of animal elements. As a deity typology, a close parallel lies in Śiva's *gaṇa*s ("troops, horde"), an amorphous and diverse class of male deity, often theriomorphic, whose imagery ranges from the horrific, grotesque, and martial, to comic, exuberant, and musical. Another parallel lies in the multitudinous Mother goddesses described in the *Mahābhārata*, deities with whom the genealogy yoginīs is closely linked.[42] In contrast to the *gaṇa*s and Mothers, actual shapeshifting is closely associated with yoginīs, who are thought to take on the forms of female animals in particular. Tales of yoginīs also associate them with the power to transform others.[43]

Kāpālika cult and iconography. The yoginīs' connection with the cult of Bhairava, the

[38] See chapter 2, section 1.

[39] Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, appendix I (pp. 187–200).

[40] Use of the term *mātṛ* in the sense of "yoginī" is attested in the Siyān inscription of Nayapāla, in Bengal; see chapter 2, section 4 (n. 299). Dehejia points out several other examples; *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 31.

[41] *BraYā* LV.3–54.

[42] See chapter 2, section 2 (on the *Mahābhārata*).

[43] On the shapeshifting of the yoginī, note *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 23, quoted and discussed in chapter 2, section 4 (the text of 23.1–12ab is given in n. 309). Stories of yoginīs from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* are discussed in chapter 2, section 3 (subsection on the *Bṛhatkathā* retellings).

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archetypal mortuary ascetic (*kapālin*), finds representation in their *kāpālika* or mortuary iconography, for they frequently bear skulls, bone ornaments, and skull-staves (*khaṭvāṅga*), as well as incorporate other elements of radical tantric iconography. Furthermore, yoginīs have a strong association with cremation grounds: while a variety of liminal places are spoken of as their haunts, their primary locus is the charnal ground (*śmaśāna*), the preferred site for the radical practices advanced in Vidyāpīṭha *tantra*s.

Danger, impurity, and power. Fundamental to conceptions of yoginīs is their potency as sources of both danger and immense power. In this respect they inherit the ambivalence of early Indian Mother goddesses. While dangerous to non-initiates and fatal to apostates, the wild horde of yoginīs becomes all-beneficient to the greatest of tantric "heroes" (*vīra*) who succeed in their arduous rituals of propitiation. It is to such rituals that much of the *BraYā* and similar sources is devoted, and the Yoginī cult is distinguished by the aim of achieving blessings of these beings in direct, transactional encounters—called most frequently *melāpa* or *melaka* ("meeting, encounter, union"). Effecting and navigating encounters with yoginīs thus become subjects to which the literature of the cult devotes much attention.[44]

[44] A passage from *BraYā* XIV provides a vivid account of the danger posed by yoginīs in ritual:

japet mantro mahāsattvo digvāso dakṣiṇāmukhaḥ |
saptarātreṇa yoginyo āgacchanti mahābhayāḥ || 214 ||
raudrarūpās tathāśuddhāḥ sakrodhā māraṇātmikāḥ |
tad dṛṣṭvā tu na bhetavyaṃ vīrasattvena mantriṇā || 215 ||
arghaṃ tāsāṃ pradātavyaṃ praṇipāte kṛte sati |
tuṣyante nātra sandehaḥ sādhake sattvasaṃyukte || 216 ||
kathayanti ca taṃ spṛṣṭvā yathārthañ ca śubhāśubham |
pramādād yadi kṣubhyeta sattvahīnas tu sādhakaḥ || 217 ||
tatkṣaṇād devi khādanti yoginyo yogadarpitāḥ |
na taṃ rakṣayituṃ śakto rudro 'pi svayam āgataḥ || 218 ||

214b °mukhaḥ] *em.*; °mukhaṃ BY^a 215a °rūpās] *em.*; °rūpā BY^a °śuddhāḥ] *corr.*; °śuddhā BY^a 215b °tmikāḥ] *em.*; °tmikā BY^a 216a pradātavyaṃ] *em.*; pradātavyaḥ BY^a 217a taṃ] *conj.*; tāṃ BY^a 217c pramādād] *em.*; pramādā BY^a 218a °kṣaṇād] *em.*; °kṣaṇā BY^a 218c taṃ] *em.*; ta BY^a

"The [*sādhaka*] of great spirit should recite the mantra, naked, facing south. After seven nights, the yoginīs come—highly dangerous, with terrifying forms, impure, angry, and lethal. But seeing this, the *mantrin* of heroic spirit should not fear; after prostrating, he should give them the guest-offering. [They become] pleased towards the *sādhaka* endowed with [heroic] spirit, without a doubt. And touching him, they tell truly the [prognostication

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The danger and power of the yoginī appear closely linked to engagement with impurity, an important dimension of which is her association with the cremation ground. They epitomize a culture of ritual 'nondualism' (*advaita*), in which the purity conventions of Brahmanical orthopraxis give way to "a visionary mysticism of fearless omnipotence, of unfettered super-agency," in which the *sādhaka* seeks to assimilate the powers of the hordes of yoginīs, primarily, "in occult manipulations of impurity."[45] Transactional encounters with yoginīs often revolve around conventionally impure substances: practitioners offer wine or their own blood in lieu of the guest-water offering (*argha*), burn incense of neem oil and garlic, make offerings of flesh in fire sacrifice, or even offer mixed male-female sexual fluids. Conversely, a yoginī might offer impure ritual "gruel" (*caru*) to the disciple, the unhesitant acceptance and consumption of which becomes a medium for her bestowal of power.[46]

Protection and transmission of esoteric teachings. Yoginīs are ascribed the dual roles of protecting and in some cases disseminating esoteric tantric teachings. Often, their bestowal of power manifests in the transmission of secret lineage teachings (*sampradāya*),[47] rather than direct transference of power (*siddhi*). In some cases, works of tantric literature link their pedigree to transmission by yoginīs.[48]

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of] good and bad. If by mistake a *sādhaka* of weak spirit should tremble, the yoginīs, arrogant with their yoga, devour him that very moment. If he came, not even Rudra himself would be able to save him."

[45] Sanderson, "Purity and Power among the Brahmans of Kashmir," 201.

[46] On the offering of *caru*, note *BraYā* LXXXV.13cd–14ab, quoted in chapter 3, section 5; and *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.7cd–10, in the same section (n. 165).

[47] On the notion of *sampradāya* as esoteric knowledge transmitted by yoginīs, see the annotation to *BraYā* LXXIII.74. In some cases the teachings imparted by yoginīs are referred to as *jñāna*—"wisdom," which, though vague, can have textual connotations. Note *BraYā* XCVII.25–26ab:

mātṛyoginikāyāni śākinīnāṃ kulāni tu |
sidhyanti sādhakendrasya yogenānena suvrate || 25 ||
kathayanti ca sadbhāvaṃ kulajaṃ jñānam uttamam |

"Through this yoga, O pious woman, the clans of the groups of Mothers and yoginīs, [and] of *śākinī*s, bestow *siddhi* on the *sādhaka*; and they speak the true essence—the highest scriptural wisdom (*jñāna*) arising from the Clans."

[48] A noteworthy case is that of the *Mahārthamañjarī* of Maheśvarānanda, a South Indian author writing around the beginning of the thirteenth century who attributes his composition to the inspiration

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According to the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative, yoginīs are said to hide away the scripture at the end of the Kaliyuga, reflecting another aspect of their roles as guardians of the teachings. Furthermore, yoginīs wreak destruction upon violators of the *tantra*s, including those who break the initiatory Pledges (*samaya*)—hapless individuals who risk becoming yoginī food.[49]

Flight. Yoginīs are consistently associated with the power of flight, foremost among the powers (*siddhi*) sought by their votaries. In this they inherit the mantle of the *vidyādhara* and *vidyādharī*, the semi-divine sorcerors of early Indic myth.[50] Taxonomies of yoginīs suggest that aerial deities represent only one of their numerous varieties, alongside e.g. "terrestrial" (*bhūcarī*) goddesses. However, the archetypal yoginī is the autonomous Sky-traveller (*khecarī*), joining whose ranks represents the ultimate attainment for the *siddhi*-seeking practitioner—the *sādhaka*.

Discussion is warranted concerning the expression "Yoginī cult,"[51] for this renders no emic category used in the classification of the tantric traditions, and, furthermore, risks the exotic connotations of "cult" in its popular usage—connotations that deeper acquaintance with some aspects of the tradition might not immediately

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of a visionary encounter with a yoginī. See Whitney Cox, "Making a Tantra in Medieval South India: the *Mahārthamañjarī* and the Textual Culture of Cōḻa Cidambaram," 1–6. Cox draws attention to several similar traditions of inspiration by a yoginī; ibid., 2–3.

[49] Cf. *Vīṇāśikha* 329cd–21ab:

> *svayaṃgṛhītamantrāś ca nāstikā vedanindakāḥ* || 329 ||
> *samayebhyaḥ paribhraṣṭās tathā tantravidūṣakāḥ* |
> *gurūṇāṃ viheṭhanaparās tantrasāravilopakāḥ* || 320 ||
> *yoginībhiḥ sadā bhraṣṭāḥ kathyante dharmalopakāḥ* |
>
> "Those who take up mantras on their own, atheists, critics of the *veda*s, breakers of the Pledges, desecrators of the *tantra*s, those intent on harming the gurus, and those who violate the essence of the *tantra*s—those who violate Dharma are said ever to be ruined by the yoginīs."

On the threat of being eaten by yoginīs, see above (n. 44).

[50] See chapter 2, section 3 (subsection on the *Bṛhatkathā* and its retellings).

[51] The expression "Yoginī cult" surfaces in the works of early twentieth-century authors, such as P. C. Bagchi. I have not yet identified nineteenth-century precedents, although these might exist in archeological reports on yoginī temples. Contemporary scholars, such as Vidya Dehejia and Alexis Sanderson, have continued to use this terminology, although David White eschews the expression in *Kiss of the Yoginī: "Tantric Sex" in its South Asian Contexts.*

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discourage. "Cult" is nonetheless a productive, if not indispensable category for referring to tantric systems of worship. Though centered on specific deities and often possessing distinct authorizing scriptures, tantric worship systems or "cults" are not mutually exclusive—certainly not to the point of being distinct "sects."

Yoginīs, however, do not figure as cultic focii in the manner of most tantric divinities: their cult is integrated within those of the 'high' deity or deities who form the primary focus of a given ritual system. While the *BraYā* expounds the cult of Kapālīśabhairava and Aghoreśī or Caṇḍā Kāpālinī, ritual practices connected with yoginīs register a constant presence. This is true of the other major extant Vidyāpīṭha *tantra*s as well.[52] It would nonetheless be problematic to identify the cult of yoginīs with the Vidyāpīṭha, for the Yoginī cult extends beyond its confines. Most of the surviving Śaiva literature closely connected with yoginīs in fact belongs to the corpus of Kaula scripture, which appears to have roots in Vidyāpīṭha traditions.[53] Moreover, the cult of yoginīs is by no means restricted to Śaivism, for it characterizes Indian Tantric Buddhism in its latter phases, which saw the production of a corpus of scriptural literature frequently referred to as the *yoginītantra*s, "Tantras of the Yoginīs." There is even evidence suggesting Jaina engagement in the cult of yoginīs.[54] The "Yoginī cult" hence extends across both cultic and sectarian boundaries, identifying a complex of cognate tantric cults spanning several centuries which placed considerable emphasis upon a multiplicity of female divinities designated, most frequently, by the term *yoginī* and its variants.

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[52] In the words of Alexis Sanderson, "Accessible from the main cults of the Vidyāpīṭha, and underlying them in a more or less constant form, is the more ancient cult of Rudra/Bhairava in association with female spirits (Yoginīs)." "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 671.

[53] On the Kaula and Vidyāpīṭha distinction, see chapter 3, section 3.

[54] Significantly, a class of Jaina goddesses appears to be modelled upon yoginīs: that of the *vidyādevī*s or "Wisdom goddesses." Occuring in groups usually sixteen in number, these goddesses find depiction in numerous temples, perhaps most notably in circular ceiling panels in the temples of Mt. Abu. On the Jaina *vidyādevī*s, see U. P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahavidyas;" Maruti Nandan Prasad Tiwari, "A Note on the Figures of Sixteen Jaina Goddesses on the Adinatha Temple at Khajuraho;" and John Cort, "Medieval Jaina Goddess Traditions." A Jaina commentator upon the *Yaśastilaka* (on which see chapter 2, section 3) in fact explicitly identifies yoginīs as *vidyādevī*s; elsewhere he describes them, drawing on a Jaina taxonomy of divinities, as *mahāvyantarīdevyaḥ*: "great goddesses of the intermediate class."

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Several scholars have, to various degrees, connected the worship of yoginīs with a sect supposedly called the "Yoginī Kaula." This designation is dubious, however, being in fact based on the erroneous interpretation of the expression *yoginīkaula* as it occurs in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*. A Kaula scripture, this *tantra* has been cited comparatively widely by virtue of having been published seventy-five years ago. The phrase *yoginīkaula* occurs as a titular epithet in almost all colophons of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, and twice elsewhere in the text;[55] this appears to mean "Kaula teaching of [=transmitted by?] the yoginīs." That *"yoginīkaula"* refers to esoteric knowledge associated with or possessed by yoginīs is suggested by the *Mṛgendrāgama*, where this term describes one of eight sub-streams (*anusrotas*) of scriptural revelation—a tradition of secret wisdom maintained by the yoginīs.[56] However, Prabodh Candra Bagchi, the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*'s editor, interpreted the term as a sectarian designation; he concluded that "Matsyendra was the founder of a new sect of the *Kaula* school, called the *Yoginī-kaula*."[57] In arriving at this he apparently misinterpreted a list of texts as a list of sects: the passage in question seems to list four texts, one of which—the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*—is described as "*yoginīkaula*." This appears entirely consistent with the colophons.[58] The one other non-colophonal occurrence of the term *yoginīkaula* is

[55] Note for instance the colophon of chapter seven, which is typical: *iti jñānanirṇitiyoginīkaulam mahacchrīmacchaghnapādāvatārite candradvīpavinirgate saptamaḥ paṭalaḥ*, as reads KJN^{cod}. The syntax is puzzling: presumably read °*yoginīkaule*.

[56] *Mṛgendrāgama*, *Caryāpāda* 40cd–41ab:

> *yoginyo lebhire jñānaṃ sadyoyogāvabhāsakam* || 40 ||
> *yena tad yoginīkaulaṃ nottīrṇaṃ tābhya eva tat* |
> "The yoginīs obtained scriptural wisdom that immediately makes [the power of] yoga manifest. For this reason, it is [called] *yoginīkaula* ('Kaula wisdom of the yoginīs'). It has not [subsequently] emerged forth from them."

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha remarks on this verse that the yoginīs obtained scriptural wisdom (*jñāna*) from Śiva, which remains among them alone as a secret tradition (***sadyaḥ*** *tatkṣaṇam eva yogam avabhāsayati yat tathāvidhaṃ jñānaṃ śivabhaṭṭārakād* ***yoginyaḥ*** *prāpuḥ* | ***tac ca tābhya eva*** *sakāśād* ***nottīrṇaṃ*** *nānyatra prasṛtam āsv eva sampradāyatayā sthitam ity arthaḥ* ||).

[57] Bagchi, introduction to *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha*, 35.

[58] The passage in question is *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 16.47–49:

> *mahākaulāt siddhakaulaṃ siddhakaulāt matsodaram* |
> *caturyugavibhāgena avatāraṃ coditaṃ mayā* || 47 ||
> *jñānādau nirṇitiḥ kaulaṃ dvitīye mahat saṃjñitam* |
> *tṛtīye siddhāmṛtaṃ nāma kalau matsodaraṃ priye* || 48 ||
> *ye cāsmān nirgatā devi varṇayiṣyāmi te 'khilam* |
> *etasmād yoginīkaulān nāmnā jñānasya nirṇitau* || 49 ||

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more problematic, perhaps referring to a specific technique.[59] Abhinavagupta, incidentally, cites a text by the name *Yoginīkaula*; yet this does not appear to be the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*.[60] Bagchi's problematic postulation of a sect called the "Yoginī Kaula" has been repeated by V. W. Karambelkar, in an article entitled "Matsyendranātha and his Yoginī Cult;"[61] Devangana Desai, in a discussion of the Yoginī temple of Khaju-

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47b matsodaram] KJN^{cod}; masādaram KJN^{ed} 48a nirṇitiḥ] KJN^{cod}; nirṇītiḥ KJN^{ed} 48d matsodaraṃ] KJN^{cod}; matsyodaraṃ KJN^{ed} 49d nirṇitau] KJN^{cod}nirṇṇītau KJN^{ed} (unmetrical)

"From the *Mahākaula* comes the *Siddhakaula*; from the *Siddhakaula* the *Matsyodara*; I accomplish the 'descent' [of scriptural revelation] in accordance to the division of the four *yuga*s. [47] In the beginning (*ādau*) there is the scripture (*jñāna*) [called] *Nirṇitikaula* [i.e. *Jñānanirṇitikaula* = *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*]. In the second [yuga], the one called *Mahat* [=*Mahākaula*]. In the third, the one named *Siddhāmṛta* [=*Siddhakaula*]. In the Kaliyuga, the *Matsodara*, my dear. [48] And I shall describe entirely those [scriptures?] which emerged from this, this *yoginīkaula*—the *Jñānanirṇiti* [i.e. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*] by name."

The syntax and interpretation of 49 are especially problematic. It appears to me that the locative *nirṇitau* must agree with the ablative *etasmād* (49c)—a grammatical barbarism not beyond the language of this text, in which there is often little distinction between the oblique cases.

Bagchi arrived at a rather different interpretation of this passage, identifying *matsodara* (i.e. *matsyodara*) as a reference to the figure Matsyendranātha, and "Yoginīkaula" as a sect. He remarks, "it appears from these ślokas that Matsyodara belonged to the Siddha or Siddhāmṛta sect and was particularly connected with the *Yoginī-kaula*, the doctrines of which are explained in the *Jñānanirṇīti*." Introduction to *Kaulajnana-nirnaya*, 35. White too refers to "a group called the Yoginī Kaula," presumably having the same passage in mind. *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 22. He interprets the passage above as listing "the sectarian groups" through which the Kaula gnosis "was transmitted, down to the 'Fish-Belly' in the present age" (*Kiss of the Yoginī*, 103). He offers the following translation of verses 47–48:

> From the Mahākaula [arose] the Siddha Kaula; from the Siddha Kaula the Fish-Belly. It was uttered by me upon each of the divisions of the four ages (*yuga*s). In the first [age] the bringing forth (*nirṇiti*) [was made] to the Kaula; in the second to the [Kaula] known as Mahat; in the third, to the [Kaula] named Siddhāmṛta [and] in the Kali [age] to the Fish-Belly. (*Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 16.47–48)

Kiss of the Yoginī, 25. His translation of verse 49 is given elsewhere (p. 103): "I will now discuss to thee, in their entirety, those [teachings] that were lost [in transmission], O Goddess! [The teaching known] by the name of [the Bringing Forth of the Kaula] Gnosis came through this Clan of the Yoginīs"—i.e. the Yoginīkaula. However, this and the others are most certainly texts, not sects. Note for instance that *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 16.54a refers to "what was spoken in the *Siddhāmṛta*" (*siddhāmṛte tu yat proktaṃ*); the *Siddhāmṛta* is moreover mentioned in a list of scriptures in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 21. According to Sanderson, the *Siddhāmṛta* is quoted by early Kashmiri exegetes, as was a text by the name *Matsyodarī* (cf. *Matsyodara* in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 16.48). "History through Textual Criticism," 4. In the same passage in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 21 are also listed the *Mahākaula* (21.5a) and the *Siddheśvara[kaula]* (21.7a), the latter probably identical to the *Siddhakaula* mentioned in 16.47ab. White in fact appears to contradict himself concerning the interpretation of *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 21: he once refers to this as containing a list of "no less than nine 'clan scriptures' " (p. 105), but elsewhere an "expanded list of the various subclans of the Kaula" (p. 25).

[59] *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 14.59b.

[60] *Tantrāloka* 7.40–41. Jayaratha too quotes from the *Yoginīkaula*, commenting after *Tantrāloka* 7.19ab.

[61] Karambelkar, "Matsyendranātha and his Yoginī Cult," 365. This article has in turn been drawn upon, for instance, by R. K. Sharma, who on its authority associates the cult of yoginīs and yoginī temple tradition with the "Yoginī Kaula" founded by Macchendranātha, adding that "the principal tenets of the *Yoginī Kaula mārga* is [*sic*] revealed in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* ...". *The Temple of Chaunsaṭha-yoginī at Bheraghat*. Cf. H. C. Das, *Tāntricism: A Study of the Yoginī Cult*, vii, 23.

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raho;[62] Nilima Chitgopekar, in an article examining yoginīs from the perspective of gender;[63] and David White, in his recent monograph on yoginīs and Kaula sexual ritual.[64]

It would appear that a Śaiva cult of yoginīs flourished to the greatest extent in the period circa 700–1200 C.E., although its presence extends both before and beyond this period. From the tenth to perhaps thirteenth century, monumental stone temples enshrining yoginīs were constructed spanning from one end of the subcontinent to another. Yet beyond this period, it becomes increasingly problematic to speak of a Śaiva Yoginī cult, although tantric practices connected to yoginīs, and certainly belief in them, find continued attestation. Latter medieval Kaula sources, such as the *Kulārṇavatantra*, continue to attach significance to yoginīs; yet their roles pale in comparison to those in earlier Kaula sources. The decline of the Śaiva cult of yoginīs appears to have been gradual, and some indication of this trajectory may be gathered from its eclipse within the Nāth cult of the second millennium. While well-known medieval Sanskrit works of Nāth yoga place relatively little importance upon yoginīs, there is reason to believe that the case was different in the thirteenth century; this is evident from the prominence of yoginīs, alongside e.g. *haṭhayoga*, in the lost *Amṛtakuṇḍa* or *Kāmrūbījākṣa*, a text translated into Persian (and subsequently Arabic) most probably in the thirteenth century.[65]

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[62] Desai, *The Religious Imagery of Khajuraho*, 92.

[63] Citing the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, Chitgopekar claims that "the name Yoginī-Kaula refers to a religious system which is orally transmitted by a line of female ascetics, the Yoginīs." "The Unfettered Yoginīs," 93.

[64] See above (n. 58).

[65] Referring to the Persian redaction, which he believes to represent the earliest Islamic version, Carl Ernst remarks, "This eclectic Persian text contained breath control practices relating to magic and divination, rites of the yogini temple cult associated with Kaula tantrism, and the teaching of hatha yoga according to the tradition of the Nath yogis... All of this was placed in a context of the supremacy of the goddess Kamakhya ...." "The Islamization of Yoga in the *Amrtakunda* Translations," 204. Incidentally, Ernst sees the association this text makes between a series of yoginīs and the planets as "a deliberate attempt by the translator to familiarise the subject, in this case by likening the summoning of Indian goddesses to well-known Middle Eastern occult practices involving planetary spirits." Ibid., 219. However, this interpretation probably overlooks medieval Indian astrological conceptions of yoginīs; the predictive technique known as *yoginīdaśā* is based upon conceiving of eight planetary bodies as yoginīs. Manuscripts on the subject of *yoginīdaśā* are listed in the catalogs of several collections; I have for instance examined one by this title, attributed to the *Rudrayāmala*, in the Van Pelt Library, Philadelphia; Collection of Indic Manuscripts no. 390, item 714. That the system of *yoginīdaśā* remains in practice

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The present study is concerned with yoginī traditions of the first millennium. Its principal objective is to advance understanding of the content and contexts of an unpublished and little-studied tantric Śaiva scripture—the *BraYā*. The thesis has two parts: the first consists of studies—two chapters of which concern the cult of yoginīs broadly, and two of which focus upon the *BraYā*—while part II presents a critical edition and annotated translation of selected chapters of the *BraYā*. Following a review of scholarship on the subject of the *BraYā*, below, chapter two embarks upon an examination of the early literary, epigraphic, and sculptural evidence for the cult of yoginīs. This is intended to be comprehensive with respect to pre tenth-century material, while later sources are discussed selectively. Excluded from consideration is tantric literature proper; this instead forms the subject of chapter three, which traces the background and formation of the yoginī cult in early Śaiva and Buddhist textual sources. Although the scope of chapters two and three is broad, the *BraYā* remains a constant point of reference. In chapter four, focus shifts to examination of the form, content, and structure of the *BraYā*; this chapter also addresses the question of the text's dating and provenance. The fifth chapter focuses on interpreting the identity the *BraYā* articulates for itself within its model of scriptural revelation and the Śaiva canon, based upon investigation of its various titles and epithets.

The source materials for this thesis are to a large degree unedited and unpublished texts, and the difficulties inherent in working with these have dictated an approach that is text-critical in emphasis. Chapter two involves examination of epigraphic and material evidence as well, particularly religious images. As will become apparent from the critical edition of part II, considerable philological scrutiny is required to yield sense from the *BraYā* in a great number of cases, and even then, the interpretation often remains provisional. This situation is not exceptional in the corpus of tantric Śaiva texts, the study of which remains at an early stage. In the absence of unambiguous data concerning the *BraYā*'s provenance, dating, and authorship, the

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is suggested by modern astrological manuals such as Rajeev Jhanji and N. K. Sharma, *Applications of Yogini Dasha for Brilliant Predictions*.

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approach has been to situate the *BraYā* in relation to the available materials—texts, inscriptions, and sculpture—and to probe the text's self-presentation for clues concerning the agents and circumstances involved in its production.

Chapters of the *BraYā* included in the critical edition and translation—part II—were selected on the basis of their relevance to the studies in part I. *BraYā* I and II are important sources for chapter five, along with *BraYā* XXXVIII, the inclusion of which was prevented by time constraints. The other chapters edited concern subject matters central to the cult of yoginīs: *yoginīlakṣaṇa* or "the characteristics of yoginīs;" *chommā*, the "secret signs" used for communication with the deities and other initiates; and *yoginīmelāpa*, "encounters with yoginīs." Further relevant material from the *BraYā* on the subject of the clans of yoginīs could not be included, unfortunately.

1.2 THE BRAHMAYĀMALA IN SCHOLARSHIP

Although acknowledged as important, the *BraYā* has received relatively little scholarly attention. Its oldest manuscript was described more than a century ago by Haraprasād Śāstrī, in his partial catalog of the collection of the former Durbar Library, Nepal.[66] Śāstrī says little concerning the *BraYā*'s content, but provides an incomplete list of chapter colophons. Decades later, Prabodh Candra Bagchi penned several pages concerning the *BraYā* in an appendix to his 1939 book, *Studies in the Tantras*. In this, he summarizes chapters one and thirty-eight,[67] providing also the text of several passages.[68] I am not aware of further scholarship substantively addressing the *BraYā* in the decades which followed. After a gap of half a century, Teun Goudriaan wrote on the *BraYā* in his history of the literature of Hindu Tantra—an

[66] *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Durbar Library Nepal*, vol. II, 60–62. Reprinted in Reinhold Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and the Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*.

[67] Following the colophonal numbering in the MS, Bagchi labels the latter chapter "thirty-nine."

[68] *Studies in the Tantras, Part* I, 102–5 (appendix: "Detailed Notices on Manuscripts"). This book is a compilation of articles Bagchi published in the early 1930s, and I do not believe a second part ever appeared. His accounts of the *BraYā* are frequently inaccurate. Note, for example, that Bagchi refers to *BraYā* I, the *'sambandhapaṭala'*, as having the title *Akṣaravidhāna*; this he presumably culls from the text's epithet *Navākṣaravidhāna*. He would also have Īśvara rather than Bhairava teaching the *tantra* to the Goddess.

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ambitious undertaking considering how little of the early material had been studied carefully. After making some preliminary observations on the *BraYā* and the *yāmala-tantras* as a genre, Goudriaan provides a precis of the text's subject matters, as well as an excerpt from chapter XXIV in translation.[69] Although offering little insight into the historical position and significance of the text,[70] he noted that "a closer study of the *Picumata*, although certainly not an easy task on account of its cryptic ways of expression, rambling style and bad grammar, is necessary for better insight into early Hindu Tantrism."[71]

The first attempt at more detailed study of the *BraYā* was made by the late S. N. Ghoshal Sastri of Viśvabhāratī University. Sastri drew heavily upon the *BraYā* in his ambitious multi-volume series, *Elements of Indian Aesthetics*. Unfortunately, he had at his disposal only a single incomplete MS of the work containing chapters four through seven, which I refer to as the "Viśvabhāratī MS," and a transcription of chapter XLII from an unknown MS. Based upon the limited evidence available to him, Sastri believed the *Picumata*—an epithet of the *BraYā*—to be a section of the *BraYā*, much as he considered the *Piṅgalāmata* to be a section of the *Jayadrathayāmala*; incomplete MSS of both the latter texts were also available to him in the Viśvabhāratī collection.[72]

Sastri's primary interest in the *BraYā* was its material culture and "arts," for he saw in its maṇḍalas, iconometry, iconography, ritual, and ritual paraphernalia evidence for "primitive" Indian arts and crafts. He considered the Tantric tradition one of the principal streams of ancient Indian aesthetics, alongside the Vedic, and saw the *BraYā*, perhaps correctly, as a uniquely important source for study of early Tantra.[73] Based upon connections of a most tenuous nature, Sastri claimed that the

[69] *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature*, 40–44.

[70] Cf. for instance Goudriaan's rather bland remark that "the Picumata is a typical representative of the Bhairava current in Śaiva Tantrism." Ibid., 43.

[71] Ibid., 44.

[72] See the discussion of MSS in the introduction to the critical edition in part II. These manuscripts were all apparently of Nepalese provenance, gifted by the monarch of Nepal to Rabindranath Tagore.

[73] Sastri, *Elements of Indian Aesthetics*, vol. II, part 1, chapter XI.

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BraYā represents the cultural legacy of Indo-Tibetan tribal peoples of the northeastern regions of the subcontinent—specifically, the Gāro tribe of Meghālaya, a region in which a district headquarters bears the name "Tūrā." This he connected with the word *tūra* for skull, used often in the *BraYā*, which appears to have been his only evidence linking the *BraYā* to the Gāro tribe.[74] In addition, he considered the *BraYā* improbably ancient.[75]

The distinction of first publishing a complete chapter of the *BraYā* is Sastri's, the only chapter to have appeared in print prior to the present dissertation.[76] Sastri considered this forty-second chapter of the *BraYā*,[77] the *mudrāpaṭala* or "Chapter on Mudrā," to be one of the most ancient treatises of "Indian Gesturology."[78] He published his edition on the basis of Haradās Mitra's transcription of a manuscript believed to have once been in the Viśvabhāratī collection. I suspect that the manuscript in question transmitted *BraYā* XLII independently, whether alone or in a composite manuscript. It is possible but by no means certain that its readings reflect a transmission distinct from that of the oldest Nepalese MS, NAK 3-370.[79] Sastri's edition reproduces this transcription with several proposed emendations, providing also an English rendering which, at times implausible and at times incomprehensible, con-

[74] *Elements of Indian Aesthetics*, vol. II, part 4, 41.

[75] In ibid., vol. II, part 1 (p. 98), Sastri opines for a date of the third century or earlier on the basis of a dubious relative chronology of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, the *BraYā* and *Piṅgalāmata*, and *Matsyapurāṇa*. Yet in vol. II, part 4 (p. 3), he claims the *BraYā* was composed between the third and fifth centuries, for which he refers the reader back to the above discussion in vol. II, part 1!

[76] *Elements of Indian Aesthetics*, vol. II, part 3, 297–305. Note that the edition's title page misleadingly refers to this as the first chapter in the *BraYā/Picumata*'s "Caturtha-ṣaṭka (4th Part of the 6th unit)." The *BraYā* might possess two *"ṣaṭkas*—see chapter 4, section 2—but this chapter is the first of neither. The expression *caturthaṣaṭka* means in fact "the fourth division of six-thousand verses." Appparently Sastri confuses the *BraYā* with the *Jayadrathayāmala*, the latter of which is divided into four *ṣaṭkas*.

[77] Following the colophon, Sastri refers to this as chapter forty-three; but it is forty-second in order of occurrence. The numbering in the MS goes awry from chapter XXIX until LXXX.

[78] Sastri remarks,

> We find no other earliest extant evidence of Aesthetic Gesturology than the Nāṭyaśāstra. On the other hand, no earliest Tantra and Purāṇa than the Brahma-yāmala-tantra is yet known to us. On the above postulation, the Mudrādhikaraṇa of the Picumata and the Piṅgalāmata, may be considered the prime documentary source of Indian Gesturology and to that end in the original texts of two Mudrādhikaraṇas are annexed to the Part III of the present volume. [*sic*]

Elements of Indian Aesthetics, vol. II, part 3, xiv.

[79] See the introduction to part II.

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tributes relatively little to the interpretation of the text.[80]

Mark Dyczkowski makes more meaningful use of the *BraYā* in his 1988 monograph on the Śaiva scriptural canon.[81] Reading from its oldest Nepalese MS, he cites passages from the *BraYā* as supporting evidence on a variety of subjects. In particular, Dyczkowski draws upon *BraYā* XXXVIII's account of Śaiva revelation—the very chapter which had interested Bagchi. Making several useful observations,[82] he does not however attempt a detailed analysis of the *BraYā* or advance a hypothesis on its historical position.[83]

As with so much of tantric Śaiva literature, significant strides in the study of the *BraYā* commenced with the works of Alexis Sanderson. In "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," his monumental 1988 essay mapping the cults and canon of Tantric Śaivism, Sanderson advanced a compelling hypothesis concerning the position of the *BraYā* within Śaiva traditions. He notes several significant ways in which the text appears archaic. Seeing within the Bhairava-stream of esoteric Śaivism an historical

[80] Note for example his text and translation of the opening verse, *BraYā* XVII.1:

> *ataḥparaṃ pravakṣāmi karasaṃskāra-śodhanam |*
> *mudrāṇaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ caiva sarvakāmārthasādhanam || 1 ||*
>
> "Let me now tell how we could sanctify and purify our hands. What is the definition of the mudrā (Gesture) and which are their common characteristics. These mudrās may lead to the way of success all noble works and fulfill all desires of a man."

Elements of Indian Aesthetics, vol. II, part 3, 297.

[81] *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition*, especially 36–53.

[82] Note for example the following remark:

> The BY makes use of this [four-*pīṭha*] system of [scriptural] classification, integrating it somewhat awkwardly with a division of the scriptures into Left, Right and Middle currents. The BY's account of the *pīṭhas* is sketchy and unsystematic—a sign that this system of classification is still at an early stage of development.

Canon of the Śaivāgama, 51. While the *BraYā*'s *pīṭha* system does seem undeveloped, its juxtaposition with a system of streams is not however awkward: the four *pīṭhas* are divisions of a single stream, the *dakṣiṇāsrotas* of *bhairavatantras*. I provide an edition of the relevant passages from *BraYā* XXXVIII in chapter five.

[83] On one important historical matter Dyczkowski's remarks warrant reconsideration: he suggests that the *BraYā* must be younger than the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*, on account of the *BraYā* listing the *Yoginīhṛdaya* in its description of the canon; *Yoginīhṛdaya* is a name of the *Nityāṣoḍaśikārṇava*. *Canon of the Śaivāgama*, 47–48. While it is true that the *BraYā* lists a text called *Yoginīhṛdaya*, it is improbable that it refers to the same Kaula scripture of the cult of Tripurasundarī which survives by this name—a text which, as Dyczkowski points out, mentions several other Kaula scriptures, including the rather late *Kubjikāmata*. (On the date of the *Kubjikāmata*, see Sanderson, "Remarks on the Text of the Kubjikāmata," 1–3.) Abhinavagupta makes no reference to a scripture called *Yoginīhṛdaya*, and according to Sanderson, the extant *Yoginīhṛdaya* displays substantial influence from the nondualist Kashmiri exegetical tradition. See "The Visualization of the Deities of the Trika," 37.

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trajectory towards increasing emphasis on goddesses, he finds in the *BraYā* an early window into this process. Ostensibly a text teaching the cult of a bipolar Godhead, a *yāmala* or god-goddess pair, in the *BraYā*, the goddess Aghoreśvarī in fact transcends Bhairava, for her *vidyā*-mantra contains within its nine syllables the entire maṇḍala of mantra-deities. And in the ritual practices of the *BraYā*, Sanderson identified the radical mortuary (*kāpālika*) and exorcistic rites forming the earliest stratum of the Yoginī cult, which would undergo transformation as the Kaula movement came to permeate most cults of the *bhairavatantras*.[84] Sanderson makes a number of other contributions to the study of the *BraYā* as well. Perhaps most noteworthy are his reconstruction of its nine-syllable *vidyā*-mantra, and demonstration that the *BraYā* is one of several Śaiva sources redacted into the Buddhist *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra*.[85] In addition, he first identified the reference to the *BraYā* in the old *Skandapurāṇa*, discussed in chapter two, confirming the likelihood of the text's early period of composition.

Several other contemporary scholars have begun to draw on the *BraYā*. In introducing her fine critical edition of chapters from the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, one of the few other surviving scriptures of the early Vidyāpīṭha, Judit Törzsök makes reference to the *BraYā* and provides a transcription of a portion of chapter XXXVIII (XXXIX according to its colophon) from its oldest MS.[86] Somadeva Vasudeva also makes limited use of the *BraYā* in his significant monograph on Śaiva yoga and the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*. He moreover has made available electronic transcriptions from the oldest MS of two chapters of the text: chapter nine, called *'lakṣyabheda'*,[87] and forty-two, the same chapter published by S. N. Ghoshal Sastri.[88]

A somewhat different case is that of David Gordon White's *Kiss of the Yoginī:*

[84] Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 670–72, 679–80.

[85] Ibid., 672; and Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 41–46. On the relationship between the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara*, see also chapter 3, section 5 in the present thesis.

[86] Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," viix–x, 237 (appendix 9). Her remarks on the relative chronology of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *BraYā* are mentioned in chapter 4, section 3.)

[87] On this complex and interesting subject see Vasudeva, *Yoga of the Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, 253–92. Vasudeva's references to the *BraYā* occur in this context.

[88] Along with much other interesting Indological material, these transcriptions are presently available on his website, http://homepage.mac.com/somadevah/index.html (accessed August, 2006).

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"Tantric Sex" in its South Asian Contexts, one of the most recent works drawing upon the *BraYā*. White summarizes and partially translates two passages from *BraYā* LXIV,[89] material outlining radical ritual practices that involve sexual intercourse. His accounts of these two sections are however highly problematic.[90]

While the *BraYā* is not of central importance in the work of these authors, their references attest the wide range of subjects it could potentially illuminate. It is hoped

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[89] *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 248–50. White also makes reference to the *BraYā* on pp. 17, 23, 101, 163, and 322.

[90] White states that he reads from the oldest Nepalese codex, NAK 3-370 (see *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 332, n. 171), yet his bibliography confusingly lists instead a late, corrupt, Devanāgarī-script MS: *"Brahmayāmala.* Nepal National Archives. MSS no. 1-743. Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel A166/1. 439 folios." Ibid., 337. The folio numbers provided (260b–65b—"b" apparently meaning "verso") do not match the text he cites from chapter forty-four in NAK 3-370 (which I report as "By^{a}"), but rather the Devanāgarī-script MS (reported as "By^{c}" in my critical edition).

The shorter of the two passages White cites is from *BraYā* XLIV (numbered XLV in its colophon). After arguing, quite implausibly, that *mudrā* can have the meaning "vulva," White remarks,

> ...The term *mudrā* can, however, denote a substance to be eaten, rather than the vulva as "seal." So, for example, a verse in chapter XLV of the Brahmayāmala reads: *"tvaśaktyāsādhako nityaṃ yathāvibhavasa[mbh]av[āt] mudrāṃ caiva yathānyāyaṃ madhyañcaiva pradāpayet"* ("But the practitioner who is without a consort [should] constantly [offer] according to what is possible for him. One should also offer *mudrā*, according to the rule, as well as liquor.")

Kiss of the Yoginī, 82, 295 (n. 87). It is virtually impossible that an odd-numbered verse-quarter would begin with the enclitic particle *tu*; White moreover prints *madhya* ("middle") while apparently reading *madya* ("wine"), and prints and translates *aśaktyāsādhako* as though it could be a compound (an *aluk-samāsa*?). He has in fact been misled by his choice of (the least reliable) manuscript—By^{c}—which reads *tvaśaktyā sādhako nityaṃ yathāvibhavasaṃtavaṃ || mudrāṃ caiva yathānyāyaṃmaghañ caiva pradāpayet.* The text of By^{a}, which appears original, is as follows:

> *iṣṭvā yāgaṃ yathānyāyaṃ naivedyāni pradāpayet || 648 ||*
> *svaśaktyā sādhako nityaṃ yathāvibhavasambhavam |*
> *mudrāñ caiva yathānyāyam arghañ caiva pradāpayet || 649 ||*
>
> "Having worshipped the pantheon (*yāga*) as is befitting, the *sādhaka*, together with his consort (*svaśakti*), should always make the food offerings to the extent of his capacity; and he should offer both *mudrā*, as is befitting, and the guest water."

BraYā XLIV.648cd–49. Substantial internal evidence in the *BraYā* clarifies that the expression *mudrāṃ pradāpayet* ("one should offer the *mudrā*") means "one should bind/display the *mudrā*," *mudrā* here having its normal sense of "gesture," rather than something consumed. The ritual sequence of first binding a *mudrā* and then offering *argha* occurs repeatedly, and the phrasing usually leaves no ambiguity. Cf., e.g., XXXII.168cd (*mudrāṃ badhvā tato devi arghaṃ tasyāḥ pradāpayet*), XXXIII.132ab (*mudrāṃ badhvā yathānyāyam arghañ caiva pradāpayet*), and XVII (*mudrābandhaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā arghañ cāsya pradāpayet*, exposure 95l). The more ambiguous expression *mudrāṃ [...] pradāpayet* occurs thrice in *BraYā* XII, and twice elsewhere in chapter forty-four.

Due to its length, I will not here reproduce and discuss in full the passage from *BraYā* XLIV that White summarizes and partially translates (*Kiss of the Yoginī*, 249–50). Suffice it to say that his account of this ritual of "viewing one's [past] births" (*svayonidarśana*) has numerous problems. Note for example White's rendering of XLIV.691ab: "He becomes a Virile Hero, surrounded by yonis." *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 250. This implies the Sanskrit *vīro bhavati so devi yoniparivāritaḥ*, presumably White's emendation of By^{c}'s reading (f. 265v): *vīro bhavati sā devi yonīparivāritaḥ*. This is of course unmetrical, and By^{a} is surely correct in transmitting *vīro bhavati so devi yoginīparivāritaḥ*: "He becomes a hero, O goddess, surrounded by yoginīs."

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that the critical editions provided in the present dissertation and planned for future publication will facilitate more extensive use of the text.

1.3 A NOTE ON CONVENTIONS

In most instances, I provide the text and a translation of primary sources cited; some exceptions are made for readily accessible texts, especially if the passage is long, not especially problematic, and of no special consequence. When the length of a passage appears disproportionate to its relevance, I sometimes provide the text but forgo translation, especially if the source is well-known; also omitted are translations of some short passages that I paraphrase in the course of discussion. This approach, which I hope has helped curb the volume of annotation, has undoubtedly led to a number of inconsistencies.

Sources edited from manuscript appear with a critical apparatus; a list of the abbreviations used has been provided after the table of contents. Part I of this thesis quotes substantially from the *BraYā*. In most cases, the quoted text is constituted based only on the readings of the oldest codex, National Archives of Kathmandu no. 3-370 (reported as "By^{a}"; see the introduction to part II for a discussion of the manuscripts). I usually resist the temptation to comment upon the (sometime considerable) linguistic peculiarities of the passages cited, and upon some of the problems of interpretation. Such matters are, however, addressed in detail in the critical edition (part II). Passages quoted from the *BraYā* are cited by verse number rather than folio, while appendix A provides a concordance of the text's chapters and the folio numbers in the oldest codex (By^{a}). Verse numbers from chapters not included in the critical edition are generally determined by mechanical division of the text into verses of four quarters (*pāda*), and it is likely that the numbering will change slightly in future editions. In very short quotations from the *BraYā*, an orthographic normalization (especially the correction of *ś* to *s* and vice versa), a minor emendation (e.g. *ā* for *o* or vice versa), or the addition of an *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) or *visarga* (*ḥ*), is indicated by en-

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closing the character in question in square brackets. A critical apparatus is provided for longer passages, and in cases where more significant emendations or conjectures are proposed.

Translations are the present author's unless indicated otherwise. One undoubtedly quirky convention adopted is the use of a pair of question marks, in parentheses, to mark the beginning and end of a translated passage in which I consider the degree of uncertainty concerning the text or its interpretation particularly high. The first of the pair is inverted—i.e. "(¿)." In quotations from commentaries, words from the text commented upon are set in bold typeface. Text citations are always from the edition or manuscript listed in the bibliography. In cases in which more than one edition or manuscript is listed, the source is specified. The *Tantrasadbhāva*, referred to frequently, is cited on the basis of the manuscript collation and draft edition generously made available in electronic form by Mark Dyzckowski;[91] in the few cases that I have consulted the manuscripts myself and differed in their interpretation, this is indicated.

[91] Available from the Digital Library of the Muktabodha Indological Research Institute, http://www.muktabodhalib.org/digital_library.htm.

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CHAPTER 2

EARLY EVIDENCE FOR THE CULT OF YOGINĪS: THE LITERARY, SCULPTURAL, AND EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES

2.1 INTRODUCTION: YOGINĪS AND MOTHER GODDESSES

A variety of evidence documents what I have described as the Śaiva Yoginī cult in the early eighth century C.E. It had moreover almost certainly developed earlier; but there are difficulties in determining exactly when, for much of early tantric Śaiva literature has been lost, and little has been dated with precision. For establishing a plausible chronological framework, other types of data are thus crucial. In the present chapter, I review the early evidence available in non-tantric literary sources, and the epigraphic and art historical records. The emphasis is upon pre tenth-century sources, but important evidence from the tenth century and beyond is also reviewed—particularly the temples of yoginīs, with which this chapter ends. In the subsequent chapter, the discussion will turn to tantric texts proper, both Śaiva and Buddhist, reviewing the background of the Yoginī cult in early tantric literature as well as actual *tantra*s connected with yoginīs. It will be seen that the balance of evidence points toward the existence of Śaiva yoginī traditions in the seventh century—certainly in the eighth—and suggests that some of the extant Tantric literature was in circulation then as well, including the *Brahmayāmala* (hereafter *BraYā*), although not necessarily in the form we have it today. Reaching back into the sixth and then fifth centuries, the evidence becomes increasingly tenuous, but nonetheless remains substantive.

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Significant elements of the Yoginī cult considerably predate its development. It has been widely acknowledged that yoginīs have roots in early traditions of Mother goddesses, *mātṛs* or *mātṛkās*,[1] whose qualities they inherit in no small measure. In seeking a genealogy of the cult of yoginīs, the present chapter hence delves in some detail into the historical development of cults of Mother goddesses.[2] A number of art historians and historians of religion have analyzed the textual, archeological, and epigraphic evidence for Indian Mother goddesses, including J. N. Tiwari,[3] N. P. Joshi,[4] Michael Meister,[5] Katherine Harper,[6] Shivaji Panikkar,[7] and others.[8] The present chapter reviews much of the same material, but also brings to bear upon the subject some of the rich evidence available in early tantric literature and the old *Skandapurāṇa*, much of which has only recently become available or remains unpublished. The specific aim is to identify with greater precision the relationship of

[1] Authors of studies on the Mother goddesses have generally preferred the term *mātṛkā*, for reasons unclear to me, possibly following contemporary usage or the usage of later Purāṇic literature. Although both terms occur, *'mātṛ'* is far more common in the early sources and in tantric Śaiva literature, and preferred accordingly in this study. I frequently use the English translation "Mother" or "Mother goddess" in precisely the same sense.

[2] Other feminine deities feed into the image of the yoginī as well; noteworthy are the *yakṣī* or *yakṣiṇī*, *vidyādharī*, and to some extent the *apsaras*. Perhaps even more significant are Śiva's *gaṇas*: a horde or male deities whose theriomorphic or otherwise bizarre forms, multiplicity, variety, and engagement in activities such as warfare are highly suggestive of yoginīs. The most detailed attempt to trace the early roots of conceptions of yoginīs is that of David G. White, *Kiss of the Yoginī: "Tantric Sex" in its South Asian Contexts*, 27–66. I discuss the role of the *vidyādharī* and to some extent *yakṣī* later in this chapter, in the section on the *Bṛhatkathā* tradition, but do not otherwise delve in detail into this question; my concern is with the actual emergence of a tantric Yoginī cult, rather than a genealogy of all concepts that went into forming the image of the yoginī.

[3] Tiwari assembles much textual and other material concerning Mother goddesses in his commendable monograph, *Goddess Cults in Ancient India: With Special Reference to the First Seven Centuries A.D.*

[4] *Mātṛkās: Mothers in Kuṣāṇa Art*. Joshi's monograph offers a comprehensive evaluation of the Kuṣāṇa-period Mother-goddess statuary.

[5] "Regional Variation in Mātṛkā Conventions." This important article analyses regional patterns in the development of Mother-goddess iconography in central and northwestern India, tracing the depiction of the Mothers from their early shrines to the static temple door panels of the ninth century and beyond.

[6] *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas: Seven Hindu Goddesses of Spiritual Transformation*. An art historian, Harper provides a comprehensive study of temples of the Brahmanical Seven Mothers through the seventh century, primarily.

[7] *Saptamātṛkā Worship and Sculptures: An Iconological Interpretation of Conflicts and Resolutions in the Storied Brāhmanical Icons*. Panikkar's work, published in 1997, carries forward scholarship such as Harper's on the Brahmanical cult of Mothers.

[8] Two works not specifically focused on Mother goddesses but nonetheless highly relevant, particularly concerning the early period, are the dissertations of Yuko Yokochi ("The Rise of the Warrior Goddess in Ancient India. A Study of the Myth Cycle of Kauśikī-Vindhyavāsinī in the *Skandapurāṇa*") and Richard Mann ("The Early Cult of Skanda in North India: From Demon to Divine Son").

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the cult of Mothers to Tantric Śaivism and emergent traditions of yoginīs.

While Mother goddesses are of considerable antiquity in India and undoubtedly had non-elite, probably non-Āryan roots, the Yoginī cult appears to presuppose the crystallization of their "classical" Gupta-era form: a set of goddesses called the "Seven Mothers" (*saptamātṛ*), six of whom are named after and iconographically mirror important Brahmanical gods, joined by a seventh, Cāmuṇḍā—the independent goddess who is "leader of the Mothers" (*mātṛnāyikā*). The six normally consist of Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī or Yāmī,[9] and Indrāṇī, female counterparts of Brahmā, Śiva, Skanda, Viṣṇu, Varāha or Yama, and Indra. Their numbers are however sometimes augmented by an eighth goddess, particularly Mahālakṣmī, while in tantric Śaiva sources, they often are joined instead by the supreme goddess herself, Bhairavī, who thus usurps Cāmuṇḍā's position.[10]

Early Śaiva treatises on "the characteristics of yoginīs" (*yoginīlakṣaṇa*)[11] classify these goddesses according to clans (*kula, gotra*) that have the Seven or Eight Mothers as matriarchs, clan mothers in whose natures the yoginīs partake as *aṃśa*s, "portions" or "partial manifestations." Tantric practitioners too establish kinship with the Mothers, leaving behind their conventional clan and caste identities and entering during initiation into what I refer to as 'initiatory kinship' with the deities.[12] It is possible that the most fundamental initiation maṇḍala of the Yoginī cult comprised

[9] Probably the most common variation in sets of the Seven Mothers, as described in texts, is the alternation between Yāmī/Yāmyā and Vārāhī, the former a counterpart of the death-god Yama, and the latter of Varāha, *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Vārāhī dominates, however, in sculpted sets of the Mothers. Further research is needed to determine the significance of these variations. In the *BraYā*, Yāmyā (also called Vaivasvatī) features in all cases of ritual or doctrinal importance, Vārāhī being mentioned only in sections of the text which might represent a later stratum. See the discussion on the *BraYā*'s structure in chapter 4, and the annotation on *BraYā* II.16. In contrast, sets of eight *mātṛ*s show more variation, both in text and image; see the section in this chapter on post-Gupta era *mātṛ* shrines.

[10] See the discussion of post-Gupta era Mother-goddess shrines later in this chapter. On the Mothers in tantric literature, see also chapter 3.

[11] These include *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29, *BraYā* LXXIII (edited and translated in the present dissertation), and *Tantrasadbhāvatantra* 16.

[12] A yoginī of the clan of Brāhmī/Brahmāṇī is said to be *brahmāṇyaṃśā*, "an *aṃśa* of Brahmāṇī." Cf., e.g., *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.253cd. An initiate too is said to be "connected to" or "possess" (*yukta*) an *aṃśa* of a Mother goddess; cf., e.g., *BraYā* LXXIII.47cd, *brahmāṇīkulajā devi svāṃśasiddhipradāyikā* ("[She is] a yoginī of the clan of Brahmāṇī, O Goddess, who bestows *siddhi* upon those [*sādhaka*s] of her own [Mother-goddess] *aṃśa*").

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Bhairava in a circle of the Eight Mothers. Note for instance that in the *BraYā*, while the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs form the primary maṇḍala's inner circuit (*āvaraṇa*) of goddesses,[13] surrounding Bhairava and Bhairavī/Aghoreśī, the initiatory clans remain nonetheless those of Bhairava and the Eight Mothers. A concordance in *BraYā* IV provides the Mother-clan names associated with each of the eight Devīs and Dūtīs, as though mapping the maṇḍala positions of the Mother goddesses they supplant.[14] Initiatory kinship with the Mothers links male practitioners to the yoginīs, their initiatory sisters, seeking visionary, transactional encounters (*melāpa*) with whom they undertake powerful and radical rituals. Guided by knowledge of "the characteristics of yoginīs" (*yoginīlakṣaṇa*), as described in Śaiva scriptural sources, they might also seek out clan sisters living among ordinary folk, looking out for behaviors and appearances associated with the Mother goddesses yoginīs embody:

> A woman dark and malodorous, who has a long neck and fingers, [whose] teeth have a very beautiful shine and whose eyes are very round, always fond of red clothing, draping a garment from her shoulders, always fond of scents and flowers ... These are the characteristics of [yoginīs] born in the clan of [the Mother goddess] Indrāṇī. After six months of worship,

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[13] On the basic pantheon of the *BraYā*, see the section discussing the epithet *navākṣaravidhāna* in chapter 4.

[14] See *BraYā* IV.888–98, especially 890cd–894ab:

> *raktāyās tu yadā pāto gotraṃ māheśvaraṃ hitam* || *890* ||
> *karālāyā yadā pāto brahmagotraḥ sa ucyate* |
> *karālyāyā yadā pāto vaiṣṇavīgotrako hi saḥ* || *891* ||
> *danturāyā yadā pātaḥ kaumārīgotrasambhavā* |
> *caṇḍākṣyāyā yadā pāto vaivasvatikulodbhavā* || *892* ||
> *bhīmavaktrāprapātena māhendraṃ gotram ucyate* |
> *mahocchuṣmāprapāte tu carcikāgotrako hi saḥ* || *893* ||
> *mahābalā yadā pātaḥ pūraṇīgotra ucyate* |
>
> 891b °gotraḥ] *corr.*; °gotras BY^a 892c caṇḍākṣyāyā] *em.*; caṇḍākṣāyā BY^a 893b māhendraṃ gotram] *conj.*; māhendragottra (*unmetrical*) BY^a
>
> "When the [flower cast into the maṇḍala during initiation] lands on Raktā, the clan of Śiva [i.e. Māheśvarī] is enjoined. When it lands upon Karālā, he is said to be of the *brahmā*-clan [i.e. the clan of Brahmāṇī]. When it lands on Karālī, he is of the clan of Vaiṣṇavī. When it lands on Danturā, she is born of the clan of Kaumārī. When it lands on Caṇḍākṣī, she is born of the clan of Vaivasvatī [i.e. Yāmī]. By landing on Bhīmavaktrā, the clan of the great Indra [i.e. the clan of Indrāṇī] is enjoined. If it lands on Mahocchuṣmā, he has the clan of Carcikā [i.e. Cāmuṇḍā]. If its fall [indicates] Mahābalā, the clan of The One Who Completes [the Mothers] is enjoined [i.e. the clan of Bhairavī]."
>
> The gender shift with the feminine °*sambhavā* in 892b and 892b is suspect; most probably read °*sambhavaḥ*. Subsequent verses give a concordance of the Mother-clans and the Six Yoginīs of the maṇḍala as well.

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> successfully propitiated, they bestow an encounter (*melaka*). [The practitioner] traverses the entire world, working all [kinds of] wonders.[15]

Chapters from the *BraYā* concerning the classification of and encounters with yoginīs are included in the critical edition, part II of the present dissertation.

That Mother goddesses lie in the background of the Yoginī cult is evidenced in a variety of other ways as well. Historical continuity is readily apparent through comparing textual and sculptural representations, beginning, in the case of the Mothers, with the *Mahābhārata* and sculpture from the early centuries C.E. The present chapter begins with this early level of evidence, and then shifts to Gupta-era and early post-Gupta era sources. There we find our first glimpses of a tantric cult of Mothers and the emergence of yoginīs as sacred figures. Their mutual association is close: for instance, the old *Skandapurāṇa*, a text probably of the sixth or early seventh century (see below), speaks of "Tantras of the Mother Goddesses" (*mātṛtantra*s) and identifies these with a list of Śaiva *yāmalatantra*s that includes the extant *BraYā*, a fundamental text of the yoginī cult. Examination of period sources helps establish an historical framework for discussion of the Yoginī cult in early tantric literature, the subject of chapter three.

2.2 EARLY SOURCES

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, KUṢĀṆA-PERIOD STATUARY, AND THE EARLY CULT OF MOTHER GODDESSES

Sources for study of the pre-Gupta period Mother goddesses are multiple and rich. Among texts, the most important is undoubtedly the *Mahābhārata*, which is supplemented by a substantial body of statuary preserved from the Kuṣāṇa-period Mathurā region (*circa* 1–3rd centuries C.E.). Typologies of Mother goddesses in the *Mahābhārata* match well to the sculptural evidence surviving from Mathurā. In both instances, as well as in early medical literature, there are strong associations between the Mother

[15] *Brahmayāmala* LXXIII.67–71. For the text, and problems concerning its constitution and interpretation, see the critical edition and translation in Part III.

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goddesses and the deity Skanda, in the context of whose myths the Mothers appear in the *Mahābhārata*.

Mahābhārata accounts of the mythology of Skanda and his retinue of *grahas* ("seizers")[16] and Mother goddesses are many and highly layered, no doubt the products of a long development.[17] This is illustrated by the complex claims made concerning Skanda's parentage, as related in the *Āraṇyakaparvan*, chapters 215–21. Most directly, he is the child of Agni and Svāhā. Agni, who lusted after the wives of the Seven Sages, was seduced by Svāhā, who approached him taking on in turn the guises of six of the *ṛṣis*' wives, sparing from scandal only the devoted and powerful Arundhatī. Yet Skanda is also the child of Śiva and Pārvatī, who entered into Agni and Svāhā, respectively, and used them as proxies for producing a son. Skanda is, in addition, the child of the Kṛttikās, the six stars of the Pleiades, which are in this version of the story identified with the six wives of the sages. Skanda's birth as narrated in *Śalyaparvan* 43–45 adds the river-goddess Gaṅgā to the mix: into Agni fell Śiva's seed, and finding it difficult to bear, he sought succour by entering the holy river. She too found the luminous embryo difficult to suffer, and placed it on a mountain peak. There it was spotted and nurtured by the Kṛttikās. In these basic details, the latter account agrees with that of *Anuśānaparvan* 84 and 86. Alongside much that is undoubtedly ancient, such as Skanda's association with the Kṛttikās, these layered myths appear to preserve conflicting sectarian claims: a legend asserting Skanda's origins from Agni

[16] A variety of terms are used in fact to speak of the entourage of Skanda, with *gaṇa* ("member of the group") and *graha* ("seizer") the most encompassing. *Āraṇyakaparvan* 219.42 categorizes both the Mothers and male retinue of Skanda under the category *skandagraha*, "Skanda's seizers":

> *ye ca mātṛgaṇāḥ proktāḥ puruṣāś caiva ye grahāḥ |*
> *sarve skandagrahā nāma jñeyā nityaṃ śarīribhiḥ || 42 ||*

These are a diverse lot, including male and female deities and spirits of every conceivable shape and hue. Theriomorphism is common, much as the six-headed Skanda himself is said to sport the head of a goat.

[17] The most comprehensive discussion of *Mahābhārata* passages describing Skanda and the Mother goddesses is that of Mann, "Early Cult of Skanda." Mann devotes a chapter each to the three *Mahābhārata* sections on the mythology of Skanda. See also his article, "Parthian and Hellenistic Influences on the Development of Skanda's Cult in North India: Evidence from Kuṣāṇa-Era Art and Coins," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 15 (2001): 111–28. Mann argues that Skanda has origins as the leader of inauspicious *grahas*, including the Mothers, only later becoming transformed into the son of Śiva and warrior god of Hindu mythology, for which both Brahmanical and royal Greco-Persian influences are responsible.

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and the wives of the sages, which brings him within the orbit of Vaidika orthodoxy; and a Śaiva layer asserting Skanda's parentage from Śiva and Umā. By the time of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, an epic poem on Skanda's birth probably of the fifth century, the Śaiva identity of Skanda as son of Śiva and Pārvatī would dominate; and in the somewhat later *Skandapurāṇa*, the cult of the warrior-child and the Mother goddesses is fully assimilated into Śaivism.

In the *Mahābhārata*, there is no evidence of a Mother goddess cult tantric in character, and there is indeed no reason to believe that Śaivism of the type attested in the earliest surviving Tantras had developed. In one description, worship of Skanda, the Mothers, and other deities of his retinue has attainment of longevity and vitality for its impetus, and involves bathing [the deity images], offering incense, ointments, food (*bali*, perhaps non-vegetarian), and other offerings (*upahāra*—possibly in the sense of "sacrifice"), and performing Skanda's "worship" (*ijyā*). Taken together, these suggest a shrine or temple image-worship context.[18] The 'high' deities mentioned in association with the cult—Rudra, Agni, Umā, and Svāhā—are said to be worshipped by those desiring progeny, an important theme in later accounts of the Mother cult.[19] There is in general a strong apotropaic dimension, which comes through most clearly in the early medical literature,[20] as well as *Āraṇyakaparvan* 218. Skanda and his subsidiary deities afflict children with disease if not propitiated, and the Mothers are

[18] *Āraṇyakaparvan* 219.43–44:

teṣāṃ praśamanaṃ kāryaṃ snānaṃ dhūpam athāñjanam |
balikarmopahāraś ca skandasyejyā viśeṣataḥ || 43 ||
evam ete 'rcitāḥ sarve prayacchanti śubhaṃ nṛṇām |
āyur vīryaṃ ca rājendra samyakpūjānamaskṛtāḥ || 44 ||

"For them [the Mothers and Skanda's other *grahas*] must be performed ritual pacification: bathing, incense, ointment, the rite of offering *bali* and gifts [or sacrifice], and particularly the worship (*ijyā*) of Skanda. All of them [the *grahas*], thus worshipped, bestow good luck, longevity, and vitality to people, when paid respects with due reverence, O lord of kings."

This description of the constituents of worship bears comparison with the temple cult of Mothers described in the Bāgh copper plate inscriptions of the late fourth century C.E., discussed in the next section. Although little is known of the eras of composition of individual sections of the epic, it is possible that relatively little time separates this portion of the text from the Bāgh copper plates.

[19] Note, for example, in *BraYā* 1 the brief narrative of Deikā (verses 81–84), who worships the Mothers desiring to have a child.

[20] On the "*graha* cult" in medical literature, see Mann, "Parthian and Hellenistic Influences," 5–7.

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hence intimately associated with fertility and disease, with life and death.

Sculptural evidence from the environs of Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā largely supports the picture of the Mother-goddess cult that emerges from the *Mahābhārata*. A significant body of statuary survives from a variety of architectural contexts, not all Brahmanical.[21] The Mathurā Mother goddesses are diverse, comprising small-scale images both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic whose common iconographic features include carrying infants, displaying the gesture of deliverance from danger (*abhaya-mudrā*), and occurrence in groups of variable size alongside a male guardian figure, such as the spear-bearing Skanda (see figs. 2.1–2.5).[22] There is however a discrepancy in one significant respect: while the *Mahābhārata* links the Mothers almost exclusively with Skanda, the extant statuary preserves an association with Kubera as well, god of wealth and lord of the *yakṣa*s (cf. FIGURE 2.3).[23] This parallel and possibly more archaic convention illustrates the Mothers' close links to the *yakṣa* and



FIGURE 2.1: Mother goddess bearing lotus and infant, making the *abhayamudrā*. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

[21] N. P. Joshi notes evidence for Mother sculptures recovered from both Buddhist and Jaina sites in th Mathurā area. *Mātṛkās: Mothers in Kuṣāṇa Art*, 110–15.

[22] Joshi surveys the iconography of the extant statuary, classifying the images into thirteen categories. The most common type depicts a row of seated Mother goddesses holding infants. Ibid., 103–28.

[23] According to Joshi's iconographic survey, images of the Mothers with Kubera are in fact more than twice as common as those with Skanda. See ibid. Interestingly, Meister describes a *saptamātṛkā* panel at Kekind (Nīlakaṇṭheśvara temple, mid-tenth century) in which Kubera's association with the Mothers surprisingly resurfaces: flanking the Seven Mothers are Gaṇeśa and Kubera. Meister however interprets this as the overlapping of two conventions: "Gaṇeśa as head of a Mātṛkā set and Gaṇeśa paired with Kubera as good-luck charms. One set of images containing Gaṇeśa has suggested the other; there is no other reason for Kubera, lord of wealth, to join the Mātṛkās." "Regional Variations," 245, and fig. 5.

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yakṣī, popular non-Brahmanical deities connected to the natural world, who, like the Mothers, are well represented in pre-Gupta era myth and sculpture.



FIGURE 2.2: Skanda (left) and five *mātṛs*. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. State museum, Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive*.

Two significant continuities have been insufficiently emphasized between early Mother goddesses and the Brahmanical Seven Mothers of the Gupta-period. These bear directly upon the question of the emergence of the Yoginī cult. First, as several scholars have noted, the number seven has strong precedent:[24] *Mahābhārata*, *Āraṇyakaparvan* 217, lists by name a heptad of goddesses known as the *śiśumātṛs*, "Mothers of the Infant[s]." These comprise Kākī, Halimā, Rudrā, Bṛhalī, Āryā, Palālā, and Mitrā.[25] It seems possible that the Brahmanical Mothers directly supplant the *śiśumātṛs*, who might well have been popular deities of the pre-Gupta period. Note also the *Śalyaparvan*'s reference to *saptamātṛgaṇāḥ*, an ambiguous compound perhaps

[24] Cf., e.g., Mann, "Early Cult of Skanda," 37–38; Harper, *Iconography of the Saptamatrkas*, 56; and Meister, "Regional Variations," 240.

[25] *Āraṇyakaparvan* 217.9:

kākī ca halimā caiva rudrātha bṛhalī tathā |
āryā palālā vai mitrā saptaitāḥ śiśumātaraḥ || 9 ||

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FIGURE 2.3: Kubera and two *mātṛs*. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

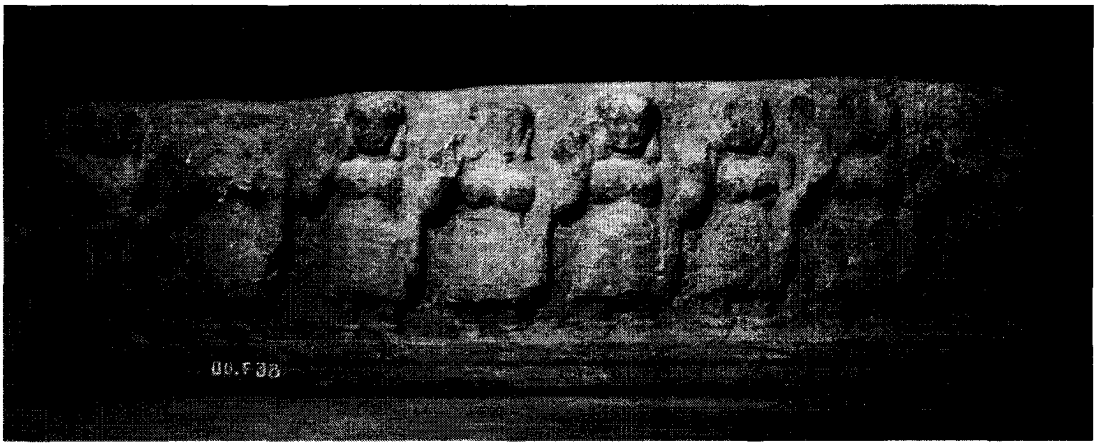


FIGURE 2.4: Seven *mātṛs*, with Skanda (left). Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. State museum, Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

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meaning "the groups of Seven Mothers," the plural suggesting multiple groups of seven.[26] Furthermore, from the Kuṣāṇa-era (*circa* 1–3rd centuries C.E.) Mathurā environs survives what appears to be a set of seven Mothers with Skanda (FIGURE 2.4); but this unique panel is broken on the right and might hence have contained additional images.[27]

Second, although there is no clear evidence in the *Mahābhārata* for the Gupta-era, "classical" set of Seven Mothers, the classification of Mother goddesses into groups corresponding to Brahmanical deities is attested in the *Śalyaparvan*. This is of considerable consequence, illuminating the roots of the Brahmanical Seven Mothers and suggesting an ancient precedent for the Yoginī cult's organization of female deities into clans having each of the Seven or Eight Mothers as matriarch. *Śalyaparvan* 45 presents a rich account of the diverse Mother goddesses, in the course of which it describes them variously as *yāmyaḥ, raudryaḥ, saumyāḥ, kauberyaḥ, vāruṇyaḥ, māhendryaḥ, āgneyyaḥ, vāyavyaḥ, kaumāryaḥ,* and *brāhmyaḥ.*[28] These are abstract nouns formed from the names of the male deities Yama, Rudra, Soma, Kubera, Varuṇa, Mahendra/Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Kumāra/Skanda, and Brahmā, the passage hence providing strong evidence for organization of the Mothers according to deities of the Brahmanical pantheon.

It must be emphasized just how much yoginīs as a deity typology inherit from the Mothers, as described in this *Śalyaparvan* passage. Among the Mothers, some have long claws, fangs, or beaks; some are youthful maidens, while others are fleshless or pot-bellied. Having various hues, changing shape at will, and speaking many languages, the Mothers rival the *apsaras* in beauty, Indra in power, Agni in radi-

[26] *Śalyaparvan* 43.29ab: *saptamātṛgaṇāś caiva samājagmur viśāṃ pate. Mātṛgaṇāḥ* might however be a karmadhāraya compound, meaning "the *gaṇa*s who are the [Seven] Mothers," or even a dvanda, "the [Seven] Mothers and the *gaṇa*s." The context is a list of divinities who come to see Skanda.

[27] J. Bautze claims in fact that all Kuṣāṇa-era seated *mātṛ*-goddess panels so far published are fragments, broken at one end or both. "A Note on Two Mātṛkā Panels," 25.

[28] Not accepted in the critical edition are, in addition, the epithets *vaiṣṇavyaḥ, sauryaḥ,* and *vārāhyaḥ,* in a verse that would follow 45.36ab. This might have been interpolated to harmonize the passage with later conceptions of the Mothers; the absence of Vaiṣṇavī and Vārāhī, in particular, might have been inexplicable to a Gupta-era or later audience. Yokochi quotes and discusses this *Mahābhārata* passage in "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 101.

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ance, and so forth.[29] They dwell in liminal places such as crossroads and cremation grounds—the same environs enjoined for performing the radical rituals of the Yoginī cult, one of the primary aims of which was to effect direct encounters with goddesses. The yoginīs' theriomorphism, shapeshifting, multiplicity, extraordinarily variegated appearances, bellicosity, independence, and simultaneous beauty and danger all find precedent in these early Mother goddesses. This continuity is readily visible in sculpture. While taking on the powerful iconography of tantric deities, the yoginīs reflect in visual terms clear continuity with the Kuṣāṇa-era Mother goddess typology (cf. FIGURES 2.5 and 2.6).[30]

Much as there is continuity between yoginīs and the early *mātṛs*, dangerous and powerful female deities whom, as Michael Meister suggests, the Brahmanical cult of

[29] *Śalyaparvan* 45.29–40:

etāś cānyāś ca bahavo mātaro bharatarṣabha |
kārttikeyānuyāyinyo nānārūpāḥ sahasraśaḥ || 29 ||
dīrghanakhyo dīrghadantyo dīrghatuṇḍyaś ca bhārata |
saralā madhurāś caiva yauvanasthāḥ svalaṃkṛtāḥ || 30 ||
māhātmyena ca saṃyuktāḥ kāmarūpadharās tathā |
nirmāṃsagātryaḥ śvetāś ca tathā kāñcanasaṃnibhāḥ || 31 ||
kṛṣṇameghanibhāś cānyā dhūmrāś ca bharatarṣabha |
aruṇābhā mahābhāgā dīrghakeśyaḥ sitāmbarāḥ || 32 ||
ūrdhvaveṇīdharāś caiva piṅgākṣyo lambamekhalāḥ |
lambodaryo lambakarṇās tathā lambapayodharāḥ || 33 ||
tāmrākṣyas tāmravarṇāś ca haryakṣyaś ca tathāparāḥ |
varadāḥ kāmacāriṇyo nityapramuditās tathā || 34 ||
yāmyo raudryas tathā saumyāḥ kauberyo 'tha mahābalāḥ |
vāruṇyo 'tha ca māhendryas tathāgneyyaḥ paraṃtapa || 35 ||
vāyavyaś cātha kaumāryo brāhmyaś ca bharatarṣabha |
rūpeṇāpsarasāṃ tulyā jave vāyusamās tathā || 36 ||
parapuṣṭopamā vākye tatharddhyā dhanadopamāḥ |
śakravīryopamāś caiva dīptyā vahnisamās tathā || 37 ||
vṛkṣacatvaravāsinyaś catuṣpathaniketanāḥ |
guhāśmaśānavāsinyaḥ śailaprasravaṇālayāḥ || 38 ||
nānābharaṇadhāriṇyo nānāmālyāmbarās tathā |
nānāvicitraveṣāś ca nānābhāṣās tathaiva ca || 39 ||
ete cānye ca bahavo gaṇāḥ śatrubhayaṃkarāḥ |
anujagmur mahātmānaṃ tridaśendrasya saṃmate || 40 ||

[30] Yoginīs shed the Mothers' maternal associations to a large degree. However, there are numerous examples of their representation with infants; note for instance two of the yoginīs from Lokhari, U.P., published in Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 159 (which I reproduce as FIGURE 2.6), 161. Dehejia publishes another image of a theriomorphic yoginī from Naresar that carries an infant, labelled "Umā Devī." Ibid., 146–47. An image (10th century?) from Bundelkhand, M.P., of a four-armed goddess holding a child also appears to be a yoginī, presently in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of Varanasi (AIIS Photo Archive, accession no. 7175, negative no. 4).

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FIGURE 2.5: Bird-headed Mother goddess carrying an infant in her likeness. Kuṣāṇa-era Mathurā. State museum, Mathurā. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

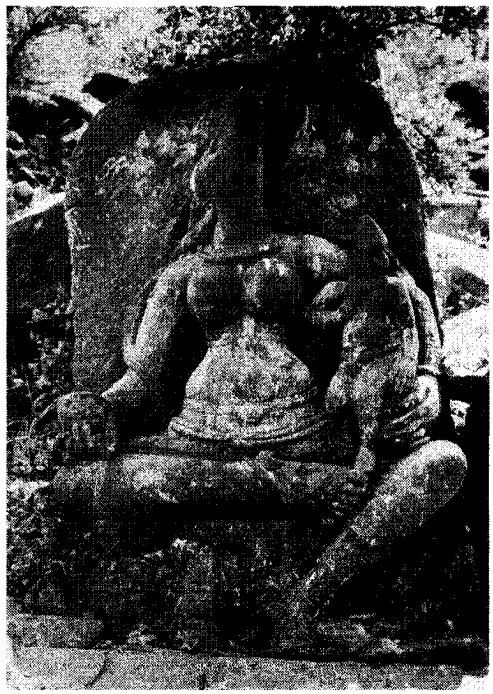


FIGURE 2.6: Horse-headed yoginī from Lokhari, U.P., with like infant. Photograph by Vidya Dehejia, published in Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 159.

Seven Mothers sought to contain,[31] the early Skanda, though succesfully transformed into a benevolent warrior god, resurfaces in the figure of Bhairava, lord of yoginīs, who takes on much of the ancient imagery of Rudra as well. For although a playful, handsome young warrior dominates the later image of Skanda, in the *Mahābhārata* mythology lie clear traces of an ambiguous and potentially dangerous deity, in this respect resembling the *mātṛs* he heads. Richard Mann argues that this Skanda has in fact historical primacy.[32]

[31] Meister, "Regional Variations," 244–45.

[32] Mann, "Early Cult of Skanda," passim. It is possible however that Mann goes too far in reading historical layers into the Skanda myth. Specifically, I see little reason why the Mothers and Skanda could not have been, even in their earliest conceptions, simultaneously auspicious and inauspicious, connected with both fertility and disease, life and death. In other respects, his argument for historical transformation seems entirely plausible.

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Several fourth- and fifth-century, Gupta-era inscriptions make reference to Mother goddesses, while the earliest remains of Mother shrines appear to date to the beginning of the fifth century. In this period, we find evidence for the emergence of the Brahmanical *saptamātṛs*, "Seven Mothers," female counterparts to a series of major Brahmanical deities headed by an independent goddess, Cāmuṇḍā. There is apparent, moreover, a transformation by which Śiva usurps Skanda's position as leader of the Mothers, to the extent that Skanda rarely finds place in the iconographic programs of post fifth-century Mother shrines. The goddess Cāmuṇḍā is normatively depicted as an emaciated and powerful hag whose iconography includes mortuary (*kāpālika*) cult objects such as the skull and skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*). This variety of iconography is characteristic of tantric deities of the *bhairavatantra*s and early Yoginī cult, and it is possible that Cāmuṇḍā was, from her obscure beginning, a tantric deity. That is to say, the emergence of Cāmuṇḍā could in itself be an indicator of the existence of a tantric goddess cult, perhaps even some form of the Yoginī cult, although this is not at all certain.[33]

In the elite traditions represented in sculpture and inscriptions of the Gupta and early post-Gupta period, the Seven Mothers appear to eclipse the more diverse Mothers popular in the Kuṣāṇa era. Inscriptions associate the Udayagiri Śaiva cave complex of the early fifth century with the emperor Candragupta II, a site having multiple sets of the Seven Mothers.[34] Another royal Gupta inscription, that of the mid fifth-century Bihar Stone Pillar erected by Skandagupta, also appears to include a

[33] It is conceivable that the *mātṛtantra*s ("Tantras of the Mother Goddesses") mentioned in some Śaiva sources were connected with a tantric cult of Cāmuṇḍā and the Mothers. However, perhaps the earliest source to mention these—the old *Skandapurāṇa*—identifies them with the *yāmalatantra*s of the Śaiva Yoginī cult. On the *Skandapurāṇa*, see the subsequent section. One possible preservation from an early tantric cult of Cāmuṇḍā is the love magic of Indian erotic literature (*kāmaśāstra*); see Gyula Wojtilla, "Vaśīkaraṇa Texts in Sanskrit Kāmaśāstra Literature," in Teun Goudriaan, ed., *The Sanskrit Tradition and Tantrism*, 109–16.

[34] The two inscriptions associated with the Udayagiri cave temples are published as nos. 7 and 11 in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, as well as in D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*. The dated inscription ends with a profession of devotion to Śiva (*bhaktyā bhagavataś śambhor gguhām etām akārayat*, "He had this cave [temple] made out of devotion to Lord Śiva").

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profession of devotion to the Mothers and Skanda.[35] Later, the Cālukya monarchs would claim descent from the ancient Mother goddess Hāritī, claiming also to have been "made prosperous by the Seven Mothers, who are the mothers of the seven worlds," and to have enjoyed the protection of Skanda.[36] Such royal patronage of the cult of the Mothers finds attestation in the numerous cave shrines and stone temples which survive from the fifth century and beyond. Alongside these, however, must have persisted more humble forms of Mother-goddess worship; tantric literature speaks of Mother shrines in isolated places as though, like the crossroads, jungles, and cremation grounds they are mentioned alongside, they were an integral part of the landscape.[37]

Perhaps the earliest unambiguous evidence for a temple cult of the Mothers, as well as their association with Śaivism, comes from Gupta-period inscribed copper plates recovered from Bāgh, M.P. Two plates from the second half of the fourth century mention endowments made in favor of Mother goddess temples.[38] One records the gift of revenue from two villages and a plot of land for maintaining the worship of the Mothers at Navataṭāka, installed by the same royal patron. Recording a land-grant made "for the support of a shrine of the Mothers established by a Pāśupata Ācārya Lokodadhi,"[39] the second is dated a few years later to the year 375/76 or 376/77 C.E. The endowment makes provisions for funding ongoing worship of the Mothers, described as involving *bali* and *caru* (both normally consisting of food offerings), the ambiguous *sa[t]tra*, "sacrifice," and offerings of incense, scents, and flow-

[35] Published as inscription 49 in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, 72–78.

[36] From the Navsari plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśrayaśīlāditya, found in the Surat district of modern Gujrat: *hārītīputrāṇāṃ saptalokamātṛbhis saptamātṛbhi[r abhi]varddhitāsa* [=*varddhitānāṃ*, ed.] *kārttikeyaparirakṣaṇaprāptakalyāṇaparaṃparāṇāṃ ... calikyānām .... Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV. A number of other Cālukya inscriptions invoking the Mothers were published by John F. Fleet in *Indian Antiquary*, vols. VI–VII.

[37] See the discussion of *mātṛs* in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* in chapter 3.

[38] The relevant plates are numbers II and X in the collection published by K. V. Ramesh and S. P. Tewari, *A Copper-plate Hoard of the Gupta Period from Bagh, Madhya Pradesh*, 4–6, 21–23. Scholars who have discussed these include Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Initiating the Monarch in Śaivism and the Buddhist Way of Mantras" (*forthcoming*); Yokochi, "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 110 (n. 83); and B. D. Chattopadhyay, " 'Reappearance' of the Goddess or the Brahmanical Mode of Appropriation: Some Early Epigraphic Evidence Bearing Upon Goddess Cults," 257–58.

[39] Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Initiating the Monarch," 15–16.

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ers.[40] Neither inscription indicates whether the temples housed the Seven Mothers or a more archaic configuration. However, the latter temple's Pāśupata affiliation suggests the possibility of a Śaiva iconic program, such as comes into sculptural evidence in the fifth century. At Udayagiri, in the Vidiśā district of Madhya Pradesh, two Śaiva cave temples dating to the turn of the fifth century incorporate niche-shrines of the Seven Mothers, and one of the sets might have been headed by an image of Skanda;[41] another temple (cave no. 3) does house Skanda as its cult image. This site appears transitional, maintaining the Mothers' old associations with Skanda, but within the context of the worship of Śiva. Later in the same century, a cliff-cut shrine between Badoh and Pathari, also in modern-day Madhya Pradesh, would eschew all associations with Skanda and Kuṣāṇa-era guardian figures, containing images of the Seven Mothers in the company of a seated, *ūrdhvaretas* Śiva alone. In Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, probably also of the fifth century, the Mothers feature in the retinue of Śiva with no special connection to Skanda.[42]

Among the early inscriptions, the most significant for the history of the Yoginī cult is the well-known Gaṅgdhār inscription of the *vikrama*-year 480, that is, 423/24 or 424/25 C.E.[43] This records the construction of a Viṣṇu temple, a temple of the Mothers (*mātṝṇāṃ veśman*), and a drinking well by Mayūrākṣaka, a minister of the monarch Viśvavarman, at the central Indian cite of Gaṅgdhār in western Mālwa district. The inscription describes the temple as "extremely terrible" and "filled with

[40] According to lines 3–6 of plate X, the land grant in question is to provide "for revenue (°*bhogāya*) to be used (*upayojya*) for *bali, caru, satra*, incense, scented pastes, flowers, and garlands" for the Mothers of the temple of Piñcchikānaka village, "established by the revered Pāśupata teacher Lokodadhi" (*bhagavallokodadhipāśupatācāryapratiṣṭhāpitapiñcchikānakagrāmamātṛsthānadevakulasya ... devāgrāhāramātṝṇāṃ balicarusatradhūpagandhapuṣpamālyopayojyabhogāya*; °*puṣpa*° is the editors' emendation of °*pujya*°). Ramesh and Tewari, *A Copper-plate Hoard*, 22.

[41] Katherine Harper, *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas*, 75–79. Although I am unable to confirm her reading of the iconography, Harper sees characteristic features of Skanda in the figure on the left wall abutting the row of Mother goddesses, in the shrine outside of cave no. 3. Ibid., 76.

[42] It is noteworthy that the *mātṛs*, mentioned in canto VII (30–31, 38) as part of the wedding entourage of Śiva, are a group of unspecified number. They are followed in the entourage by Kālī, "whose ornaments are skulls" (*kapālābharaṇā*, 39b).

[43] This inscription was first published by John F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, inscription 17 (pp. 72–78). D. C. Sircar published a subsequent edition in *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I, 399–405.

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*ḍākinī*s," while depicting the Mothers as "they who make the oceans tumultuous through powerful winds arising from *tantra*s" (*tantrodbhūta*°).[44] This inscription thus associates the Mothers simultaneously with hordes of female spirits (*ḍākinī*s), magical powers, and a temple cult, also providing early and significant occurrences of the terms *ḍākinī* and *tantra* in the context of Mother-goddess worship.

Ḍākinī, probably connected with the Sanskrit verbal root √*ḍī*, "to fly,"[45] and the basis of the modern North Indian term *ḍāin*, "witch," denotes a class of female spirits prominent in taxonomies of yoginīs. While tantric Śaiva sources generally speak of the *ḍākinī* as a pernicious being, the term is often perfectly synonymous with *yoginī*, especially in the *yoginītantra*s of later Tantric Buddhism.[46] As for the inscription's use of the word *tantra*, this is probably, as D. C. Sircar recognized,[47] in the well-attested sense of "spell," such as in the expression *tantramantra*.[48] It seems improbable that the word could refer here to Tantric scripture—potentially *mātṛtantra*s or *ḍākinītantra*s[49]—for "powerful winds" (*prabalapavana*) would not in normal usage be described as having arisen (*udbhūta*) from texts.[50]

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[44] Verse 23 (on lines 35–37):

mātṛṇāñ ca [pramu]ditaghanātyartthanihrādinīnām
tantrodbhūtaprabalapavanodvarttitāmbhonidhīnām ||
- - - - ˘ ˘ *gatam idaṃ ḍākinīsaṃprakīrṇṇam*
veśmātyugraṃ nṛpatisacivo ['']kārayat puṇyahetoḥ || 23 ||

[45] Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt discusses the derivation of the word in *Ḍākinīs: zur Stellung und Symbolik des Weiblichen im tantrischen Buddhismus*, 115–16. The etymological link to the root √*ḍī* or √*ḍai* is traditional; for example, Bhavabhaṭṭa and Jayabhadra, commentators on the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, both connect the word *ḍākinī* to √*ḍai*. See Bhavabhaṭṭa ad *Laghuśaṃvara* 1.2, Sarnath edition, p. 6; and also Jayabhadra commenting on the same verse, p. 107 in Sugiki's edition of the *Cakrasaṃvarapañjikā*.

[46] For descriptions of the *ḍākinī* as a dangerous variety of female spirit, cf., e.g., *BraYā* LV (12, 43–44), XCVIII (38–39), and XCIX (10–12), and the definition Kṣemarāja quotes of the *rudraḍākinī* from the *Sarvavīratantra*, ad *Netratantra* 2.16. See also chapter 3 of this thesis, n. 29. On the general synonymity of *yoginī* and *ḍākinī* in Tantric Buddhism, note for example that the scriptural class often referred to as *yoginītantra*s has as one of its earliest and most authoritative texts the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara*, *ḍākinījāla* referring to the matrix of female deities. Cf. *Prapañcayoginījāla* and *Yoginījāla*, titles of lost Śaivas texts mentioned in *BraYā* XXXVIII.39cd. The expression *yoginījālasaṃvara*, incidentally, occurs several times in *BraYā* LVIII, while *BraYā* LVI teaches an observance (*vrata*) by the same name.

[47] Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, vol. I, 405.

[48] Cf., e.g., *Mālatīmādhava* IX.52, quoted later in this chapter in the discussion of this work.

[49] On *mātṛtantra*s, see the subsequent section on the *Skandapurāṇa*, and chapter 5, in the section discussing the title *"Brahmayāmala"*. Dharmakīrti makes reference to *ḍākinītantra*s, on which subject see Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 11–12; and chapter 3 of this thesis.

[50] My interpretation of this passage undoubtedly has been influenced by Isaacson's remarks on the subject, in a lecture given at the University of Pennsylvania in January 2003.

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The Gaṅgdhār inscription does not provide unambiguous evidence for a tantric cult of goddesses; for this, we would need indication of the ritual practices associated with the Mother-goddess temple, or period textual evidence intimating tantric connections. Nonetheless, the inscription remains highly suggestive. *Ḍākinīs*, as a variety of goddess or spirit, are in later literature closely associated with Tantra, and the description of the Mothers themselves uses imagery suggestive of powerful, "unfettered" tantric goddesses,[51] not at all in the image of the protective World Mothers (*lokamātṛ*) mentioned in other Gupta-era inscriptions. It is accordingly possible that the Gaṅgdhār inscription records the existence of a tantric goddess cult in the fifth century, perhaps even a Yoginī cult similar to that attested in Tantras such as the *BraYā*. At the least, it shows that characteristic elements of the conceptions of female divinities prominent in the Yoginī cult had come together by the early fifth century. Unfortunately, the Gaṅgdhār inscription is exceptional: we have no other firmly dated evidence for a cult of Mother goddesses in the company of female spirits in the fifth century, which makes the inscription difficult to contextualize. The iconic program suggested, featuring Mothers and a host of minor goddesses, does not come into evidence again in temple contexts for many centuries. It is unclear whether the temple housed the Brahmanical Seven Mothers, while its possible association with a Viṣṇu temple could suggest a non-Śaiva cultic context.

THE SKANDAPURĀṆA: YĀMALATANTRAS, YOGEŚVARĪS, AND THE MOTHER GODDESSES OF KOṬIVARṢA

The significance of the early *Skandapurāṇa*[52] for the history of Śaivism and early medieval Indian religion can hardly be overstated, as the recent studies of Hans Bakker

[51] Borrowing an expression from the title of an article of Nilima Chitgopekar, "The Unfettered Yoginīs," in Chitgopekar, ed., *Invoking Goddesses: Gender Politics in Indian Religion*, 82–111.

[52] The "early" or "old" *Skandapurāṇa* should not be confused with the better-known published text by this name; the latter was in fact somewhat artifically assembled by paṇḍits in the colonial period from various medieval tracts having the *Skandapurāṇa* as locus of ascription. See Rob Adriaensen, et al, in introducing vol. 1 of the critical edition of the early *Skandapurāṇa*.

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and Harunaga Isaacson,[53] Yuko Yokochi,[54] and Peter Bisschop illustrate.[55] Preserved in manuscripts that include a Nepalese codex of 810 C.E., scholars working on this text appear at present to concur on the probability of a sixth- or early seventh-century C.E. date.[56] Its material is oriented toward an audience of Śaiva laity, the *māheśvaras*, perhaps communities connected with Pāśupata ascetics.[57] While not hence specifically concerned with tantric forms of Śaivism, the *Skandapurāṇa* nonetheless provides important early evidence for the Mantramārga, including the cult of yoginīs. Significantly, it attests the existence of *yāmalatantras*, described as "Tantras of the Mother Goddesses" (*mātṛtantras*), and lists the *BraYā* among them. This constitutes highly significant evidence concerning the dating of the *BraYā*, discussed in chapter four, as well as significant early evidence for the Yoginī cult.

The historical importance of the *Skandapurāṇa*'s reference to *yāmalatantras* was discussed first by Sanderson, in correspondence quoted by R. Adriaensen et al. in introducing the *Skandapurāṇa* critical edition.[58] In a subsequent article, Sanderson added further reflections on the passage in the course of reviewing early evidence for the Śaiva Mantramārga, i.e. Tantric Śaivism.[59] A fuller discussion nonetheless seems worthwhile, specifically examining its relevance to the cults of Mother goddesses and yoginīs. It is in the second half of Chapter 171 that the relevant material occurs,

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[53] See especially the study of the *Skandapurāṇa*'s Vārāṇasīmāhātyma, in vol. 2 of the *Skandapurāṇa* critical edition, Bakker and Isaacson, eds. For Bakker's several other contributions, see the bibliography.

[54] Yokochi's doctoral thesis, "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," focuses upon the formation of the Hindu "Warrior Goddess" on the basis of material from the *Skandapurāṇa*, of which she also edits several chapters. See also Yokochi, "Mahiṣāsuramardinī Myth and Icon. Studies in the Skandapurāṇa II."

[55] *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa: Sects and Centers.*

[56] Announcing the *Skandapurāṇa* editorial project, Adriaenson, Bakker, and Isaacson had proposed a tentative date of the 7th–8th centuries. "Towards a Critical Edition of the *Skandapurāṇa*," 328. In the first volume of the critical edition, however, the editorial team suggested the 6th–8th centuries as the most plausible range of dates. *Skandapurāṇa*, vol. I, 4. Yokochi, as will be discussed, on the basis of the iconographic type of the Warrior Goddess in the *Skandapurāṇa*, subsequently argued for the 6th–7th centuries as the most plausible period of composition. "Mahiṣāsuramardinī Myth and Icon," 68–75. Taking into account Yokochi's assessment, and on the basis of their own studies on the *Skandapurāṇa*'s Vārāṇasīmāhātmya material, Bakker and Isaacson have more recently suggested the probability of the sixth or early seventh centuries. *Skandapurāṇa*, vol. II, 48.

[57] R. Adriaensen et al, *Skandapurāṇa*, vol. I, 4. Concerning provenance, Bakker and Isaacson remark that "it has a certain probability per se that the *Skandapurāṇa* was composed either in Vārāṇasī, or in a (Pāśupata) centre that had close contacts with this city." *Skandapurāṇa*, vol. II, 48.

[58] *Skandapurāṇa*, vol. I, 7.

[59] "History through Textual Criticism," 11.

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within a *māhātyma*-narrative on the sacred site Koṭivarṣa, identified by Sanderson as being in the West Dināǰpur District of Bengal and identical to Devīkoṭa.[60] This chapter picks up on several themes from the *Mahābhārata*, beginning with Skanda's enmity with Indra, whose place as foremost of warrior gods the divine youth usurps. Present also is the tale of Skanda's violent assault upon the mountain Krauñca, this being perhaps an accretion from the mythology of the famous mountain-splitter Indra. Another continuity is the motif of enemies of the gods becoming powerful by the boon of Brahmā, necessitating unusual means for their defeat. But perhaps most notable in the *Skandapurāṇa*'s narrative is the fact that Skanda himself disappears halfway, as the narrative of Koṭivarṣa commences, much as he disappears from the iconic program of Mother goddess shrines by the sixth century.

The chapter begins with the story of Skanda's rivalry with Indra and his decapitation of the mountain Krauñca, which turns out to be an act of fratricide. The first of its two sections ends with Śiva and Pārvatī returning home to Mt. Meru accompanied by Skanda, who is described as "leader of the horde of Mother goddesses" (*mātṛṇāṃ gaṇanāyakaḥ*, 73d). Yet the next section opens with the sage Vyāsa asking how Śiva, not Skanda, became "leader of the Mothers" (*mātṛṇāṃ nāyakaḥ*, 78b); in the subsequent narrative, Skanda makes no appearance. Below I summarize the episode, *Skandapurāṇa* 171.78–137, translating in full the most relevant section:[61]

> Vyāsa asks the sage Sanatkumāra to narrate how Śiva came to be leader of the Mother goddesses; how, why, and by whom the Mothers were created; what powers they possess; and what their locus is. [78–79] Sanatkumāra narrates how Brahmā once came upon a pleasant locale on the banks of the Eastern Ocean (*pūrvamahodadhi*) and performed his *sandhyā*-prayers there for ten-million years. [80–83] Admiring the surroundings, he decided to create a beautiful, gilded city there, to whose fortunate residents he guaranteed immortality and power. [84–91] The city is named Koṭivarṣa since Brahmā, best of the gods, showers (***varṣati***) a crore (***koṭi***) of desired wishes (*iṣṭānāṃ kāmānām*) upon its happy population. [92–93ab]

[60] According to Sanderson, other names for this site include Devīkoṭṭa, Śrīpīṭha, Śrīkoṭa, and Śoṇitapura, this being located "on the bank of the Punarbhavā river." Its association with Śiva as Hetuka or Hetukeśvara is attested in several sources, including *BraYā* III. "History through Textual Criticism," 7. Cf. Yokochi's discussion of the location of the site in "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 106–7 (n. 79).

[61] Compare with Yokochi's summary of verses 100cd–16ab, in "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 107.

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He then returns to his heavenly court, after which the city is overrun by Asuras, led by Asukrodha, who thus became unintended beneficiaries of Brahmā's blessing. [93cd–97] Learning of what the Asuras were doing, all the gods convened to inform Brahmā. Brahmā pleaded inability, and they proceeded thence to approach Śiva at the Himalayan forest where Pārvatī had performed penance. [98–100]

When the gods entered there, led by Brahmā, *they suddenly became women "by the power of Pārvatī's penance."*[62] Śiva asks why they have come, in response to which they tell of the torment inflicted by the Asuras. They also plead to be rid of the "miserable condition of being women" (*kṛcchraṃ strībhāvam*). [101–4ab] Śiva however tells them to approach the Asuras as they are, for the proud demons may be slain only by women. Afterwards, the auspicious Mothers will return to their prior forms. [104cd–6] The gods then bow to Śiva and request that he too join them as a woman, with whom they would slay the demons. Śiva then created the auspicious goddess Rudrāṇī, as well as an ugly Mother called Bahumāṃsā ("Very Fleshy"), the embodiment of universal destruction (*jagatsaṃhārarūpiṇī*). [107–9] Brahmā, Śiva, Skanda, Viṣṇu, and Indra create the Mother goddesses Brahmī, Rudrāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī and Vārāhī, and Indrāṇī, respectively, with Śiva's Bahumāṃsā their leader, "the Great Vidyā-mantra."[63] And from all the other gods too emerged Mothers, possessing their natures and power, slayers of demons: Vāyavī, Vāruṇī, Yāmyā, Kauberī, Mahākālī, Āgneyī,[64] and others by the thousands. [110–14] The Mothers proceed to the beautiful city and render it free of demons.

When the demons had been slain, Śiva came to the city to grant boons to the Mothers. Pleased, he told them,[65] 'Having become Mother goddesses,

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[62] Emphasis added. *Skandapurāṇa* 171.101:

praviṣṭās tatra te devā brahmādyāḥ sarva eva hi |
striya evābhavan tūrṇaṃ pārvatyās tapaso balāt || 101 ||

[63] *Skandapurāṇa* 171.112:

sarvatejomayī devī mātṝṇāṃ pravarā śubhā |
bahumāṃsā mahāvidyā babhūva vṛṣabhadhvajāt || 112 ||

[64] I.e. Mothers corresponding to Vāyu, Varuṇa, Yama, Kubera, Mahākāla, and Agni, respectively. This passage and its list bears comparison with the classification of Mothers according to Brahmanical deities in *Mahābhārata, Śalyaparvan* 45, quoted and discussed earlier.

[65] From verse 118cd forward, the remaining text is a direct translation. *Skandapurāṇa* 171.116cd–36, Bhaṭṭarāī edition:

atha daityair hatais sarvair devadeva umāpatiḥ || 116 ||
ājagāma pradeśaṃ taṃ mātṝṇāṃ varaditsayā |
tān dṛṣṭvā nihatān sarvān daityān amaravidviṣaḥ || 117 ||
parituṣṭas tadā tāsāṃ varān prādād vṛṣadhvajaḥ |
jagato mātaro yūyaṃ mātṛbhūtā bhaviṣyathaḥ || 118 ||
yuṣmākaṃ ye bhaviṣyanti bhaktāḥ puruṣapuṃgavāḥ |
striyo vāpi mahābhāgā na tān hiṃsanti hiṃsakāḥ || 119 ||
mṛtā mama gaṇāś cāpi bhaviṣyanty ajarāmarāḥ |

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you shall be the Mothers of the world. Those who will be devoted to you, whether the best of men or fortunate women, pernicious spirits will not harm; and after death, they shall become my ageless, immortal *gaṇa*s. [115–19ab] This place of yours shall become world-famous, known as 'Koṭivarṣa', which frees one of all sin. And since I am your cause (*hetu*), because you were created by me, I will remain here by the name 'Hetukeśvara', granting boons. I shall dwell with you as your leader. [119cd–22] One who will worship you properly, together with me, shall, free of all sin, attain to the highest heavenly destination. Since the *dānava*s were slain with a spear (*śūla*) by Bahumāṃsā, this sacred ford (*tīrtha*) shall be known by the name *śūlakuṇḍa* ("Pool of the Spear"). And that best of men who drinks here from the Pool of the Spear and prostrates before Bahumāṃsā shall be unassailable by all harmful spirits. The beautiful river Mandākinī shall be known here as Pratikūlā ("River Contrary"); she will always be brimming with blood for you.[66] [123–26]

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bhavatīnām idaṃ sthānaṃ koṭivarṣam iti śrutam || 120 ||
bhaviṣyati jagatkhyātaṃ sarvapāpapramocanam |
ahaṃ hetur hi yuṣmākaṃ yasmāt sṛṣṭā mayaiva ca || 121 ||
hetukeśvaranāmnāhaṃ sthāsyāmy atra varapradaḥ |
yuṣmābhiḥ saha vatsyāmi nāyakatve vyavasthitaḥ || 122 ||
yas tu yuṣmān mayā sārdhaṃ vidhivat pūjayiṣyati |
sarvapāpavimuktātmā sa parāṃ gatim āpsyati || 123 ||
dānavā nihatā yasmāc chūlena bahumāṃsayā |
śūlakuṇḍam idaṃ nāmnā khyātaṃ tīrthaṃ bhaviṣyati || 124 ||
iha śūlodakaṃ pītvā bahumāṃsāṃ praṇamya ca |
adhṛṣyaḥ sarvahiṃsrāṇāṃ bhaviṣyati narottamaḥ || 125 ||
pratikūleti vikhyātā ramyā mandākinī nadī |
rudhiraughavatī seha bhavatīnāṃ bhaviṣyati || 126 ||
ahaṃ brahmā ca viṣṇuś ca ṛṣayaś ca tapodhanāḥ |
mātṛtantrāṇi divyāni mātṛyajñavidhiṃ param || 127 ||
puṇyāni prakariṣyāmo yajanaṃ yair avāpsyatha |
brāhmaṃ svāyaṃbhuvaṃ caiva kaumāraṃ yāmalaṃ tathā || 128 ||
sārasvataṃ sagāndhāram aiśānaṃ nandiyāmalam |
tantrāṇy etāni yuṣmākaṃ tathānyāni sahasraśaḥ || 129 ||
bhaviṣyanti narā yais tu yuṣmān yakṣyanti bhaktitaḥ |
narāṇāṃ yajamānānāṃ varān yūyaṃ pradāsyatha || 130 ||
divyasiddhipradā devyo divyayogā bhaviṣyatha |
yāś ca nāryaḥ sadā yuṣmān yakṣyante sarahasyataḥ || 131 ||
yogeśvaryo bhaviṣyanti rāmā divyaparākramāḥ |
chagalaḥ kumbhakarṇaś ca madīyau gaṇanāyakau || 132 ||
yuṣmākaṃ dvārapālatve sthāsyatas tau mamājñayā |
koṭivarṣam idaṃ sthānaṃ mātṝṇāṃ priyam uttamam || 133 ||
śmaśānaṃ pravaraṃ divyaṃ bhaviṣyati sukhapradam |
varān evaṃ hi tāṃl labdhvā mātaro lokamātaraḥ || 134 ||
bhaktyā praṇamya deveśaṃ mumudur bhṛśam arditāḥ |
tataḥprabhṛti tāḥ sarvāḥ sahitāḥ śaśimaulinā || 135 ||
koṭivarṣe vasanti sma sarvalokābhayapradāḥ |
evaṃ sa bhagavān devo mātṝṇāṃ gaṇanāyakaḥ |
abhavac chaṅkaro vyāsa yan māṃ tvaṃ pṛṣṭavān asi || 136 ||

[66] The interpretation of *bhavatīnāṃ* ("yours") in 126d is not certain. 126cd might alternatively be understood to mean "brimming with blood, she [the river] will always here belong to you." Isaacson,

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> 'Myself, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and sages rich in penance shall create holy Mother Tantras through which you shall receive the highest worship, the rites of sacrifice to the Mothers (*mātṛyajñavidhi*): the *Brahmayāmala, Svāyambhuva-yāmala, Kumārayāmala, Sārasvatayāmala, Gāndhārayāmala, Īśānayāmala,* and *Nandiyāmala*—these Tantras of yours, and others too by the thousands, through which men shall worship you with devotion.[67] [127–29ab] You shall grant boons to the men worshipping. You shall become goddesses who bestow divine *siddhi*, possessing divine yoga. Those women who always worship you, secretly, shall become *yogeśvarī*s, lovely women of divine valour. [129cd–31] And my *gaṇa*-lords, Chagala ("the Goat") and Kumbhakarṇa ("Pitcher-ears"), shall by my command remain with you as door guardians. This excellent place, Koṭivarṣa, dear to the Mothers, shall become the chief (*pravara*), divine cremation ground, which gives happiness. [132–34ab]
>
> 'Having obtained these boons, the Mother goddesses, Mothers of the worlds, prostrated before the Lord of the Gods and rejoiced, extremely excited. From that point on, all of them dwelt in Koṭivarṣa together with Śiva, granting freedom from danger to the entire world. Thus did the divine lord Śaṅkara become leader of the hordes of Mothers, O Vyāsa, which is what you had asked me'. [134cd–36]

Skandapurāṇa 171 appears to present a transitional picture in several respects. In cultic terms, it juxtaposes a tantric Mother cult with an older, non-Mantramārga cult, illustrating also how they coexisted with shared cultic centers such as Koṭivarṣa. From the eighth century, the non-tantric Mother cult would wane, while tantric goddess cults flourished.[68] On the level of myth, the *Skandapurāṇa* provides a transitional link between the cycles of Skanda and the Mothers in the *Mahābhārata*, and myths of the Mothers inscribed in later texts such as the *Devīmāhātyma* of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurā-*

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e-mail communication, Oct. 2006. In either case, the implication appears to be that the river runs red with the blood of sacrificial offerings to the Mother goddesses.

[67] On the interpretation of this passage, Sanderson remarks, "I propose that *yāmalaṃ* in 128d is to be understood with all (*sarvaśeṣatayā*), so that the titles indicated are *Brahmayāmala, Svāyambhuvayāmala, Kumārayāmala* (=*Skandayāmala*), *Gāndhārayāmala, Īśānayāmala* and *Nandiyāmala*. For of these seven all but the *Svāyambhuvayāmala* and the *Gāndhārayāmala* are found in the scriptural lists of *yāmalatantra*s known to me ...". "History through Textual Criticism," 7 (n. 4). I consider this proposal all but certain. In ibid., 7, Sanderson presents the seven lists of *yāmalatantra*s which had come to his attention in Śaiva literature.

[68] As Meister discusses, shrines of the Mothers become increasingly rare, while on the other hand static doorway panels of the Seven Mothers become integral to temple iconography in central India, appearing first in the eighth century. "Regional Variations in Mātṛkā Conventions," 241–43. However, quite different is the case of Orissa; according to Thomas Donaldson, temples of the Mothers are attested from the seventh century, become common in the tenth century, and continue to be constructed even in the thirteenth. "Orissan Images of Vārāhī, Oḍḍiyāna Mārīcī, and Related Sow-Faced Goddesses," 170.

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ṇa.[69] As Yokochi points out, the *Skandapurāṇa* preserves the older, Kuṣāṇa-era and *Mahābhārata* conception of countless diverse Mother goddesses alongside the "Hinduized" Gupta-era Seven Mothers. In the *Skandapurāṇa*, the latter in fact appear only in this account of Koṭivarṣa.[70] This *Skandapurāṇa* chapter also provides clear links between the cult of Mothers and cult of Yoginīs, which otherwise appear lacking in early non-tantric literature. There is moreover some evidence suggestive of a transitional iconic program for the Mother goddess shrine of Koṭivarṣa.

Described in verses 118–26 is the *laukika*, i.e. non-tantric cult of the Mothers, the rituals associated with which involve pilgrimage, worship of the images of the Mothers and Śiva-Hetukeśvara, partaking of the sacred waters, and perhaps animal sacrifice (suggested by the reference to the river brimming with blood). The aims are correspondingly of the variety advanced in Śaiva *purāṇa*s: deliverance from harmful spirits, going to heaven, and joining Śiva's entourage of *gaṇa*s after death. Verses 127–34ab describe, however, a Mantramārga cult of the Mothers. Its rituals are those taught in the *mātṛ-* or *yāmalatantra*s, and its aim, for men, magical powers or *siddhi*. For women, the secret rites promise more: the possibility of becoming yoginīs, powerful and beautiful Mistresses of Yoga (*yogeśvarī*s). In the tantric cult, the goddess Bahumāṃsā is the "Great Vidyā-mantra" (*mahāvidyā*). And for adepts of the Mother Tantras, Koṭivarṣa is not merely an holy ford and place of pilgrimage, but the best of cremation grounds, suggesting a possible *kāpālika* orientation to the tantric Mother cult.

Koṭivarṣa's Mothers appear in the standard group of seven attested from the fifth century or a little earlier,[71] with Bahumāṃsā, apparently the cultic focus, represent-

[69] On the dating and significance of the *Devīmāhātmya*, see the section on post Gupta-era Mother shrines below.

[70] Yokochi, "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 99–113, especially 110–11. Although not strong evidence in isolation, this fact might suggest that the seventh century would be too late a date for the *Skandapurāṇa*. Even in the sixth century, the paucity of references to the Seven Mothers is surprising in a Śaiva *purāṇa*.

[71] Viz., Brahmāṇī, Rudrāṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, and Bahumāṃsā. *Skandapurāṇa* 171.110cd–12:

> *abhūt pitāmahād brāhmī śarvāṇī śaṅkarād api* || 110 ||
> *kaumārī ṣaḍmukhāc cāpi viṣṇor api ca vaiṣṇavī* |

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ing Cāmuṇḍā, leader of the Mothers (*mātṛnāyikā*). While Cāmuṇḍā is most commonly depicted as a gaunt, ferocious hag, in this case the name Bahumāṃsā suggests corpulence.[72] There are in fact early representations of Cāmuṇḍā as a full-bodied woman (cf. FIGURE 2.7), although I am not presently aware of a corpulent example.[73] In the present case, Bahumāṃsā might have been a goddess of local importance subsequently incorporated into the Mother cult and identified with Cāmuṇḍā.[74] The *Skandapurāṇa* does in fact attest a process by which important local goddesses were given Śaiva identities through incorporation as Mothers. Chapters sixty-four and sixty-eight enumerate the names and locales assigned to the numerous Mother goddesses who emanate from the goddess Kauśikī, linking the Mothers with an emergent

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vārāhī mādhavād devī māhendrī ca purandarāt || 111 ||
sarvatejomayī devī mātṝṇāṃ pravarā śubhā |
bahumāṃsā mahāvidyā babhūva vṛṣabhadhvajāt || 112 ||

As Yokochi points out, this sequence shows clearly that the "standard" set of Seven *mātṛs* is intended, for the *mātṛs* had already been enumerated out of sequence in 108cd–110ab. "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 107–8.

[72] Cf. the goddess Bṛhodarī (i.e. *bṛhadudarī*, "She of the Big Belly") mentioned in *BraYā* 1.60–62. Not specifically identified with Cāmuṇḍā, she appears to fulfill the dual functions of tutelary goddess of her namesake village, and tantric deity, bestowing the *vidyā*-mantra upon Yajñasoma's son. Yokochi suggests that *bahumāṃsā* is a euphemism and reinforces the goddess's identity as the emaciated Cāmuṇḍā. Although speculative, this too might be possible. "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 108–9.

[73] Clear cases of early (pre eighth-century) images of Cāmuṇḍā as a full-bodied woman include those of the *mātṛ* shines of the Śiva cave temple at Aihole, that of the Aurangabad Buddhist caves, and the two early Ellora cave shrines (Rāmeśvara and Rāvaṇ-kā Kāī).

In Ellora's Rāvaṇ-kā Kāī cave *mātṛ* shrine, the full-bodied Cāmuṇḍā at the right end of the row of seven *mātṛs* is clearly distinguished by her owl-*vāhana*. In this shrine, a skeletal divine couple of problematic identity (discussed subsequently) occur to the right of Gaṇeśa along the main wall. On the left wall is installed a four-armed Vīṇādhara with a bull *vāhana*. In the Rāmeśvara cave at Ellora (cave 21), an elaborate dancing Śiva is instead enshrined on the left wall, while the Vīṇādhara begins the set of *mātṛs* on the left of the main wall. On the right wall are a skeletal pair of male and female divinities. The female figure is unlikely to be Cāmuṇḍā, for Cāmuṇḍā appears to be among the full-bodied *mātṛs* along the main wall.

In the Aihole Mother shrine of the Śiva cave temple, on both the left and right walls stand three *mātṛs*, with two more flanking a central, ten-armed dancing Śiva along the main wall. A diminutive Gaṇeśa stands on the viewer's left between Śiva and the Mother goddess, with a damaged figure of a diminutive two-armed male in the corresponding position on the right—perhaps the *gaṇa* Vīrabhadra, whom one might expect to complement Gaṇeśa, although Meister suggests Skanda. "Regional Conventions," 240. Closing the set at the end of the right wall is a full-bodied Cāmuṇḍā.

Although the *BraYā* and many other early sources describe Cāmuṇḍā as emaciated, there is at least one textual description of a full-bodied Cāmuṇḍā: that of the Kashmiri *Bṛhatkālottara*, in which Yogeśī, eighth of the Mothers, is visualized as emaciated and Cāmuṇḍā as full-figured. Alexis Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Śaiva Officiants in the Territory of the King's Brahmanical chaplain," 267 (n. 92).

[74] Cf. Yokochi's discussion of Bahumāṃsā in "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 109.

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theology of the Great Goddess as source of all goddesses.[75] This rhetoric of emanation and localization appears almost as a precursor to the theology of *śakti*, as adapted with great success from Tantric Śaivism, through which any and all goddesses and their sacred sites, declared *śaktipīṭhas* ("seats of *śakti*/power"), would be subsumed within the identity of the one Goddess.[76]

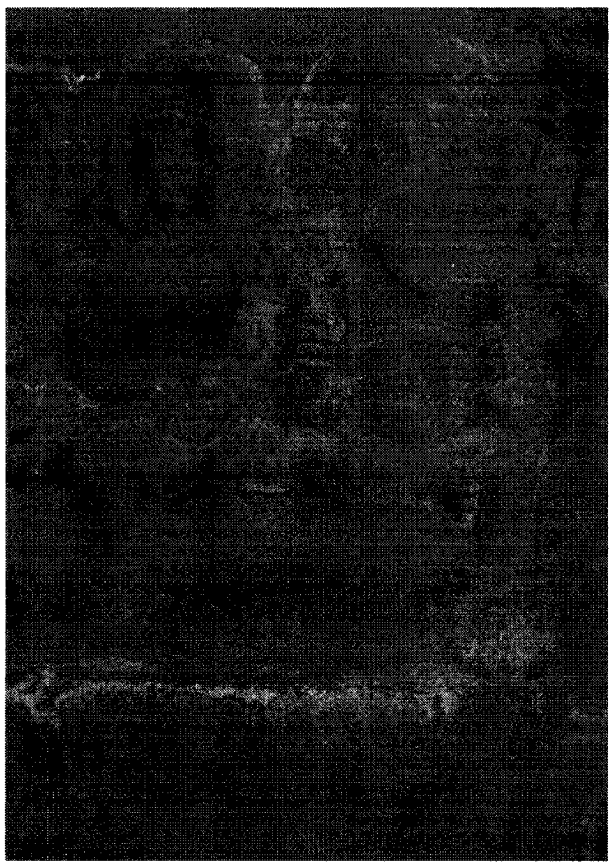


FIGURE 2.7: Cāmuṇḍā and Vināyaka/Gaṇeśa, Rāmeśvara Cave (no. 21) *mātṛ* shrine, Ellora. Sixth century.

The iconic type described for the Mothers of Koṭivarṣa might suggest a pre sixth-century date. Śiva as Hetukeśvara joins Bahumāṃsā in heading the Mothers, while he appoints his *gaṇas* Chagala ("the Goat") and Kumbhakarṇa ("Pitcher-ears") as door-guardians (*dvārapāla*). This suggests that cult images of Śiva and the Seven Mothers alone appeared in the central shrine (*garbhagṛha*),[77] with the *gaṇas* Chagala and Kumbhakarṇa installed as guardians at the base of the vertical panels on either side of the entry door. Śaiva Tantras refer to the installation of such *gaṇa*-lords as door guardians. For instance, in the *Svacchandatantra*'s description of ritual entry into the *yāgagṛha* ("worship shrine"), one first offers homage to the directional Mothers (*diṅmātṛs*) outside the shrine, then

[75] *Skandapurāṇa* 64 narrates the emergence of manifold goddesses from Kauśikī's limbs. In *Skandapurāṇa* 68, Kauśikī assigns the various Mother goddesses which emerged from her to locales, including Bahumāṃsā to Koṭivarṣa. See Yokochi's discussion in ibid., 99–100, 111–12.

[76] See below in the brief discussion of the *Devīmāhātmya*.

[77] Although not impossible, it seems highly unlikely that the text would mention *dvārapālas* yet omit reference to other cult images in the *garbhagṛha*.

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to Gaṇeśa and Śrī[lakṣmī] on the overhead door lintel; one then worships Śiva's *gaṇa*-lord Nandin on the left of the outer door frame, together with the river goddess Gaṅgā, and on the right, Mahākāla with Yamunā.[78] *Netratantra* 3 corroborates this procedure, its commentary mentioning also the *gaṇa*s Meṣānana ("Ram Face") and Chāgānana ("Goat Face") as door guardians.[79]

What appears archaic about this iconic program is the placement and identity of the male deities. In Kuṣāṇa-era *mātṛ* sculpture, the Mothers were often depicted with images of the young, spear-bearing Skanda (FIGURE 2.2, 2.4) or the robust *yakṣa*-lord Kubera (FIGURE 2.3), usually positioned to their side.[80] However, from the Gupta era Śiva himself often features as leader of the Mothers, particularly in the form of Naṭeśa, "Lord of Dancers."[81] As head of the Brahmanical heptad of Mothers, Śiva thus

[78] *Svacchandatantra* 2.22–25:

sakalīkṛtadehas tu puṣpam ādāya suvrate |
diṅmātṛbhyo namaskṛtya dvāraṃ saṃprokṣya yatnataḥ || 22 ||
śivāmbhasāstramantreṇa vighnaproccāṭanaṃ bhavet |
dvāraśākhordhvato devaṃ gaṇeśaṃ ca śriyaṃ tathā || 23 ||
saṃpūjya gandhapuṣpādyair dhūpādibhir anukramād |
arghyapādyopahāraiś ca tato dvārasya cottare || 24 ||
nandigaṅge samabhyarcya mahākālaṃ ca dakṣiṇe |
kālindīṃ caiva sampūjya yathānukramayogataḥ || 22 ||

"O pious woman, with one's body transformed into [the mantra-body of] manifest (*sakala*) Śiva, one should take up the flower, bow to the directional Mother goddesses, and sprinkle the door, carefully. Through the *śiva*-water empowered by the weapon-mantra, obstructing forces would be driven away. After worshipping Lord Gaṇeśa and Śrī[lakṣmī] [on the lintel] above the double-doors with scents, flowers, incense, etc., in sequence, to the left of the door one should worship Nandin and Gaṅgā with the guest-water, water for washing the feet, and the offerings, and also Mahākāla and Yamunā on the right, in the correct sequence.

[79] *Netratantra* 3.9:

āśāmātṝr gaṇaṃ lakṣmīṃ nandigaṅge ca pūjayet |
mahākālaṃ tu yamunāṃ dehalīṃ pūjayet tataḥ || 9 ||

According to Kṣemarāja's comments on this verse, in the system of the *vāma*-stream of revelation, i.e. the cult of the Four Sisters of Tumburu expounded in the archaic *vāmatantra*s, Meṣānana ("Ram Face") and Chāgānana ("Goat Face") serve as additional (*adhika*) *dvārapāla*s in shrine contexts, a fact perhaps relevant given the *Skandapurāṇa*'s reference to "The Goat" as a door guardian at Koṭivarṣa. He remarks, *bahir diṅmātṝḥ, dvārordhve gaṇapatilakṣmyau, pārśvadvaye nandigaṅge mahākālayamune, vāme dehalīṃ praṇavacaturthīnamaḥśabdayogena pūjayet | asya nayasya sarvasahatvāt siddhāntadṛśā nandigaṅge dakṣiṇe pūjye, mahākālayamune vāme | vāmasrotasy evaṃ meṣāsyacchāgāsyau tu adhikau dakṣiṇavāmayoḥ | bhairavasrotasi saṃhārapradhānatvād dakṣiṇe mahākālayamune vāme nandigaṅge | ṣaḍardhe tu diṇḍimahodarau adhikau || 9 ||* Cf. Kṣemarāja's remarks on 18.56cd.

[80] Joshi, *Mātṛkās: Mothers in Kuṣāṇa Art*, 103–28.

[81] See the tables Meister provides for the iconic programs of Gupta and early post-Gupta *mātṛ* sets, as well as later sets from central and western India. "Regional Variations," charts A and B.

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replaces Skanda and Kubera. Yet in only one extant Mother shrine does Śiva alone appear in the Mothers' company: that of the fifth-century cliff shrine between Badoh and Pathari, in present-day Madhya Pradesh. In this case, an image which appears to be Śiva flanks the Mothers—a two-armed, *ūrdhvaretas* yogin complemented by Cāmuṇḍā at the other end (FIGURE 2.8). Koṭivarṣa's iconic program might hence have resembled that of Badoh-Pathari, the cult images being those of Śiva, Bahumāṃsā, and six other *mātṛs*, with Chagala and Kumbhakarṇa placed outside the central shrine as door-guardians.

With the exception of the early Badoh-Pathari shrine, the Seven Mothers are normally depicted in the company of multiple *gaṇa*-lords, or with Śiva and a *gaṇa*-lord. Most common as flanking figures are the elephant-headed Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa, and one of two anthropomorphic male figures usually identified as Vīrabhadra ("Auspicious Hero") and Vīṇādhara ("Bearer of the Vīṇā"). Problematically, both of the latter are often described as forms of Śiva.[82] Vīrabhadra, however, is in Śaiva textual sources of the period considered a *gaṇa* or *gaṇa*-lord (*gaṇeśa*, *gaṇeśvara*, etc.) of Śiva, or else a prominent *rudra*.[83] Hence, one common *saptamātṛ* iconic program pairs the *gaṇa*-lord Vīrabhadra with another *gaṇa*-lord, Vināyaka, frequently flanking the Mothers on either side (FIGURE 2.9). While Vīrabhadra was undoubtedly included

[82] For example, Meister remarks, "Śiva sits as Vīrabhadra or Vīṇādhara at the head of the Mātṛkā set ..., or dances as Naṭeśa in their midst." "Regional Variations," 241.

[83] In some early sources, Vīrabhadra is a prominent *rudra*; note e.g. Sadyojyotis, in the *Mokṣakārikā*, referring to the hundred *rudra*s as "headed by Vīrabhadra" (*[maheśāno 'nugṛhṇāti] icchayā śatarudrāṃś ca vīrabhadrapuraḥsarān*, 79b). In cosmology, Vīrabhadra presides as a *bhuvaneśvara* over the highest of the ascending series of *bhuvana*s (planes or worlds). Cf., e.g., Abhinavagupta's *Tantrasāra*, 8.2: *yat tu katipayakatipayabhedānugataṃ rūpaṃ tat tattvaṃ yathā pṛthivī nāma dyutikāṭhinyasthaulyādirūpā kālāgniprabhṛtivīrabhadrāntabhuvaneśādhiṣṭhitasamastabrahmāṇḍānugatā*. The *Matańgapārameśvara*, which refers to Vīrabhadra as one of the *lokanāyaka*s, "world lords" (*vīrabhadrādayaś caiva brahmāntā lokanāyakāḥ*, 23.26cd), also describes the *gaṇa*s as "led by Vīrabhadra" (*vīrabhadrapuraḥsara*, 23.47b). His role as a *gaṇa*-lord is prominent in the early *Skandapurāṇa*. And in the *BraYā* and other sources, Vīrabhadra is credited with revealing the *Vīrabhadratantra*. *BraYā* XXXVIII.61cd–62:

> *īśvaro vijayovāca devī niśvāsam eva ca* || *61* ||
> *brahmā svāyambhuvaś caiva vīrabhadras tathaiva ca* |
> *vīrabhadraṃ mahādevi provāca vidhivistaram* || *62* ||
>
> niśvāsam] *em.*; visvāsam BY[a]

The association between Vīrabhadra and the Seven Mothers is attested in a number of tantric Śaiva sources, such as the *Vīratantra*, the seventy-third chapter of which describes the installation (*sthāpana*) of the Seven Mothers, Vīrabhadra, and Gaṇeśa.

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FIGURE 2.8: Śiva and the Seven Mother goddesses (detail). Saptamātṛ cliff shrine between Badoh and Pathari, Madhya Pradesh. *AIIS Photo Archive.*



FIGURE 2.9: Saptamātṛ Panel, with Vīrabhadra (left) and Gaṇeśa (right). State Museum, Ashapuri, Madhya Pradesh. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

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among the Mothers as a *gaṇa*-lord, originally, I am less confident about the early identity of the Vīṇādhara image type; no *gaṇa* by this description is mentioned in connection to *mātṛs* in period textual sources known to me. This probably points towards him being a form of Śiva, who is indeed associated with the *vīṇā*.[84] In any case, a shift in the perception of both, from *gaṇa*-lords to forms of Śiva, might at some point have transpired, much as Gaṇeśa undergoes a shift in identity from *gaṇa*-lord to child of Śiva and Pārvatī.

It appears that the Mother shrine at Koṭivarṣa predates the association of the Mothers with Vīrabhadra or the Vīṇādhara, and the elephantine Vināyaka, all unmistakably Śaiva sacred figures whose images accompany the goddesses in post fifth-century shrines. In Koṭivarṣa's iconic program, the *gaṇas* Chagala and Kumbhakarṇa appear instead, stationed outside the shrine proper, with Śiva himself joining the Mothers in the sanctum. This pantheon suggests a transitional picture, for although described in the *Skandapurāṇa* as *gaṇas* of Śiva, Chagala and Kumbhakarṇa have clear ties with the older cult of Skanda. Perhaps not uncoincidentally, they moreover resemble Skanda and Kubera, respectively, the primary deities depicted in connection with the Mother goddesses in early, Kuṣāṇa-era statuary.

Chagala, "the Goat," is in all probability a name of Naigameṣa, a goat-headed deity prominent in the mythology and cult of Skanda, with whom Skanda is sometimes even identified.[85] Such theriomorphic figures are attested in this period as

[84] There might however be some indication in early sculpture of a status similar to Vīrabhadra's. Note that in the Mother shrine of the Ellora Rāmeśvara cave, the *vīṇā*-bearer flanks, on the left, the row of *mātṛs* on the main shrine wall; on the left wall is installed a grand Śiva image, Naṭeśa. This could suggest that the *vīṇā*-bearer was a *gaṇa*-lord, for Śiva-forms would otherwise appear twice, moreover in adjacent images. It is conceivable that the *vīṇā*-bearer was a *gaṇa*-lord of a type similar to Nandin, described in the *Skandapurāṇa* as a "mini-Śiva" who in appearance mirrors his divine lord.

[85] In the *Mahābhārata*, Naigameṣa is also called Chāgavaktra, "Goat Face;"cf. *Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparvan* 215.23, where Agni is said to become Naigameya or Chāgavaktra, Skanda's companion. In *Āraṇyakaparvan* 217, mention is made of Chāgavaktra, and then, connecting the two, one of Skanda's six faces is said to be that of a goat, this being his primary face, "dear to the Mothers:"

> *eṣa vīrāṣṭakaḥ proktaḥ skandamātṛgaṇodbhavaḥ |*
> *chāgavaktreṇa sahito navakaḥ parikīrtyate || 11 ||*
> *ṣaṣṭhaṃ chāgamayaṃ vaktraṃ skandasyaiveti viddhi tat |*
> *ṣaṭśiro 'bhyantaraṃ rājan nityaṃ mātṛgaṇārcitam || 12 ||*
> *ṣaṇṇāṃ tu pravaraṃ tasya śīrṣāṇām iha śabdyate |*

In another passage, *Śalyaparvan* 43.37–40ab, Skanda makes himself fourfold, becoming Skanda, Śākha,

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door-guardians; cf. FIGURE 2.11. Kumbhakarṇa, apparently a *yakṣa*-type, is less readily identified. A *rākṣasa* by this name features in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as Rāvaṇa's brother, a deadly warrior and voracious eater and sleeper. I suspect that in the *Skandapurāṇa*, Kumbhakarṇa ("Pitcher-ears") is an alias of Ghaṇṭākarṇa, "Bell Ears," the name of a *gaṇa* of Śiva mentioned in the *Skandapurāṇa* and in other sources.[86] It is also possible that in Koṭivarṣa, an assimilation has been made between a local *yakṣa* and a *gaṇa* of Śiva. As a set, the Koṭivarṣa Mothers and their two *gaṇa*-guardians appear to replace the group of Nine Heroes mentioned in the *Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparvan* 217: the seven *śiśumātṛs* ("Mothers of the Infant[s]"), their ferocious son, perhaps named Lohitākṣa,[87] and Chāgavaktra. In the *Skandapurāṇa* account of Koṭivarṣa, Chagala or Chāgavaktra is carried over from the older *śiśumātṛ* set, while Śiva's *gaṇa* Kumbhakarṇa replaces Lohitākṣa, both apparently fierce *yakṣa*-types. Pitcher- or bell-shaped ears suggest the massive earrings commonly depicted on *yakṣas*; cf. FIGURE 2.10, and compare also the bust of a fanged, large-eared *yakṣa* (5th–6th century) found at Pawaya, M.P., near to Gwalior (FIGURE 2.12). Continuity is thus apparent between the *Mahābhārata*'s "Nine Heroes" and the Koṭivarṣa Mothers and their guardians, Chagala and Kumbhakarṇa, the new set of nine presided over by Śiva instead of Skanda.

Viśākha, and Naigameṣa.

[86] Cf., e.g., *Skandapurāṇa* 164.61, quoted in the next note. *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 4.136a lists Ghaṇṭākarṇa in a series of *pālakas*, "guardians," a list which includes *gaṇa*-lords such as Gajānana (136b).

[87] The name of the son of the *śiśumātṛs* is not unambiguous: he is described as "endowed with vitality," "very terrible," "born by the grace of Skanda," "having red eyes," "terrifying," and a "little child:" *Āraṇyaparvan* 3.10–11:

> *etāsāṃ vīryasaṃpannaḥ śiśur nāmātidāruṇaḥ |*
> *skandaprasādajaḥ putro lohitākṣo bhayaṃkaraḥ || 10 ||*
> *eṣa vīrāṣṭakaḥ proktaḥ skandamātṛgaṇodbhavaḥ |*
> *chāgavaktreṇa sahito navakaḥ parikīrtyate || 11 ||*

Here *nāma* probably has an emphatic sense, for it seems probable that the proper name of the *gaṇa* is Lohitākṣa. *Śalyaparvan* 45.22 lists the latter among four attendants (*anucara*) of Skanda:

> *nandiṣeṇaṃ lohitākṣaṃ ghaṇṭākarṇaṃ ca saṃmatam |*
> *caturtham asyānucaraṃ khyātaṃ kumudamālinam || 22 ||*

Cf. *Skandapurāṇa* 164.61, in a chapter closely parallel to and drawing upon *Śalyaparvan* 45:

> *ghaṇṭākarṇaṃ suraktākṣaṃ nandiṣeṇaṃ ca durjayam |*
> *caturthaṃ balināṃ śreṣṭhaṃ khyātaṃ kumudamālinam || 62 ||*

On this passage's dependence upon the *Mahābhārata*, see Yokochi, "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 100. Note in these lists the presence of Ghaṇṭākarṇa, whom I suggested above could be identical to Kumbhakarṇa at Koṭivarṣa.

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FIGURE 2.10: *Yakṣa* at pillar base, Nagarjunakonda. National Museum, New Delhi. *AIIS Photo Archive.*



FIGURE 2.11: Theriomorphic *gaṇa* or *dvārapāla*. Deorani temple (*circa* 6th century); Tala, near Bilaspur, M.P. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

At Koṭivarṣa, the emphasis on Chagala/Naigameṣa and Kumbhakarṇa instead of Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra thus appears archaic, and could suggest transitional iconography of the fifth century or somewhat earlier. The possibility of unknown regional variations must however be taken into account, especially given that Koṭivarṣa lies in a peripheral zone of Brahmanical culture. Moreover, what appears in the textual description as archaic could simply be a continuity of narrative, the effort to link contemporary cult and revered myth. That is, the *Skandapurāṇa* might not represent the iconic program at Koṭivarṣa "accurately." The possibility is nonetheless significant that the site possessed a comparatively ancient shrine of the Mothers. While the *Skandapurāṇa,* composed somewhat later, cannot be taken as a reliable indicator of the earliest cultic practices at Koṭivarṣa, it does at least indicate that in the sixth or

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early seventh century, if not earlier, a Yoginī cult had developed possessing close ties to the cult of Mother goddesses at important Śaiva temples and pilgrimage spots.



FIGURE 2.12: Head of a fanged, large-eared *yakṣa*. Pawaya, Gwalior, M.P. 5th–6th century. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

The *Skandapurāṇa*'s description of the deities of Koṭivarṣa finds some corroboration in tantric literature. Koṭivarṣa features in the *BraYā*'s sacred geography as one of eight cremation grounds (*śmaśāna*);[88] and in the elaborate initiation maṇḍala described in *BraYā* III, these are represented in the eight directions around the maṇḍala perimeter, with Koṭivarṣa in the northeast. Its depiction includes the Pool of the Spear, but not Bahumāṃsā and Mother goddesses. Hetukeśvara however presides in a circle of eight *rudra*s, beyond whom lie six yoginīs headed by Hetukī. In the outer deity circuit are four *rākṣasa*s, and three of Śiva's *gaṇa*s: Nandin, Chagala, and Kumbhakarṇa.[89] The *Tantrasadbhāva*, a text probably postdating the *BraYā*,[90] also mentions Kumbhakarṇa as the *kṣetrapāla* ("sacred field guardian") of Puṇḍravardhaṇa, the very region of Bengal where Koṭivarṣa is situated.[91] At Koṭivarṣa itself (*koṭākhye*) preside the goddess Karṇamoṭī and "the field-guardian Hetuka."[92] Although not confirming the importance of Mother

[88] *BraYā* LXXXIV.81:

prayāgā varuṇā kollā aṭṭahāsā jayantikā |
caritraikāmrakaṅ caiva koṭivarṣaṃ tathāṣṭamaṃ || 81 ||

aṭṭahāsā] *em.*; haṭṭahāsā BY[a]

Sanderson discusses the probable locations of these sites in "History through Textual Criticism," 7 (n. 4). *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.21 is identical to this verse, offering as substantive variants *aṭṭahāsā* (adopted above) and the corrupt *caritrekāmbukaṃ* (81c; MSS as reported by Dyczkowski).

[89] *BraYā* III.120–27.

[90] See chapter 4, section 3.

[91] *Tantrasadbhāva* 19.57–58. On the location of Koṭivarṣa, see Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 7, and Yokochi, "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 106–7. Yokochi reports that Koṭivarṣa "is referred to as a Viṣaya of the Puṇḍravardhana Bhukti in a grant of Mahīpāla I, issued on his ninth regnal year, which was discovered among some ruins called Bangarh in the West Dināj pur district, Bengal." Note however that *Tantrāloka* 15.87–88 lists Devīkoṭṭa and Puṇḍravardhana as separate *pīṭha*s.

[92] *Tantrasadbhāva* 19.32–33:

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goddesses at Koṭivarṣa, these scriptures of the Yoginī cult do associate the site with tantric practice, linking it moreover to some of the same deities as *Skandapurāṇa* 171.

Elsewhere in the *Skandapurāṇa*, evidence for the Yoginī cult appears meager. Chapter 155 mentions a class of female beings called *yogeśvarī*s, a synonym of *yoginī*, in the context of the never-ending battle of *sura* and *asura*. From drops of the blood of Andhaka, impaled by Śiva, sprang warriors who rout Śiva's *gaṇa*s. Śiva then, it seems, creates the Mistresses of Yoga (*yogeśvarī*s),[93] and orders them to slay and "eat the great *asura*s who were born from drops of blood." They oblige. Noteworthy here is that as a class of beings, the *yogeśvarī*s take on the martial role which had been the domain of Skanda's demon-slaying *mātṛ*s and other *gaṇa*s in the *Mahābhārata*, illustrating through myth an important historical continuity.[94] Note also chapter seventy, which contains the *māhātyma*-narrative of the sacred mountain Śrīparvata or Śrīgiri, a site early tantric Śaiva texts mention as an important sacred site (*pīṭha*).[95] Its close association with the Yoginī cult is attested in an early eighth-century drama, the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti, as discussed subsequently. However, in the *Skandapurāṇa* account, the description of religious practices at Śrīparvata appears largely to reflect Pāśupata Śaivism, with liberation the goal and yoga the means; mentioned also are pilgrimage practices of the Śaiva laity.[96] This accords in general with the

---

karṇamoṭī tu koṭyākhye mahābalakulodbhavā |
śūlahastā sthitā devī sarvayogeśvareśvarī || 32 ||
tasmin kṣetre sthitā devī vaṭavṛkṣasamāśritaḥ |
kṣetrapālo mahākāyo hetuko nāma nāmataḥ || 33 ||

32b °kulodbhavā] G; °kulodbhavāḥ K Kh 32d °śvareśvarī] K Kh; °śvaraiśvarī G

MSS as reported by Dyczkowski.

[93] In this section, 10a–13b, there is loss of about four verse quarters in the *editio princeps*, including the object of *[mahādevo] 'sṛjat* ("Śiva created ..."). The beings he creates are however identified as *yogeśvarī*s in 15b.

[94] The bellicosity of the early Mothers is illustrated for example in *Āraṇyakaparvan* 215 (16–22).

[95] Cf., e.g, *Svacchandatantra* 9.37a.

[96] Note *Skandapurāṇa* 167, which describes Śrīparvata as a *siddhikṣetra* ("a sacred field for attainment") with hundreds of *śivaliṅgam*s, where Brahmins devoted to the practice of yoga attain spiritual success (*siddhi*). This Śaiva, Brahmin sect of yogins is surely the Pāśupatas. *Skandapurāṇa* 167.103–07:

tatra śrīparvato nāma parvataḥ śrīniketanaḥ |
siddhāmaraśatākīrṇaṃ siddhikṣetraṃ tad uttamam || 103 ||
śūlino yatra liṅgānāṃ puṇyānāṃ varadāyinām |
sahasraṃ sthāpitaṃ vyāsa śilādena mahātmanā || 104 ||
ye paśyanti tam īśānaṃ śrīparvatanivāsinam |

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sectarian orientation of the *Skandapurāṇa*. Yet the text might make allusion to the Mantramārga as well, telling the tale of how Pārvatī became a "great perfected yoginī" (*siddhā mahāyogeśvarī*) by doing penance on Śrīparvata.[97] This terminology is suggestive of the Yoginī cult, particularly in association with Śrīparvata.

Thus while the Śaiva Yoginī cult does not appear prominent in the *Skandapurāṇa*, chapter 171 provides unambiguous evidence for its existence in the eighth century, fairly secure evidence for it in the seventh century, and a significant possibility for the sixth, depending upon the dating of the *Skandapurāṇa* itself. Vague reference

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janmamṛtyubhayaṃ teṣāṃ nāsti puṃsāṃ kadācana || *105* ||
anenaiva śarīreṇa tasmin kṣetre bhavātmake |
yogābhyāsaparā viprāḥ siddhiṃ yānti yathepsitām || *106* ||
manasāpy abhigacchanti ye narāḥ śrīgiriṃ mune |
na te yānti yamāvāsaṃ mṛtyāv api samāgate || *107* ||

[97] After Sanatkumāra tells the tale of the *asura* Hiraṇyakaśipu's penance and defeat of the gods, Vyāsa asks him about the mountain, Śrīparvata, where he practiced his austerities. The Devī, while sporting with Śiva on the mountain, had noticed powerful yogins there circumambulating [an image or *liṅgam* of] Śiva, perfected through austerities and possessed of great yoga. She questions the lord about the yogins, and he describes them as "great ones perfected in yoga, abiding in the Pāśupata yoga" (70.48ab). The Devī too desires this attainment, and performs penance there; as boon, Śiva declares that she will become the Great Perfected Mistress of Yoga (*siddhā mahāyogeśvarī*), knowing the highest doctrine or meaning (*parārtha*) of the "entire *adhyātmatantra* [spiritual treatise?]" taught by Śiva. The mountain upon which she performed penance will be given the name "Śrīparvata." *Skandapurāṇa* 70.42–59, Bhaṭṭarāī edition:

hiraṇyakaśipur daityo yatra tepe mahat tapaḥ || *43* ||
girau tasmin mahāpuṇye devadevo vṛṣadhvajaḥ |
umayā sahito devyā reme nityaṃ mahādyutiḥ || *44* ||
tiṣṭhatas tatra devasya devī girivarātmajā |
tapaḥsiddhān mahāyogāñ jvalanādityavarcasaḥ || *45* ||
kṛtvā pradakṣiṇāṃ śambhoḥ sapraṇāmaṃ mahāmune |
gacchatas tān muhur dṛṣṭvā papraccha bhuvaneśvaram || *46* ||
ka ete deva saṃsiddhā yogīśās tvāṃ praṇemire |
tato devaḥ prahasyainām uvāca parameśvaraḥ || *47* ||
yogasiddhā mahātmāno yoge pāśupate sthitāḥ |
ya ihārādhya māṃ devi jahuḥ prāṇān narottamāḥ || *48* ||
ta ete siddhadehārthāḥ svacchandagaticāriṇaḥ |
mokṣasiddheḥ parāṃ niṣṭhāṃ gantāraḥ paramaṃ padam || *49* ||
atha saṃcintya suciraṃ vismayāyatalocanā |
devaṃ provāca śarvāṇī vacaḥ paramapūjitam || *50* ||
yathāham api deveśa prāpnuyāṃ siddhim īdṛśīm |
kariṣyāmi tathā yatnam eṣā cāsmi gatā vibho || *51* ||
tataḥ kṛtvā śriyo rūpaṃ devī paramaśobhanā |
mahat tatra tapas tepe sahasraṃ parivatsarān || *52* ||
devaś cāsyā varaṃ prādāt taiḥ samānaṃ mahādyutiḥ |
kṛtsnasyādhyātmatantrasya mayā proktasya bhāmini || *53* ||
mahāyogeśvarī siddhā parārthajñā bhaviṣyasi |

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to "Tantras by the thousands" suggests that even at this early date there may have existed a large and perhaps developed corpus of Mantramārga literature. This textual situation finds mutual corroboration in the *BraYā*, one of the scriptures the *Skanda-purāṇa* lists, which as I shall discuss in chapter three describes a sizeable body of Śaiva scripture in its account of the canon. It is significant, moreover, that the *Skanda-purāṇa* places the Yoginī cult in close association with the cult and shrines of Mother goddesses, for in this period, monumental shrines of the Mothers such as may have existed at Koṭivarṣa were constructed in considerable numbers. It is to more of this evidence that we turn next.

POST-GUPTA ERA TEMPLES OF THE MOTHERS

A large number of Mother-goddess shrines survive from the sixth and seventh centuries,[98] and the circa mid sixth-century *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira speaks of the temple cult of Mothers alongside major sectarian denominations of the period, including Buddhism, Jainism, and the Vaiṣṇava Bhāgavatas.[99] Nonetheless, the surviving Mother shrines have clear Śaiva orientations, occuring primarily in association with Śiva temple complexes. While these hence attest the existence of a widespread

[98] See Katherine Harper, *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas*, 101–49.

[99] *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 59.19:

> *viṣṇor bhāgavatān magāṃś ca savituḥ śambhoḥ sabhasmadvijān*
> *mātṝṇām api maṇḍalakramavido viprān vidur brahmaṇaḥ |*
> *śākyān sarvahitasya śāntamanaso nagnān jinānāṃ vidur*
> *ye yaṃ devam upāśritāḥ svavidhinā tais tasya kāryā kriyā || 19 ||*

Edition of A. V. Tripathi. The Śaiva "brahmins with ashes" (*sabhasmadvijān*) are in all likelihood Pāśupatas. While this passage does not specify the Mothers' identities, elsewhere the text speaks of constructing the images of Mothers in accordance with the appearances of the deities they are named after (*mātṛgaṇaḥ kartavyaḥ svanāmadevānurūpakṛtacihnaḥ*, 57.56ab). It therefore seems likely that Varāhamihira knows of and refers to the Brahmanical Seven Mothers. His terminology for describing specialists in the cult of Mothers, "knowers of the *maṇḍala*-sequence" (*maṇḍalakramavidaḥ*) or "knowers of the Mother-*maṇḍala*" (*mātṛmaṇḍalavidaḥ*, edition of H. Kern), has been taken by Harper as an indication of a tantric cultic orientation. *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas*, 122. However, the mere occurrence of the term *maṇḍala* does not warrant this; here it probably means "the group/set [of Mothers]." Note the same terminology in the inscription of the contemporaneous *saptamātṛ* shrine at Deogarh, which in its benedictory verse refers to the enshrined deities as the *maṇḍala* of Mothers:

> ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ – *sthānāṃ jagadrakṣākṣamaujasāṃ*
> *mātṝṇāṃ lokamātṝṃ(tṝ)ṇāṃ maṇḍalaṃ bhūtaye ['']stu vaḥ || 1 ||*

Epigraphia Indica xxx.15 (pp. 125–27).

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Śaiva temple cult of the Mothers, they bear an unclear relationship to developments in tantric forms of Śaivism. That the two were in some contexts linked is suggested by the *Skandapurāṇa* account of Koṭivarṣa. In the present section are discussed two facets of Mother shrines that could provide insight into this connection: cases of an eighth goddess in some sculpted sets of the Mothers, and the presence of *kāpālika* deities and iconography.

Tantric Śaiva sources of the Yoginī cult sometimes speak of Mother goddesses as an octad, rather than the earlier and more widely attested Brahmanical heptad, even when affirming their identity as "the Seven Mothers."[100] In tantric literature, the eighth, additional Mother is sometimes Mahālakṣmī, or else the supreme Goddess of the *bhairavatantra*s herself, often by the name Yogeśī (=Yoginī).[101] Hence in the *BraYā*, Bhairavī or Aghoreśī is called "the one who completes the Mothers" (*mātṛpūraṇī*).[102] *Purāṇic* accounts evidence more variety; the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, for instance—a text which marks the entry of tantric Śaiva notions of *śakti* into the *purāṇic* theology of goddesses[103]—adds Nārasiṃhī to the Mothers, the embodiment

[100] Thus chapter 1 of the *Svacchandatantra*, in the published Kashmiri recension, distributes the phonemes of the alphabet in *varga*s connected with eight Mothers—the usual heptad plus Mahālakṣmī—after enumerating whom the text states, "these are the seven Great Mothers, situated in the seven worlds" (*etāḥ sapta mahāmātṛḥ saptalokavyavasthitāḥ*, 36cd). Sanderson points out that this reference to the Mothers is absent from the recension of the *Svacchandatantra* preserved in Nepalese manuscripts (personal communcation, January 2007).

[101] For Yogeśī as the name of the eighth Mother, cf., e.g., *BraYā* xxxxv.32, *Tantrasadbhāva* 14.155b, *Tantrāloka* 29.52d, and the *Bṛhatkālottara*, mentioned previously (n. 73).

[102] E.g. *BraYā* II.18b.

[103] The *Devīmāhātmya* is frequently spoken of as a text foundational to the formation of Hindu goddess traditions, providing, for instance, an early example of the textual depiction of the Mothers. Note e.g. Harper, who assumes a circa 400–600 C.E dating of the text. *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas*, 91, citing R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Pur?n?ic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, 10–12. Cf. Thomas Coburn, who accepts a fifth- or sixth-century dating of the *Devīmāhātmya*, citing D. R. Bhandarkar, "Epigraphic Notes and Questions," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XXIII (1909): 73–74; he also refers to V. V. Mirashi, "A Lower Limit for the Date of the Devī-Māhātmya," *Purāṇa* VI 1 (Jan. 1964): 181–84. Coburn, *Devī-Māhātmya: The Crystallization of the Goddess Tradition*, 1, 63 (n. 204). However, the *Devīmāhātmya* is probably not as old as has been supposed: Yuko Yokochi questions on strong grounds the minimal evidence adduced in support of a sixth-century (or earlier) dating. She instead proposes the second half of the eighth century, primarily on the basis of the iconic type described for the Warrior Goddess. *Rise of the Warrior Goddess*, 21–23 (n. 42).

Yokochi notes that the *Devīmāhātmya* is the first source of its type to draw upon the tantric Śaiva conception of *śakti* in relation to the nature of goddesses more generally. She points out that *Skandapurāṇa* 171 does not describe the Mother-goddesses emitted by male gods as their *śakti*s, in contrast to the *Devīmāhātmya*. Ibid., 15 (n. 31.). Her revised dating of the *Devīmāhātmya* fits well with the emerging picture of the chronology of tantric Śaiva literature, for the tantric Śaiva goddess cults that might have

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of the feminine "power" (*śakti*) of Viṣṇu's Man-lion *avatāra*. Sculpted sets of Mother goddesses do not adopt equivalent iconographic schemes, although several add an eighth goddess. The mid sixth-century shrine in the Śaiva cave temple at Aihole, mentioned earlier (n. 73), depicts eight Mothers and might include Mahālakṣmī in place of Vaiṣṇavī, adding Pārvatī to the heptad as well.[104] Meister mentions two other cases of an eighth goddess among the Mothers: the late sixth-century Elephanta cave east of the main shrine, and the eighth-century Vaitāl Deul temple of Bhuvaneśvar, Orissa.[105] In both cases, the iconographically ambiguous eighth goddess appears subordinate to Cāmuṇḍā, rather than transcending her in the manner of Aghoreśī/Bhairavī in the Śaiva Yoginī cult.[106] The eighth goddess at Vaitāl Deul bears a trident in one of her two arms, suggesting an association with Śiva, but has no *vāhanā* marking her identity; Thomas Donaldson suggests Mahālakṣmī, but on unclear grounds.[107]

Another case of an eighth goddess joining the heptad of Mothers is the *mātṛ* shrine of the little-studied Aurangabad Buddhist cave complex, perhaps of the sixth century.[108] This small cave temple presages textual evidence of the seventh century

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inspired the theology of *śakti* alluded to in the *Devīmāhātmya* seem likely to have been widespread by the eighth century.

[104] The central wall of this shrine features two goddesses framing a dancing Śiva, with diminutive images of Gaṇeśa and either Vīrabhadra or Skanda standing below them. Meister identifies the goddesses as Pārvatī and Śrī (i.e. Śrīlakṣmī or Mahālakṣmī). "Regional Variations," 240. The latter deity holds a lotus, and could instead be (an unusual) Vaiṣṇavī, while the image identified as Pārvatī possesses a crescent moon upon her headdress, like Māheśvarī on the wall to the viewer's left. This set could thus include both Mahālakṣmī and the supreme Śaiva goddess, the two most common additions to the heptad in tantric accounts of the Mother goddesses—or else it simply adds Pārvatī to the usual heptad.

[105] Ibid., 237–38.

[106] While I follow Meister in identifying the emaciated image adjacent to Gaṇeśa, on the left, as Cāmuṇḍā, Harper identifies the image as Kāla, a male deity, in which case the standard heptad of Mother-goddesses is present. *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas*, 113. This would to some extent bear comparison with the Rāvaṇ-kā kāī shrine at Ellora; there, however Mahākāla is depicted to the right of Gaṇeśa, rather than within the row of Mothers, and is accompanied by a smaller, emaciated goddess—presumably Kālī.

[107] Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta Art of Orissa*, vol. 1, 109 (FIGURE 211). Perhaps Yogeśī/Bhairavī?

[108] This is the so-called "Brahmanical cave," located near to cave six. See Carmel Berkson, *The Caves at Aurangabad. Early Buddhist Tantric Art in India*, 217, 225–28. Katherine Harper suggests a close stylistic relationship between the Aurangabad Mothers and the *mātṛ* sets of Elephanta and Ellora, Rāmeśvara cave, hence situating the shrine in the sixth century. Harper, *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas*, 114. My description of the temple is based upon personal observation, as well as the images published by Berkson, ibid., passim.

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pointing toward limited incorporation of the Mother-goddesses in Tantric Buddhism, discussed in chapter 4. Along its left wall are situated a row of six standing Mothers, flanked near the entrance by a four-armed male guardian figure, presumably Vīrabhadra. On the central wall, opposite the entrance, is situated an imposing seated Gaṇeśa, flanked on either side by goddesses: the seventh Mother, Cāmuṇḍā, to the viewer's left, and a four-armed goddess on the right who bears a *triśūla*, sword, bell, and pitcher, possibly with a lion as *vāhanā*—Durgā, it has been suggested.[109] Along with the case of Aihole, this points toward a convention of representing the spouse-goddess of Śiva as eighth of the Mothers, in this case in the guise of the "Warrior Goddess" facet that rose to great prominence in the period, eulogized in the early seventh-century *Caṇḍīśataka* of Bāṇa.[110] On the right wall are present two nondescript seated Buddhas (one badly damaged) with attendent figures, displacing Śiva and providing a Buddhist identity to the Mothers.

Kāpālika deities and iconography figure in representations of the Mothers from as early as the mid-sixth century. This development appears first, it seems, in the Mother shrines of the Rāmeśvara and Rāvaṇ-kā kāī cave temples of Ellora, of the mid- or late-sixth centuries; these depart from earlier models by the addition of a skeletal divine couple adjacent to the Mothers (FIGURE 2.13). The identity of these deities is problematic: art-historians have suggested Kāla (i.e. Mahākāla) and Kālī, which is plausible.[111] As discussed subsequently, early seventh-century literature evidences the existence of a tantric cult of Mahākāla, whose association with the Mother goddesses is described in chapter fifty-four of the *BraYā*. Inclusion of Mahākāla in the iconographic programs of Ellora's sixth-century Mother shrines hence suggests a degree of congruence with period texts. The identity of the female deity seems less certain; Bāṇa speaks of Mahākāla as the consort of Caṇḍikā, a deity whose identity

[109] Berkson attributes this identification to Ramesh Gupte. *Caves at Aurangabad*, 227.

[110] It should be pointed out, however, that this eighth goddess is not contiguous with the other seven, for the image of Gaṇeśa intervenes; she might therefore not have been considered one of the Mothers, per se.

[111] Cf. Harper, *Iconography of the Saptamatrikas*, 113–14, 116–17.

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may subsume any number of fierce Śaiva goddesses, especially Durgā and Cāmuṇḍā.[112] As consort of Mahākāla, this fierce goddess could be viewed as an eighth Mother, completing a pantheon akin to that described in *BraYā* LIV—the Seven Mothers headed by Mahākāla (identified with Bhairava) and Bhairavī or Yogeśvarī.

It does not seem possible to situate with precision the Mothers, as represented in sixth-century sculpture, with the goddesses as described in extant Śaiva yoginī literature; the latter might indeed belong to a somewhat later period. However, the evidence for a convention of including an eighth goddess and the presence of Mahākāla in particular suggest possible correlations with developments in Tantric Śaivism. On the other hand, it seems highly likely that the *kāpālika* iconic program of the Vaitāl Deul temple of late eighth-century Orissa is informed by contemporaneous tantric pantheons and iconography, a period and region in which tantric Śaiva goddess cults were undoubtedly prominent.[113]

This extraordinary temple enshrines a cult image of Cāmuṇḍā in a program that includes seven other Mother goddesses and seven male deities. Here we find the Mothers in a cultic context that is clearly *śākta*—Cāmuṇḍā, rather than Śiva, presides as supreme deity—and manifestly *kāpālika* in iconography. Besides Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa, who normally accompany the Mothers, the male deities include Kubera, Varāha (who holds a skull-bowl), a seated yogin with a canopy of hooded serpants identified as "Nāgarāja" ("King of Serpants"), and two Śaiva, *kāpālika* deities: a skeletal ("Atiriktāṅga") Bhairava holding a skull-cup and knife, astride a corpse; and a skeletal, ithypallic deity seated in *yogāsana* on a corpse, whom Donaldson identifies as Gajasaṃhāramūrti: Śiva as "Slayer of the Elephant demon" (FIGURE 2.14).[114] An Orissan-provenance text refers to the presiding Cāmuṇḍā of the temple as "Kāpālinī" ("Skull-bearer"), suggestive of the principle epithet of Bhairavī in the *BraYā*: Caṇḍā

[112] On Bāṇa, see the subsequent section. In the *BraYā*, the name Caṇḍikā occurs as a synonym of Cāmuṇḍā; cf. *BraYā* II.16d.

[113] While the outer structure contains an inscription of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, the core shrine has a short inscription apparently dating to the late eighth century, on paleographic grounds. Krishna Chandra Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneswar*, 32–33.

[114] Donaldson, vol. I, 108–12.

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FIGURE 2.13: Mahākāla and Kālī? Ellora, Rāmeśvara cave temple, west wall of Mother-goddess shrine. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

Kāpālinī, "Grim Bearer of the Skull."[115] Significantly, the temple's decorative reliefs include carvings of male Śaiva ascetics bearing skull-staves (*khaṭvāṅga*) and engaging in erotic activities, while there is evidence of sacrificial cultus as well—both sug-

[115] *Svarṇādrimahodaya*, cited by Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneswar*, 233. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 21, which provides a *vidyā*-mantra addressing Aghorī as "Cāmuṇḍā Kāpālinī." *Tantrasadbhāva* 21.154cd–56ab:

> *siddhacāmuṇḍakalpedaṃ kathitaṃ sarvakāmadam* || *154* ||
> *ataḥ parataraṃ vakṣye aghoryā bhīmavikramā* |
> *cāmuṇḍe ['']ti padam ādau kāpālini ataḥ param* || *155* ||
> *svāhāntaṃ praṇavādyaṃ ca mūlamantram idaṃ śubham* |
>
> °vikramā] *conj.*; °vikramām MSS kāpālini] *em.*; kapālini MSS
>
> "This *kalpa* of Siddhacāmuṇḍā, which grants all wishes, has been spoken. Next, I shall teach something further: [the *kalpa*] of Aghorī, the fierce indomitable one. The word CĀMUṆḌE at the beginning, then KĀPĀLINI, ending with SVĀHĀ and beginning with OṂ [i.e. OṂ CĀMUṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ]: this is the auspicious root mantra."

As I mention in chapter 4, this mantra appears modelled upon the nine-syllable *vidyā*-mantra of Aghoreśī in the *BraYā*: [OṂ] HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ.

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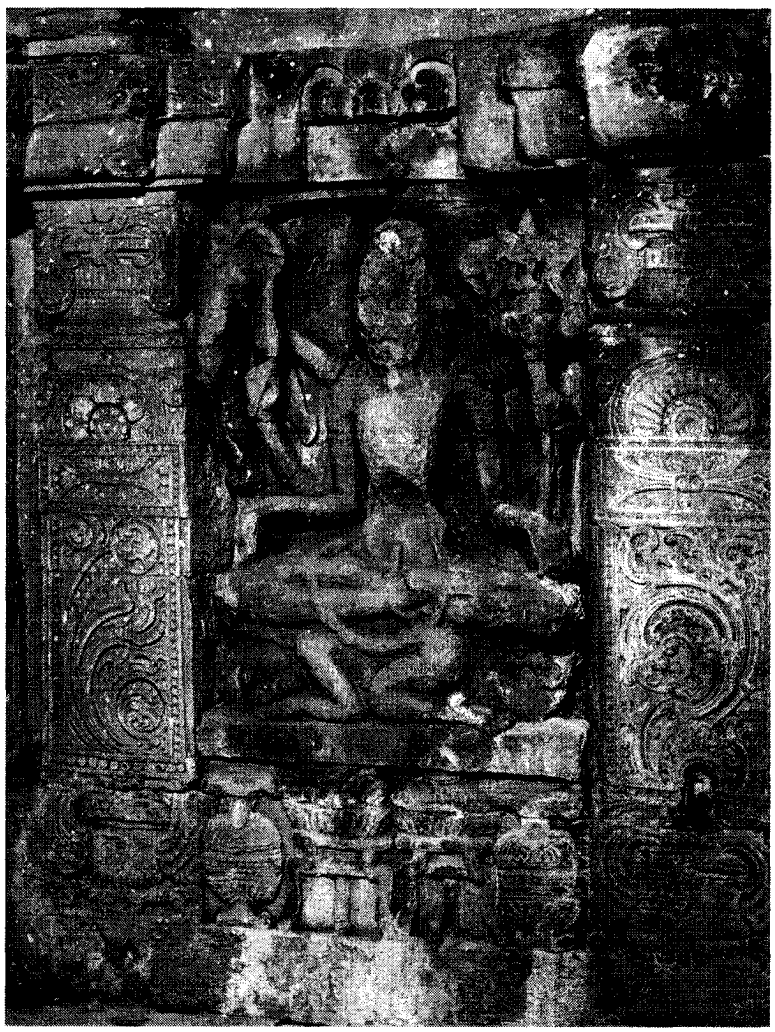


FIGURE 2.14: Śiva "Gajasaṃhāramūrti," Vaitāl Deul temple, Bhuvanesvar. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

gestive of a Vidyāpīṭha ritual context.[116] The *Tantrasadbhāva*, a Vidyāpīṭha scripture perhaps also of the eighth century,[117] describes tantric ritual centered upon Cāmuṇḍā and performed in temples of the Mothers (*mātṛgṛha*), in one case with the aim of encountering yoginīs.[118]

[116] Donaldson publishes a relief from Vaitāl Deul of three *kāpālika*s engaged in amorous activities; *Tantra and Śākta Art*, vol. 3, fig. 627. Panigrahi notes remains of a stone sacrificial altar (*yūpa*) outside of the temple. *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneswar*, 234.

[117] On the *Tantrasadbhāva*, see chapter 3, section 3, and chapter 5, section 3.

[118] Both of the references identified belong to *Tantrasadbhāva* 21, referred to above (n. 115); one has as its context the *vidyā*-mantra and worship of "Red Cāmuṇḍā" and the other, those of Cāmuṇḍā as Aghoreśī or Caṇḍā Kāpālinī—supreme goddess of the *BraYā*. In the latter case, the ritual is said to bring about direct encounter with the yoginīs. *Tantrasadbhāva* 21.211cd–13ab:

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2.3 THE LATER LITERARY EVIDENCE

WORKS OF BĀṆA: THE KĀDAMBARĪ AND HARṢACARITA

In Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita*, prose works of the first half of the seventh century composed by a contemporary of king Harṣa (r. 606–47[119]), we find evidence for tantric Śaiva ritualists and practices characteristic of the *bhairavatantras*.[120] However, while the divinities and varieties of ritual Bāṇa depicts are in no small measure consistent with the Śaiva Yoginī cult, yoginīs themselves find no mention.

In the *Kādambarī*, a love tale in ornate prose, the hero Candrāpīḍa happens upon a jungle temple of the goddess Caṇḍikā while journeying to the city of Ujjayinī. Officiating over her worship is an elderly "Dravidian" ascetic (*jaraddraviḍadhārmika*), whose grotesque appearance and dubious magical practices are described in some detail. The *Harṣacarita* too, Bāṇa's chronicle of the early life of King Harṣa, provides substantial evidence for the Tantric Śaivism of the *bhairavatantras*. As with the *Kādambarī*, this work features in its third chapter a tantric ritualist: a "Southerner" (*dākṣiṇātya*) and "great Śaiva" by the name Bhairavācārya, in this case an exhalted and powerful guru rather than macabre magician. The association between Bhairavācārya and Harṣa's ancestor, the king Puṣpabhūti, culminates in the king serving as an assistant in *vetālasādhana*—the "zombie rite" by which Bhairavācārya ascends to the skies as a semi-divine wizard (*vidyādhara*).

---

mātṛgṛhaṃ praviṣṭvā tu pūjayitvā tu maṇḍalam || 211 ||
japed yogeśvarīṃ devīṃ supaṭṭas tadgatekṣaṇaḥ |
bhramamāṇam ivākāśe tāvat taṃ nadate gṛham || 212 ||
āgacchanti tato devyo yoginyo vikṛtānanāḥ |

"After entering a temple of the Mothers and worshipping [their] maṇḍala, one should incant the [Vidyā-mantra of the] goddess Yogeśvarī, (¿) having a good cloth, one's gaze fixed on that—up until the temple resounds, as though roaming through the sky (?). Afterwards come the goddesses, yoginīs of grotesque visage."

The interpretation of 212bcd is somewhat uncertain; is the temple supposed to ascend into the sky? For *supaṭṭas*, perhaps read *svapaṭṭas* ("one's ritual cloth"), referring to a cloth inscribed with a ritual diagram.

[119] D. Devahuti, *Harṣa: a Political Study*, vii.

[120] Bāṇa's accounts of Śaivism have been discussed by Lorenzen, *Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*, 16–23; and briefly but with much substance by Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 11, 13 (n. 11). The latter's remarks are referred to below.

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The activities of the Dravidian ascetic in the *Kādambarī* are highly suggestive of the power-seeking practices of the *sādhaka* taught in *bhairavatantras*. These include the use of magical ointments (*siddhāñjana*),[121] powders (*cūrṇa*),[122] minerals (*dhātu*),[123] herbal salves (*auṣadhāñjana*),[124] bindis or forehead dots (*tilaka*),[125] and mustard seed (*siddhārthaka*);[126] alchemy (*rasāyana*);[127] the effort to find hidden treasures and to enter the netherworlds;[128] practice of mantra-propitiation (*mantrasādhana*) for attaining invisibility;[129] and seeking power over *yakṣa* maidens.[130] While these and similar magical practices are not restricted to the *bhairavatantras*, they receive their greatest elaboration in the latter scriptures.[131] In addition, Bāṇa's Dravidian ascetic is said to

[121] He is referred to as having had one eye rupture "because of a magical eye-ointment given by a quack" (*kuvādidattasiddhāñjanasphuṭitaikalocanatayā* ...).

[122] *anyadeśāgatoṣitāsu jaratpravrajitāsu bahukṛtvaḥ saṃprayuktastrīvaśīkaraṇacūrṇena* ("one who had often employed powder for controlling women on elderly nuns, who were staying [in the Caṇḍikā temple precincts] after arriving from another land").

[123] *saṃjātadhātuvādavāyunā* ("one in whom the wind-humour disease (*vāyu*) of belief in [magical] pigments/metals had arisen").

[124] *iṅgudīkośakṛtauṣadhāñjanasaṃgraheṇa* ("one having a collection of herbal salves made from the bark of the Iṅgudī").

[125] *duḥśikṣitaśramaṇādiṣṭatilakābaddhavibhavapratyāśena* ("one whose hope for power is bound to a [magical] *tilaka* taught [him] by a poorly tutored ascetic").

[126] *asakṛdabhimantritasiddhārthakaprahatipradhāvitaiḥ piśācagṛhītakaiḥ karatalatāḍanacipiṭīkṛtaśravaṇaputena* ("one the inside of whose ears have been flattened by slaps of the palms of those possessed by goblins, who had been chased away by [his] blows of sesame seeds enchanted by mantras no few times").

[127] *asamyakkṛtarasāyanānītākālajvareṇa* ("one who has an untimely fever brought on by improperly performed alchemy").

[128] *āvirbhūtanidhivādavyādhinā* ("one in whom the disease of belief in hidden treasure was manifest"), and *lagnāsuravivarapraveśapiśācena* ("one whom the 'goblin' of [desiring] entry to the netherworlds of the Asuras has latched onto").

[129] *vardhitāntardhānamantrasādhanasaṃgraheṇa* ("one whose collection of rites of mantra-propitiation for [achieving] invisibility had grown large").

[130] *pravṛttayakṣakanyakākāmitvamanorathavyāmohena* ("one in whom has commenced an infatuation with the desire to be the lover of a *yakṣa*-maiden").

[131] Note for example *BraYā* xv.13–14, which contains a typical enumeration of magical attainments:

> *adhunā sampravakṣyāmi mahāvetālasādhanam |*
> *yena tv aṣṭavidhā siddhiḥ sādhakasya prajāyate || 13 ||*
> *khaḍgaṃ rocanapātālaṃ vidyādharapadaṃ tathā |*
> *pādukau añjanañ caiva uttiṣṭhāntardhānakaṃ tathā || 14 ||*
> "I shall now teach the great zombie rite, through which the eightfold *siddhi* arises for the *sādhaka*: [magical] sword and pigment, [ability to enter] the netherworlds, the state of being a *vidyādhara*, [magical] sandals and eye-ointment, levitation (? *uttiṣṭha*), and invisibility."

This list includes three of the "fruits" sought by the Dravidian ascetic: the ability to enter the netherworlds, invisibility (*antardhāna*), and magic ointment (*añjana*). *Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra* 14.10 links the latter two, mentioning a *siddhāñjana* having invisibility as its purpose. *Siddhāñjana* is also mentioned as a magical attainment in *BraYā* LXIV.71cd (*guḍikākhaḍgavetālasiddhāñjanarasāni tu*). The *BraYā* has a chapter ostensibly devoted to the subject of *añjana*: the *añjanayogapaṭala*, number LXVIII. Regarding magical

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be versed in "thousands of wonder-tales of Śrīparvata,"[132] a mountain closely associated with esoteric Śaivism, and not to waver in his "self-identifcation with Śiva" (*śaivābhimāna*).[133] Although hence a Śaiva, his devotion to Caṇḍikā suggests engage-

"powders" (*cūrṇa*), *BraYā* LXXX.80cd mentions a recipe for one that, as is the case in Bāṇa's description, is used for bringing another person under one's power (*cūrṇena strīpumāṃ vāpi yāvajjīvaṃ vaśaṃ nayet*). Concerning the magical *dhātu*s mentioned in connection with Bāṇa's Dravidian, note for instance the mineral pigments *haritāla* (yellow orpiment) and *manaḥśilā* (red arsenic) in a list of *siddhi*s in *BraYā* XLV.58–59ab:

> *pādukau rocanā caiva haritālaṃ manacchilāṃ |*
> *yogāñjanarasā devi khaḍgaṃ cintāmaṇis tathā‖ 58 ‖*
> *upatiṣṭanti vai tasya sādhakasya tu siddhayaḥ |*
>
> 58a pādukau] *em.*; pādukā BY^{a} 58c °rasā] *em.*; °rasāṃ BY^{a} 58d °maṇis] *em.*; °maṇin BY^{a}

As with *cūrṇa*, *añjāna*, *oṣadhi*s ("herbs"), etc., *dhātu*s are substances used in ritual, which, it appears, are also thought to manifest in *siddhi*-bestowing varieties as fruits of ritual. *Rasāyana*, which appears to refer to the potent material product of alchemical processes, is listed alongside these as a *siddhi*-inducing substance, manifesting as the fruit of ritual. See for example *Tantrasadbhāva* 20:

> *kṣubhyanti puravāsinyaḥ sādhakaṃ tu tato 'naghe ‖ 317 ‖*
> *prārthayanti praveśanti dadanti manasepsitam |*
> *rasaṃ rasāyanaṃ divyaṃ auṣadhyo baladarpitāḥ ‖ 318 ‖*
> *añjanaṃ pādalepaṃ ca pāduko 'tha manaḥśilā |*
> *guḍikā śastramālā vā yad anyaṃ siddhikāraṇam ‖ 319 ‖*
>
> 319a añjanaṃ] *em.*; añjana Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}Ts^{g} 319c guḍikā] Ts^{g}; guṭikā Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}
>
> "The women of the city get aroused; then, O sinless woman, [they] beseech the *sādhaka*, give him entry, [and] proud of their power, grant him what his mind sought: divine elixir or *rasāyana*, herbs, ointment, foot balm, sandals, red arsenic, pills, a set of weapons (*śastramālā*), or else another cause of *siddhi*."

(MSS as reported by Dyczkowski.) Forehead marks or *tilaka*s comprise a related category. Chapter five of the *BraYā*, for example, provides recipes for preparing *tilaka* compounds that bestow *siddhi* when enchanted by mantra and applied in ritual. On the other hand, *siddhārthaka* or white mustard seeds do not as far as I know appear to manifest as a "fruit" of ritual, although they are certainly used in magical rites.

Bāṇa's reference to *nidhivāda* apparently refers to seeking hidden treasure by magical means. Compare for instance chapter nine of the *Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra*, which makes several references to obtaining wealth or hidden treasures as the result of ritual. For more detailed accounts, see the Buddhist *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, e.g. chapter 55. As for what Bāṇa refers to as *asuravivarapraveśa*, "entry into the netherworlds of the Asuras," tantric sources commonly call this *pātālasiddhi*, "power [to enter] the netherworlds," or simply *pātāla*. Cf. XV.13–14 above. Regarding the *yakṣa*-maidens the Dravidian is said to lust after, these (*yakṣakanyā*, *yakṣiṇī*, etc.) are frequently mentioned among the various females a *sādhaka* might seek erotic power over. On such *vaśīkaraṇa*, see chapter 5 of the present dissertation. Note also the practice of *yakṣiṇīsādhana*, rites specifically aimed at gaining the control of a *yakṣiṇī*, and not simply for erotic, but also magical ends. Cf., e.g., BORI MS no. 503 of 1895–98, "Yakṣiṇīsādhana." In the *BraYā*, an entire chapter is devoted to this subject: LXIV (labelled LX), the *yakṣiṇīsādhanapaṭala*. Bāṇa's list of magical powers and substances bears comparison with that of the Buddhist *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, discussed by Ronald Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 200–01.

[132] *śrīparvatāścaryavārttāsahasrābhijñena* ("One well-versed in thousands of wonder tales of Śrīparvata").

[133] Although this phrase might mean "pride in being a Śaiva," *abhimāna* also has in tantric literature the technical sense of "meditative identification" with a deity. Note that the expression *śaivābhimāna* occurs with this meaning in *Tantrāloka* 13.252a, where Abhinavagupta quotes or paraphrases the *Nandiśikhātantra*.

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ment in a tantric goddess cult, which is wholly consistent with the *bhairavatantras* of the Vidyāpīṭha.[134]

Although the *Harṣacarita*'s Bhairavācārya is not referred to as such, his ritual practices too are those of the *siddhi*-seeking specialist or *sādhaka* of the *bhairavatantras*, and Bāṇa utilizes the technical terminology of tantric ritual. Bhairavācārya's practice of *pūrvasevā*, preliminary worship of a mantra-deity, is described in some detail.[135] Additionally, the *vetālasādhana* Bhairavācārya undertakes bears affinity in several respects with this ritual as described in *BraYā* xv, a chapter devoted to the subject. This rite marks the culmination of his propitiation of the heart-mantra of Mahākāla.[136] On the fourteenth night of the waning moon, the king, duly initiated,[137] joins three other disciples in taking up positions as guardians of the quarters in an ash-drawn maṇḍala in a deserted temple near the cremation ground.[138] In the center sits Bhairavācārya, upon a corpse. He performs fire sacrifice (*homa*) with black sesame seeds using a fire lit in the very mouth of the body. As he performs *homa*, incanting mantras, spirits attempt to disrupt him, until finally a powerful *nāga* emerges from a fissure in the earth near the maṇḍala. Angered at not being made *bali* offerings, the *nāga* attacks, but suffers defeat at the hands of the king, who nonetheless spares the snake lord's life on spotting his sacred thread. At this point the ritual comes to fruition: won over by the pious king, Lakṣmī herself manifests in his enchanted sword, *aṭṭahāsa*.

[134] Besides presiding over a temple of Caṇḍikā, note that he is described as *paṭṭikālikhitadurgāstotreṇa* ("one who by whom a eulogy-hymn of Durgā has been copied onto a small cloth"), and *jarāṃ gatenāpi dakṣiṇāpathādhirājyavaraprārthanākadārthitadurgena* ("despite having grown old, he afflicts Durgā with prayers for the boon of overlordship of the Deccan").

[135] Bhairavācārya states, in Sanderson's translation, "I have completed the preliminary service (*pūrvasevā*) of the great Mantra called the Heart of Mahākāla by muttering it ten million times in a great cremation ground while wearing a garland of black flowers, a black robe and black unguent, with all the adornments prescribed in the Kalpa" (*bhagavato mahākālahṛdayanāmno mahāmantrasya kṛṣṇasragambarānulepenākalpena kalpakathitena mahāśmaśāne japakoṭyā kṛtapūrvasevo'smi*). "History through Textual Criticism," 13 (n. 11).

[136] *tasya [mahākālahṛdayanāmno mahāmantrasya] vetālasādhanāvasānā siddhiḥ.*

[137] It is possible that the king takes *samayadīkṣā*, the initiation of the *samayin* or "pledge holder," by which he becomes a Śaiva neophyte. This is suggested by Bāṇa's terminology, in which *niyamavān* ("possessing/observing the rules") might be synonymous with *samayin*: *athātikrānteṣv ahaḥsu prāptāyāṃ ca tasyām eva kṛṣṇacaturdaśyāṃ śaivena vidhinā dīkṣitaḥ kṣitipo niyamavān abhūt* ("Then, when the days had past and that very [designated] fourteenth of the dark fortnight arrived, the King, initiated by Śaiva procedure, became *niyamavān*").

[138] *mahāśmaśānasamīpabhāji śūnyāyatane.*

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Granted boons, he requests only *siddhi* for his guru, Bhairavācārya, who thereupon joins the ranks of the *vidyādharas*—flying, semi-divine wizards. Of her own accord, the goddess grants that Puṣpabhūti shall become progenitor of a line of great kings.

Bāṇa's description of *vetālasādhana* matches in basic details with the more elaborate account of *BraYā* xv.[139] In the *BraYā*'s description, the ritual takes place in a cremation ground on the fourteenth or tenth night of the waning moon, with the aid of assistants. The basic sequence of action is identical: the *sādhaka*, seated on the chest of the ritually prepared corpse, performs the fire sacrifice in its mouth, during the course of which various obstructing forces (*vighnas*) and spirits appear to distract or frighten him. Among the eight *siddhi*s promised is "the state of being a *vidyādhara*" (*vidyādharapada*), Bhairavācārya's aim in undertaking the ritual.[140] In both descriptions, the successful ritual ends with the *sādhaka* flying off into the sky.[141]

Both the *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita* make reference to tantric manuscripts and Śaiva texts. Bhairavācārya's lips droop slightly, as though laden with the weight of the entire Śaiva canon "on the tip of his tongue."[142] For his part, the *Kādambarī*'s Dravidian ascetic possesses a collection of manuscripts that include a *stotra* of Durgā copied onto a cloth (*paṭṭikā*),[143] and palm-leaf manuscripts with red-lac lettering con-

[139] This chapter contains, to the best of my knowledge, the most detailed account of such a practice in tantric literature. Its description of *vetālasādhana* begins with verse 13.

[140] See *BraYā* xv.13–14, quoted above. Those seeking only "petty" (*kṣudra*) or "middling" (*madhyamā*) *siddhi*s discontinue the ritual when the sought attainments are achieved.

[141] In the *BraYā*, one attains a magical sword and becomes "lord of emperors," with mastery over a crore of aerial vehicles. *BraYā* xv.63cd–64:

> *yāvad dhaste bhavet tasya tāvat khaḍgaṃ mahāprabham |*
> *tatas taṃ gṛhya mantrajño utpate gaganāṅgaṇe || 63 ||*
> *uttiṣṭhati vimānastho vimānaiḥ parivāritaḥ |*
> *tatrāruhya mahādhīraś cakravarttīśvaro bhavet |*
> *koṭyā caiva vimānānāṃ ādhipatyam avāpnuyāt || 64 ||*
>
> 63b tāvat] *em.*; tāvad Bʏ[a] 63d gaganā°] *em.*; gaganā° Bʏ[a] 64a uttiṣṭhati] *corr.*; uttiṣṭati Bʏ[a] vimānastho] *em.*; vimānastham Bʏ[a] 64b parivārtitaḥ] *em.*; parivāritaṃ Bʏ[a] 64d °īśvaro] *corr.*; °īsvaro Bʏ[a]64e vimānānāṃ] *corr.*; vimānānāmm Bʏ[a]
>
> "At that time, there would appear in his hand a sword of great brilliance. Then, grasping this, the knower of mantras would fly up into the vault of the sky. He rises up in an aerial vehicle, surrounded by aerial vehicles. Mounting that, he, very wise, he would become the lord of emperors, and would obtain mastery over aerial vehicles, by the crore."

[142] *jihvāgrasthitasarvaśaivasaṃhitātibhāreṇeva manākpralambitauṣṭham.*

[143] As mentioned previously, he is described as *paṭṭikālikhitadurgāstotreṇa*, "One who by whom a stotra

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taining "bogus spells and mantras."[144] A text he possesses is moreover identified by name: *Mahākālamata*, the "Doctrine of Mahākāla," copied according to the instructions of an elderly Pāśupata ascetic (*mahāpāśupata*).[145] Similarly, Bhairavācārya is said to have performed *pūrvasevā* ("preliminary service") of "the great heart-mantra of Mahākāla" according to the instructions laid down in its *kalpa*. It is possible that the *Mahākālamata* mentioned in the *Kādambarī* is the same *kalpa* of Mahākāla followed by Bhairavācārya, a *kalpa* being "the manuscript of a text setting out the procedure for the propitiation of a Mantra."[146] Sanderson remarks that "neither the [*mahākālahṛdaya*] mantra nor its *kalpa* can be identified now but the details of the procedure given by Bāṇa tally closely with what is laid down in Tantric Saiva sources."[147] Providing parallels, Sanderson also points out that chapter fifty-four of the *BraYā* is a *kalpa* of Mahākāla.[148] It should be mentioned, furthermore, that one of this chapter's titles is in fact *Mahākālamata*, although this is not necessarily the same *Mahākālamata* Bāṇa appears to have known of.[149]

Bāṇa associates what we might consider tantric ritual proper with a variety of other exoticized practices. This nexus is particularly apparent in descriptions of the rites and penances undertaken by those seeking to avert the death of prince Harṣa's

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of Durgā has been copied onto a small cloth."

[144] *dhūmaraktālaktakākṣaratālapatrakuhakatantramantrapustikāsaṃgrāhiṇā* ("One having a collection of small manuscripts of bogus (*kuhaka*) spells (*tantra*) and mantras on palm leaves with letters in smokey red lac"). It might be possible that *kuhaka* is here a noun rather than adjective, in the sense of "quack"—the source of the manuscripts of *tantras* and *mantras*. The term occurs in a different sense in *Netratantra* 18.89b, where Kṣemarāja glosses it as *yantrakṛtyādi*, "rites involving *yantras*, etc." However, in the *Svacchandoddyota*, he instead glosses, ***kuhakaṃ*** *vismāpakaṃ mitahṛdayapratyayakārīndrajālaprāyaṃ* ("*kuhaka* means something astonishing which causes faith in those of limited awareness—virtually magical trickery").

[145] *jīrṇamahāpāśupatopadeśalikhitamahākālamatena*, "One by whom the *Mahākālamata* had been copied, as instructed by an old Mahāpāśupata."

[146] *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. II, 78, citing Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 13.

[147] "History through Textual Criticism," 13.

[148] Ibid. Following the colophon, Sanderson refers to this as chapter 52.

[149] Although the colophon of *BraYā* LIV provides as the chapter title *mudrāpīṭhādhikāra* ("the Seat of Mudrās chapter"), verse 11cd gives its title as *Mahākālamata* (*mahākālamataṃ hy etad yat surai[ḥ] paripūjitam*). *Kalpas* outlining the propitiation of a specific mantra-deity probably circulated in multiple versions. Nothing in this chapter specifically matches Bāṇa's description of the *pūrvasevā* of Mahākāla, although *vetālasādhana* is mentioned in 194c as one of the applications of the maṇḍala of Mahākāla and the Mothers. As I discuss in chapter 4, some of the *kalpa* texts included as chapters of the *BraYā*, such as the *Mahākālamata*, bear tenuous relationships to the text as a whole and could conceivably have been independent in origin.

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ailing sire, and, in the *Kādambarī*, in the practices Queen Vilāsavatī of Ujjayinī engaged in hoping to conceive a son. In the former case, for instance, the king's relatives fast indefinitely while laying in the presence of the deity Ahirbudhan,[150] noblemen propitiate the Mother goddesses by burning themselves with lamps,[151] a "Dravidian" prepares to offer his head to the god Āmardaka,[152] a native of Āndhra prays to the goddess Caṇḍikā keeping his "rampart-like arms" (*bāhuvapra*) uplifted,[153] servants propitiate Mahākāla by burning incense resin upon their heads,[154] intimates of the king offer slices of their own flesh in fire sacrifice,[155] and princes openly perform "barter in human flesh."[156] While mantra-practice and other distinctive characteristics of tantric ritual do not figure in this account, Bāṇa associates both Tantra and these austerities with the same deities—Mahākāla, Caṇḍikā, and the Mother goddesses. In addition, he links both with South Indians and tribal peoples.[157] For her part, Queen Vilāsavatī of the *Kādambarī* engages in a wide range of orthodox and

[150] The royal *skandhāvāra*, "military camp"—the capital, according to E.B. Cowell and F.W. Thomas (p. 135)—is thus described: *kvacit pratiśāyitasnigdhabāndhavārādhyamānāhirbudhnam* ("in which, in one place, Ahirbudhan is being worshipped by close relatives [undertaking the vow of indefinite] laying before the deity"). Ahirbudhan or Ahirbudhnya, a minor and archaic Vedic divinity, is listed in *Mahābhārata* I.60.2–3 among the eleven *rudra*s who are "mind-born sons" (*mānasāḥ putrāḥ*) of Śiva (*sthāṇu*).

[151] *kva cid dīpikādahyamānakulaputrakaprasādyamānamātṛmaṇḍalam* ("[where,] in one place, the group of Mothers is being appeased by sons of good families being burnt by lamps").

[152] *kva cin muṇḍopahārāharaṇodyatadraviḍaprārthyamānāmardakam.* Lorenzen, following the translation of Cowell and Thomas, interprets this line as referring to "a Dravidian ready to solicit the Vampire [Vetāla] with the offering of a skull." *Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas*, 17. In all likelihood, this is however a reference to a *draviḍa* preparing to offer a head to the deity Āmardaka—perhaps his own, as would fit the context of extreme self-mortification. Śaiva sources speak of Āmardaka or Āmardakabhairava as a deity, but mention also a class of spirits called *āmardaka*s. For example, *BraYā* LXII.19 lists *āmardaka*s alongside the semi-divine *siddha*s, *gandharva*s, *vetāla*s, and *kiṅkara*s, while *BraYā* LXXVII is a *kalpa*-manual of Mahāmardakabhairava (cf. *BraYā* LXXII.2cd: *mahāmardakadevasya kalpaṃ vakṣyāmi tattvataḥ*—"I shall now teach the *kalpa* of lord Mahāmardaka, as it truly is"). Āmardaka is, furthermore, one of eight Bhairavas mentioned in *Svacchandatantra* 2.

[153] *kva cid āndhroddhriyamāṇabāhuvapropayācyamānacaṇḍikam* ("where in one place Caṇḍikā is being worshipped by a man of Āndhra holding up his rampart-like arms").

[154] *anyatra śirovidhṛtavilīyamānaguggulukalanavasevakānunīyamānamahākālam* ("where elsewhere Mahākāla is being propitiated by young attendants deformed by the melting incense resin held on the head").

[155] *aparatra niśitaśastrīnikṛttātmamāṃsahomaprasaktāptavargam* ("where elsewhere intimates [of the king] are engaged in offering *homa* of their own flesh cut off by sharp knives").

[156] *aparatra prakāśanarapatikumārakakriyamāṇamahāmāṃsavikrayaprakramam* ("where elsewhere the process of bartering human flesh is being performed by the king's princes, openly"). On *mahāmāṃsavikraya*, see the subsequent discussion of the *Mālatīmādhava*.

[157] On the connection with tribals, note for instance the *Kādambarī*'s mention of Śabara women applying *tilaka* of red powder (*sindūra*) to the image of Caṇḍī (p. 225, lines ines 21–22). The introduction draws similar connections between Śabara tribesmen and the fierce goddess.

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unorthodox practices in her quest to conceive a child. These include numerous austerities and worship of Caṇḍikā and the Mothers, among other deities. Some of her practices involve maṇḍala and mantra.[158]

In Bāṇa's works we thus find abundant evidence for characteristic ritual systems of the *bhairavatantra*s. Absent, however, is reference to the sacred figure of the yoginī or *yogeśvarī*. An association between tantric ritual and goddesses is nonetheless evident: the Dravidian ascetic of the *Kādambarī*, for instance, officiates as priest of a Caṇḍikā temple, and his engagement in tantric practices appears linked to devotion to the Goddess. This might suggest tantric Śaivism as known to Bāṇa was in a stage where ritual forms characteristic of the *bhairavatantra*s and a tantric cult of Caṇḍikā had developed, but in which focus upon the yoginī was not yet central or well-known.

In period literature, especially Bāṇa's *Caṇḍīśataka* and the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, the terrible warrior goddess Caṇḍī or Caṇḍikā becomes one of the principle ciphers for emergent conceptions of a singular Mahādevī, whose identity subsumes the myriad manifestations of feminine divinity. Although thus linked to all goddesses, Caṇḍī might in this period have been identified in particular with Cāmuṇḍā, leader of the Mothers, one indication being the synonymity of these names in the *BraYā*.[159] The *Harṣacarita* links Caṇḍikā to the god Mahākāla as consort,[160] forming a divine couple whose cult is not however well-represented in surviving tantric literature. One detailed and early treatment of the tantric cult of *Mahākāla*

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[158] The description begins, *yad yac ca kiṃcit kutaś cic chuśrāva garbhatṛṣṇayā tat tat sarvaṃ cakāra* ("And she did eveything she heard from anywhere out of her yearning for [conceiving] a fetus"). Note for instance that she "engaged in lustration and auspicious rites in the crossroads on many fourteenth nights [of the lunar fortnight], standing in the middle of a maṇḍala drawn by the great king [i.e. her husband], through which the deities of the directions were gratified by gifts of various food offerings" (*mahānarendralikhitamaṇḍalamadhyavartinī vividhabalidānānanditadigdevatāni bahulapakṣacaturdaśīniśāsu catuṣpathe snapanamaṅgalāni bheje*). It is also said that she "bore bamboo mantra-caskets containing birch-bark written on with yellow pigment," and that she "fastened [on herself] strands of herbs having protective cords" (*gorocanālikhitabhūrjapatragarbhān mantrakaraṇḍakān uvāha | rakṣāpratisaropetāny oṣadhisūtrāṇi babandha*).

[159] In the *BraYā*, the seventh Mother is variously called Caṇḍikā, Carcikā, and Cāmuṇḍā. On this matter, see my annotation on *BraYā* II.16.

[160] Caṇḍikā is described as *mahākālābhisārikāveṣavibhramaṃ bibhratīṃ*, "exhibiting coquettry with the guise of a women on a night rendevous with Mahākāla."

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is *BraYā* LIV, the *Mahākālamata*. This describes worship of the deity in a maṇḍala of the eight Mothers, a configuration unusual in the *BraYā* and probably archaic. In addition, two late sixth-century shrines of Ellora depict a skeletal divine couple in the company of the Seven Mothers, a couple who have been, with a degree of plausibility, identified as Mahākāla and Kālī.[161] The seventh-century tantric cults of Mahākāla and Caṇḍī might therefore have emphasized Mother goddesses; but Bāṇa does not intimate this association, nor does he make clear reference to a tantric cult of Mothers. These goddesses are nonetheless mentioned: Bhairavācārya, for instance, is said to dwell near a deserted temple of the Mothers, the queen Vilāsavatī visits Mother shrines, and reference is made to forest temples of Cāmuṇḍā.[162]

Taken as a whole, Bāṇa's works attest the existence of characteristic rituals and deities of the *bhairavatantra*s, as well as the emergence of goddess-centered tantric practice. It is noteworthy that Bāṇa associates *tāntrika*s with the Deccan and South India. While I am hesitant to place excessive value upon this regional association, it at least suggests Tantric Śaivism was associated with areas and peoples marginal to the North-central heartland of Brahmanical culture, the "Middle Country" (*madhyadeśa*). It is not clear whether tantric cults of the Mothers were yet widespread, nor whether the yoginī had emerged as a sacred figure. Hence, while Bāṇa's early seventh-century references to Tantra are by no means incompatible with the Śaiva yoginī cult, they could instead imply a phase of Śaivism that predates its development. There might, in addition, be historical significance to the divergent characterizations of Bāṇa's two *tāntrika*s: while Bhairavācārya is presented as a respected and powerful figure, the Dravidian ascetic is described as an exotic, morally ambivalent, and rather inept sorceror. It is tempting to read into this distinction an emergent divide between a

[161] See the discussion in the previous section.

[162] In *Harṣacarita* III, when the king asks the whereabouts of Bhairavācārya, he is told, *asya jīrṇamātṛgṛhasyottareṇa bilvavāṭikām adhyāste* ("he sits in a grove of *bilva* trees to the north of a decrepit Mother-goddess temple"). Chapter seven makes reference to forested areas having temples of Cāmuṇḍā erected in dense groves (*gahanataruṣaṇḍanirmitacāmuṇḍāmaṇḍapair vanapradeśaiḥ*). Cf. Yokochi, "Rise of the Warrior Goddess," 108 (n. 81). In the Kādambarī, Queen Vilāsavatī "went to temples of the Mothers in the vicinity, where faith is displayed [or perhaps, 'where portents/signs are shown'] (*darśitapratyayāni saṃnidhānamātṛbhavanāni jagāma*).

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well-established tantric Śaiva cult of Bhairava, on the one hand, and newer, marginal, and more esoteric goddess cults. It is within the latter that the roots of the Yoginī cult would lie.

THE GAÜḌAVAHO OF VĀKPATI

In the *Gaüḍavaho*, a Prakrit poetic work composed by Vākpatirāja, a contemporary of Bāṇa, there occurs a reference to "Kaula women" (*kaülanārīo*) in a hymn to the goddess Vindhyavāsinī, "She Who Dwells in the Vindhya Mountains." Travelling through the Vindhya range of central India, the king Yaśovarman approaches a jungle cave temple and offers eulogy, making vivid allusion to the sanguinary cult of the presiding Goddess. The hymn links her identity with that of the singular "Warrior Goddess" who is at once Durgā, Kālī, Caṇḍikā, and so forth, as well as the pacific Pārvatī—primary locus of conceptions of the one Mahādevī.[163] As does Bāṇa, Vākpati associates worship of the fierce goddess with exotic, macabre practices and peoples marginal to the civilized "Middle Country" (*madhyadeśa*)—in this case forest-dwelling *śabara* tribals.[164] Significantly, the description of the Goddess's cult suggests a tantric, *kāpālika* ritual dimension, and makes reference to a human sacrifice viewed eagerly by throngs of female practitioners, described as "*kaula* women."[165]

This seems to be the earliest use of the word *kaula* in literary works to describe a Śaiva sect or its members; the reference is, furthermore, somewhat surprising given that the term is not employed in this sense in Vidyāpīṭha texts such as the *BraYā* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*—the earliest Śaiva literature connected with yoginīs.[166] *"Kaula"*

[163] *Gaüḍavaho*, verses 285–338. Cf. Bāṇa's *Caṇḍīśataka*, where the conflation of the Warrior Goddess with Pārvatī is prominent. For a discussion focused on the iconic dimension of the Goddess's description in *Gaüḍavaho*, see Yokochi, 146–51.

[164] Cf. Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*, p. 65, in the description of the general of the Śabaras. Quoted by Yokochi, ibid., 148.

[165] The *kāpālika* ritual context is suggested by reference to the temple environs as a cremation ground (*masāṇa*), at which "heroes" (*vīra*) sell human flesh, in verse 327. This is briefly discussed by Yokochi, ibid., 147. On the reference to Kaula women, see Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 11 (n. 9). He translates the relevant passage as follows: "The Kaula women seem to form a shrine in the air as they clamber over each other in their eagerness to watch a victim of human sacrifice being carved up" (*visasijjantamahāpasudaṃsaṇasaṃbhamaparopparārūḍhā | gayaṇe cciya gaṃdhaüḍiṃ kuṇaṃti kaülaṇārīo*).

[166] On this distinction of "Kaula" and "Vidyāpīṭha," see chapter 3.

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could in this case have the sense of "[women] of/belonging to the Mother-goddess clans," referring to female tantric initiates, but not necessarily implying the ritual systems known from extant Kaula scriptures. Nonetheless, the context of corporate worship by women belonging to clans of the Mothers does suggest the existence of a Yoginī cult connected with the fierce Goddess. This might, conceivably, be an historical development related to identification of the Warrior Goddess with Cāmuṇḍā, "leader of the Mothers," with whom *Skandapurāṇa* 171 connects the cult of yoginīs. Though vague, the *Gaüḍavaho*'s reference to female practitioners thus provides a valuable addition to the evidence from Bāṇa, who in other respects provides more detailed accounts of Tantric Śaivism.

THE DAŚAKUMĀRACARITA OF DAṆḌIN

A narrative probably of the late seventh or early eighth century,[167] Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* has an episode of passing significance to the yoginī cult. A young rogue, Kalahakaṇṭaka, plots to entrap the beautiful, faithful wife of a merchant by having her accused of witchcraft. He claims before the merchants' guild to have seen her at night in the cremation ground dragging a corpse from a funeral pyre; upon seeing his contrived evidence for this, the townspeople believe her to be a *śākinī*—a dreadful female being described in Śaiva typologies of yoginīs. Abandoned by her husband, she falls into the hands of the rogue.[168]

Despite the ironic and undoubtedly false etymological connection to *śāka* ("leafy greens"), it requires little imagination to guess what business the decidedly non-vegetarian *śākinī* might have with a half-roasted human corpse. Kṣemarāja quotes the following definition from the *Tantrasadbhāva*:

> A female who, for the purpose of shapeshifting, ever drinks the fluids of

[167] Daṇḍin has been linked with the Pallava court of the late seventh and early eighth centuries; Walter Smith provides a brief bibliography on this matter in "The Viṣṇu Image in the Shore Temple at Māmallapuram," *Artibus Asiae* 56 (1996): 22. Isabelle Onians suggests the period of 690–725 for Daṇḍin, placing *Daśakumāracarita* within the earlier part. Onians, trans., introduction to *What Ten Young Men Did*, 25.

[168] *Daśakumāracita*, chapter 11. I have consulted the text and translation given in Onians, ibid., 440–49.

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> living beings, after drawing them close by artifice, and who after obtaining [that fluid] slays the creatures—she should be known as a *śākinī*, ever delighting in dreadful places.[169]

The *Daśakumāracarita*'s reference is the earliest I am aware of to the *śākinī* in non-tantric literature, occuring in the context of an episode similar in nature to accounts of *śākinī*s and *ḍākinī*s in the much later *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Yet here the description so lacks in detail and context as to be unclear whether it reflects influence from a tantric cult of yoginīs; belief in "witches" and female cremation-ground spirits are undoubtedly older phenomena. However, the period and terminology in question suggest the possibility that this *śākinī* tale is directly inspired by tantric typologies of female spirits and contemporary perceptions of cremation-ground ritual.

THE MĀLATĪMĀDHAVA OF BHAVABHŪTI

Substantial evidence for the Śaiva Mantramārga, and more particularly the Yoginī cult of the *bhairavatantra*s, emerges in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, an early eighth-century play.[170] While not referring to specific texts,[171] it portrays ritual practices which reflect the cultic milieu of the Vidyāpīṭha *bhairavatantra*s. This drama revolves around the clever efforts of a Buddhist nun, Kāmandakī, to bring about the marriage of Mādhava and Mālatī, despite the latter having been promised to a favorite of the king. Events take a dramatic turn when Mālatī is abducted in the night by a fierce Śaiva *sādhaka* named Aghoraghaṇṭa, and his female attendant, a yoginī named Kapālakuṇḍalā, who are intent on offering her in sacrifice to the goddess Cāmuṇ-

[169] *Netroddyota*, quoted in the commentary on *Netratantra* 2.71:

> *chalenākṛṣya pibati kṣudrā prāṇipayaḥ sadā |*
> *rūpaparivartanārthaṃ labdhvā pātayati paśūn |*
> *śākinī sā tu vijñeyā raudrasthānaratā sadā |*

With minor variants and corruptions, this corresponds to 16.163cd–64 in Dyczkowski's draft edition of the *Tantrasadbhāva*.

[170] On the dates of Bhavabhūti, see V.V. Mirashi, *Bhavabhūti*, 1–11.

[171] Śiva is, however, described as *nigamanidhi*, the "repository of scripture." Act 9, verse 4. It seems probable that *nigama* refers to the Śaiva Āgamas/Tantras, for no other large body of scripture assigns its origin to him.

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ḍā.[172]

This turn of events forms the subject of the *Mālatīmādhava*'s fifth act, set in the environs of a large cremation ground (*śmaśānavāṭa*) in the city, near to which stands a temple of Karālā, a local Cāmuṇḍā. Distressed at the prospect of Mālatī's imminent marriage, Mādhava sees no recourse but to adopt the desperate measure of "selling human flesh" (*mahāmāṃsasya vikrayaḥ*) at night to the spirits of the cremation ground, in return for his cherished boon.[173] A sword in the right hand and hunk of flesh in the left, Mādhava sets out for the cremation ground. Simultaneously, Aghoraghaṇṭa, a skull-bearing *sādhaka* from the sacred mountain Śrīparvata who dwells now in a nearby forest,[174] also avails himself of the fourteenth night of the waning moon to fulfill his pledge to sacrifice a "jewel of a woman" to the goddess.[175] While he proceeds to abduct the sleeping Mālatī, the yoginī Kapālakuṇḍalā flies off to the cremation ground to gather there items needed for the ritual. Mālatī is then led before the goddess adorned in the red garments and garlands of a sacrificial victim, while Aghoraghaṇṭa and Kapālakuṇḍalā offer worship. Hearing his beloved's piteous adieu to the world, Mādhava rushes to the temple and slays Aghoraghaṇṭa, rescuing Mālatī but incurring the wrath of Kapālakuṇḍalā.

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[172] David Lorenzen has discussed the *Mālatīmādhava* with the aim of highlighting evidence for a "lost Śaivite sect" called the *kāpālikas*, of which he assumes Aghoraghaṇṭa to be a representative. *The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects*, 53–57. The limitation of this perspective is that the term *kāpālika*, assuming a Śaiva sect by this name in fact existed, can also be applied as a descriptive term to any and all carrying out mortuary observances—whether Atimārga Śaivas, Tantric Śaivas, or Buddhist *tāntrikas*. Caution is called for in reading more than this into the term in any particular instance. Lorenzen, whose work was first published in 1972, was then unaware of the existence of a large body of tantric Śaiva scripture attesting *kāpālika* practices, although he addresses this in a cursory fashion in an appendix to the second edition.

[173] In Act Four, Mādhava says to himself, *hanta sarvathā saṃśayitajanmasāphalyaḥ saṃvṛtto 'smi | tat kim idānīṃ kartavyam | na khalu mahāmāṃsavikrayād anyam upāyaṃ paśyāmi |* ("Alas, my life's fulfillment has become completely jeopardized. What should I hence do now? I see no recourse at all other than the sale of human flesh"). Prose preceding verse 8. Sanskrit text as printed in François Grimal, ed., *Hariharaviracitā Mālatīmādhavaṭīkā*.

[174] In Act One, Kāmandakī's disciple Avalokitā describes him thus: "a *sādhaka* named Aghoraghaṇṭa who has come from Śrīparvata, who roams at night, dwelling in the forest not far away and bearing a skull" (*... sirīpavvadādo āadassa rattivihāriṇo ṇādidūrāraṇṇavāsiṇo sāhaassa muṇḍadhāriṇo aghoraghaṇṭaṇāmadheassa ...*).

[175] Kapālakuṇḍalā remarks to herself, *kathitaṃ ca me guruṇā 'vatse kapālakuṇḍale adya bhagavatyāḥ karālāyāḥ prāg upayācitaṃ strīratnam upahartavyam'* ("And my guru said to me, 'my dear Kapālakuṇḍalā, today the jewel of a woman previously promised to the goddess Karālā is to be sacrificed' "). Act Five, prose following verse 4. Cf. verse 25.

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The vengance of the yoginī bears fruit when she abducts Mālatī, whisking her off to the sacred mountain Śrīparvata to offer up in sacrifice. In this terrible deed she is foiled by Saudāminī, Kāmandakī's first disciple, who has herself attained the powers of a yoginī and undertakes the Skullbearer-observance (*kāpālikavrata*) on Śrīparvata.[176] Saving the day, Saudāminī then applies her power called *ākṣepiṇī siddhi* to shuttle the heroine and hero through the sky back into the presence of Kāmandakī. The good yoginī then flies off to rescue Mālatī's father from suicide, returning again to magically revive the swooning maiden.

Mādhava's appearance and activity make it clear he was carrying out a tantric *vrata* or "special observance." Although I am unable to find a description in tantric Śaiva sources corresponding precisely to the *vrata* Mādhava undertakes, almost all aspects have parallels. While the practice of offering human flesh in fire ritual (*homa*) is more common, Mādhava's flesh-for-boons barter with cremation-ground spirits is attested in tantric sources, and mentioned, for instance, by Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita*.[177] *Mālatīmādhava*'s twelfth-century commentator Harihara attributes such a practice to the authority of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, and quotes a passage to this effect which does not occur in the text's surviving short recension.[178] *Svacchandatantra* 4, moreover, in the context of initiatory dream prognostication, lists among auspicious portents the sight of heroes, zombies, and *siddha*s trading human flesh in the cremation ground.[179] This cremation-ground practice is apparently mentioned in the Buddhist

[176] In Act One, Avalokitā says to Kāmandakī, "Your reverence, Saudāminī now carries out a *kāpālika* observance on Śrīparvata, having obtained wondrous powers of *mantrasiddhi*" (*bhaävadi sā sodāmiṇī ahuṇā samāsādidaäccariyamantasiddhippahāvā sirīpavvade kāvāliavvadaṃ dhāredi*).

[177] A relevant passage is quoted above (n. 156). Note also a reference in *Harṣacarita* VI to the son of Prayota, described as *mahāmāṃsavikrayavādavātūla*, "mad with the doctrine of selling human flesh;" he loses his life to a *vetāla* called Tālajaṅgha.

[178] The passage attributed to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* reads, *vīrahastān mahāmāṃsaṃ gṛhītvā vīrāyābhimatavaradānam* ("Having accepted human flesh from the hand of a hero, there is the bestowing of the desired boon to the hero"). Comments ad prose preceding verse 8 (p. 154). While the first eight syllables could form an odd-numbered pāda, the remainder is unmetrical.

[179] In the Kashmiri recension of the *Svacchandatantra*, as reflected in the KSTS edition, dreaming of a cremation ground and dreaming of the sale of human flesh appear to be separate portents. However, in the Nepalese recension, as well as this passage as it was redacted into *Tantrasadbhāva* 9, the cremation ground forms the setting for this flesh trade. Comparing the KSTS edition (ST^{KSTS}), three MSS of *Tantrasadbhāva* 9 (as reported by Dyczkowski), and an early Nepalese *Svacchandatantra* codex (ST^{cod}= NAK1-224/NGMPP reel B28/18), all of which have independent value for constituting the text, the following

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Subāhuparipṛcchā as well.[180] As for timing, the fourteenth night of the waning lunar fortnight (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*) on which both Mādhava and Aghoraghaṇṭa undertake their rituals is customarily favored for cremation ground rites, including those involving flesh offerings.[181]

Mādhava is described as dark, his body nonetheless grey.[182] This could be a reference to the otherwise dark Mādhava being pale from love-sickness, which is in fact alluded to elsewhere in the play.[183] However, this might possibly refer to his dark body being smeared with ashes, for *vrata*s described in Śaiva sources usually enjoin wearing particular colors, especially black or red, or else going naked, smearing the body with ashes, etc. He has bound his curly hair upwards in the fashion of the

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is proposed as the original form of the verse in question (*Svacchandatantra* 4.14cd–15ab, in the KSTS edition):

> *jvalatpitṛvane ramye vīravīreśibhir vṛte* || 14 ||
> *vīravetālasiddhaiś ca mahāmāṃsasya vikrayam* |

jvalat°] ST$^{cod(pc)}$ST^{KSTS}Ts^{kh}; jvat° ST$^{cod(ac)}$; jvalan° Ts^{k,g} °vane] ST^{cod}Ts^{k,kh,g}; °vanaṃ ST^{KSTS} ramye] ST^{cod}Ts^{k,kh}; ramyaṃ ST^{KSTS}; (- - ?) Ts^{g} °vīreśibhir] ST^{KSTS}Ts^{k,kh}; °vīreśabhir ST^{cod}; (?) Ts^{g} vṛte] Ts^{k,kh}; vṛtam ST^{cod}ST^{KSTS}; (?) Ts^{g} °siddhaiś] ST^{KSTS}; °siddhiś ST^{cod}Ts^{g}; °siddhāś Ts^{k,kh} vikrayam] ST^{cod}ST^{KSTS}Ts^{k}; vikramam Ts^{g}; (?) Ts^{kh}

> "And in a lovely, flaming cremation ground, surrounded by heroes and heroines, [one sees in dream] the trading of human flesh by heroes, zombies, and *siddhas*."

Kṣemarāja, however, understands °*siddhaiś* in the Kashmiri recension as an associative instrumental (*vīravetālasiddhaiś ceti sahārthe tṛtīyā*).

[180] Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 203.

[181] For example, in *BraYā* xv, the practice of *vetālasādhana*, a cremation-ground rite involving a corpse, is enjoined on the eighth or fourteenth night of the waning moon (xv.15). *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 13 provides a further example of an heroic rite (*sādhana*, performed after completion of *pūrvasevā*) on the fourteenth dark lunar night. In this case, the hero fasts three nights and offers *homa* of human flesh before preceding on the fourteenth to the cremation ground, naked and alone. Standing erect, he recites the mantra until yoginīs surround him, to whom he offers blood from his left hand as the guest-offering (*argha*).

Tantrasadbhāva 17 attests a rite in which one proceeds to the cremation ground on the *kṛṣṇacaturdaśī*, bearing a human skull and reciting a mantra of Cāmuṇḍā. One offers there, in front of the cremation ground, animal flesh as *bali*.

> *oṃ cāmuṇḍe tiri tiri cchinda chinda vidhātre hiri hiri sphura sphura tiṣṭha tiṣṭha vividha vividha svāhā | anena śmaśānaṃ gatvā mānuṣyakapālaṃ dhārayitvā kṛṣṇacaturdaśyāṃ paśumāṃsena tasyāgrato baliṃ datvā tāvaj japed yāvat sphuṭati | ākāśena gacchati yatra śmaśāne tiṣṭhati tatra gṛhaṃ paśyati |*

MSS as reported by Dyczkowski; s/ś silently regularized. The sequence of events envisioned in the last sentence is unclear ("he goes via the sky[;?] in the cremation ground where he stands[,?] there he sees a building").

[182] Act Five, verse 5a: *[ya eṣaḥ] kuvalayadalaśyāmo 'py aṅgaṃ dadhat paridhūsaraṃ.*

[183] In Act Three Kāmandakī refers to Mādhava having a body by nature dark like the *priyaṅgu* vine, now pale and emaciated through his love-sickness (*priyāṅguśyāmāṅgaprakṛtir api cāpāṇḍumadhuraṃ vapuḥ kṣāmaṃ kṣāmaṃ vahati ramaṇīyaś ca bhavati*, 9cd).

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matted, upward-fastened locks of the Śaiva ascetic.[184] In addition, his bearing of a sword has parallels in cremation-ground observances. The *Kulapañcāśikā*, for example, refers to "great heroes" who, devoted to worship and meditation, swords in hand and lusting to drink human blood, wander the cremation grounds seeking encounters (*melaka*) with yoginīs.[185] Compare also the *mahocchuṣmāvrata* of *BraYā* XXI, fourth of five *vrata*s corresponding to the Four Devīs and Bhairava. In this observance, the *sādhaka* wears black clothing and garlands and a variety of ornaments, applies red lac on the feet, and bears a skull, skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*), a variety of weapons, and a *ḍamaru*-drum, etc. Meditating and practicing penance in solitude, he wanders by night through places that include the cremation ground.[186]

In addition to this portrayal of a radical *vrata*, Bhavabhūti's drama attests technical knowledge of a number of other aspects of Śaiva ritual. Aghoraghaṇṭa is described as a *sādhaka*, the specialist engaged in solitary practices in pursuit of *siddhi*. He had practiced his *mantrasādhana* in this very temple of Karālā, near the cremation ground,[187] and dwells in the forest nearby. His practices are said to involve roaming by night, the sacrifice of living beings, and carrying out the Skullbearer-observance.[188] His close connection to a female disciple is also noteworthy: her role

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[184] Act Five, prose preceding verse 5: *tat ko 'yam atigambhīramadhurākṛtir uttambhitakuṭilakuntalaḥ kṛpāṇapāṇiḥ śmaśānavāṭam avatarati* (spoken by Kapālakuṇḍalā).

[185] *Kulapañcāśikā* 3 (f. 4v):

> *pūjādhyānaratā ye tu narāsṛkpānalaṃpaṭāḥ |*
> *nityodyuktā mahāvīrāḥ khaḍgahastāḥ pratiṣṭhitāḥ ||*
> *śmaśānanilaye deva rātrau niyaṭane ratā |*
> *kathaṃ nu labhate nityaṃ yogīmelāpakaṃ hara ||*
>
> °laṃpaṭāḥ] *em.*; °laṃpaṭaṃ MS nityodyuktā] *conj.*; nityodrakto MS pratiṣṭhitāḥ] *em.*; pratiṣṭhitā MS nu] *conj.* (Isaacson); na MS hara] *em.*; haraḥ MS
>
> "O Hara, how do those great heroes who are devoted to worship and meditation, lusty for drinking human blood, endeavoring constantly, standing with swords in hand, devoted to wandering the cremation grounds at night, O god, always obtain *melāpa* with the Yoginīs?"

NAK 1-1076 (NGMPP A40/13); transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva.

[186] *BraYā* XXI.83cd–100. Owing to length, an edition of this material is not provided here.

[187] Act Five, prose following verse 4: *śmaśānavāṭasya nedīyaḥ karālāyatanaṃ yatra paryavasitamantrasādhanasyāsmadguror aghoraghaṇṭasyājñayā saviśeṣam adya pūjāsaṃbhāro mayā saṃnidhāpanīyaḥ*. On *mantrasādhana*, the practices following the *sādhaka*-consecration for achieving mastery of one's mantra-deity, see Brunner-Lachaux, "Le Sādhaka." It appears that it was the norm to practice *mantrasādhana* in a single, isolated place, as Aghoraghaṇṭa is said to have done in the temple of Karālā. Ibid., 431.

[188] Avalokitā describes Aghoraghaṇṭa as "one who wanders by night" and a "skull-bearer," as quoted in n. 174 above. In Act Five, verse 29, Aghoraghaṇṭa refers to himself as *hiṃsāruci* ("fond of violence"),

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might be restricted to that of a student and assistant, but the implication could be that she is his ritual consort as well. This possibility lacks explicit intimation.

While mortuary, *kāpālika* elements were present in the Śaiva Atimārga, cremation-ground rites focused upon control of the powerful and dangerous forces which congregate there appear unique to the Mantramārga, and particularly characterize the Vidyāpīṭha *bhairavatantra*s. Bhavabhūti vividly describes the cremation ground's frightful night denizens, which include beings such as *ulkāmukha*s ("meteor mouths"), *pūtana*s ("stinkers"), and *piśāca*s ("goblins"), as well as female varieties of the same.[189] Mādhava bears his food-offering in the left hand, as befits radical tantric ritual. He advertizes this flesh as uncut by weapons, a criterion that apparently makes it acceptable to the spirits.[190] Śaiva sources however sometimes praise the corpse of one fallen in battle as particularly suitable for ritual use.[191] Beyond the already extreme practice of making offerings of human flesh, scriptures such as the *BraYā* and *Yoginīsañcāra* mention the rite of actual human sacrifice as well,[192] whether or not this actually took place with any frequency. Given its sensational quality, Bhavabhūti is not alone among medieval poets in utilizing this theme for dramatic purposes. Attempted human sacrifice to a fierce goddess comprises, for example, the dramatic focus of the

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and *prāṇyupahāraketanajuṣ* ("frequenting places where there is sacrifice of living beings").

[189] Act Five, verses 11–18. The *ulkāmukha* is a somewhat uncommon category in Indian spiritology. In his commentary on the *Netratantra*, Kṣemarāja identifies these with the *piśāca* ("goblin"): glossing *piśācaiḥ* in 2.14b, he states, *śmaśānādivāsina ulkāmukhāḥ piśācāḥ*. Cf. his comments ad 18.99d (*piśācā aśucisthānādivāsina ulkāmukhāḥ*). *Tantrasadbhāva* 19 mentions a *kṣetrapāla* named Ulkāmukha.

[190] *Mālatīmādhava*, Act Five, verse 12:

bho bhoḥ śmaśānaniketanāḥ kaṭapūtanāḥ |

aśastrapūtam avyājaṃ puruṣāṅgopakalpitam |
vikrīyate mahāmāṃsaṃ gṛhyatāṃ gṛhyatām idam || 12 ||

"O Corpse Stinkers, denizens of the cremation ground, the greatest of meats is for sale, not purified by [being slain in battle with] weapons, unadulterated, prepared from the body of a man; please take it, take it!"

[191] Cf. *Svacchandatantra* 13.24cd: *raṇaśastraghātapatitaṃ narapiśitaṃ trimadhusaṃyutaṃ juhuyāt*, "One should offer oblations of human flesh felled by the blows of weapons in battle, mixed with the 'three types of honey'."

[192] Note *Yoginīsañcāra* 6.26cd, a somewhat random example: *sarvayogīśvarīsiddhi[r] mānuṣāt paśunād bhavet* ("Due to a human as sacrificial victim, there would be [attainment of] power over all yoginīs"). But note also, in contrast to *Mālatīmādhava*, that this source (6.100ab) appears to prohibit sacrifice of a woman: *strī paśutve niyuktā tu mahāsiddhivighātak[ā]* ("but a woman employed as a sacrificial victim ruins the major *siddhis*").

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Yaśastilaka of Somadevasūri as well, and finds mention in numerous other works of the medieval period.

Particularly relevant are the descriptions and activities of the two yoginīs, Kapālakuṇḍalā and Saudāminī. Both carry out Skullbearer-observances (*kāpālikavrata*), and the former's *kāpālika* attire is described in vivid detail. Both frequent the sacred mountain Śrīparvata, and possess the spectacular power of flight. Although the source of Saudāminī's ability to fly is unstated, it perhaps stems from the same means by which she has the power to draw others along through the air. When the bewildered Mādhava and Makaranda inquire as to her identity, she replies, "this you shall surely understand," and rises:

> I now shall for your benefit use this power of 'drawing' [through the air], which arises from my dedication to the guru, the observances, penance, *tantra*s, and *mantra*s.[193]

This list bears comparison with accounts of the practices *sādhaka*s carry out in order to attain encounters (*melāpa*) with yoginīs.[194]

Kapālakuṇḍalā introduces herself and her powers with the same phrase, *iyam aham idānīṃ*. But the source of her ability to fly differs considerably: the pernicious practice of extracting the essences of living beings by invasive yogic methods. She describes herself as untired by a flight fueled by extraction of the "five nectars" through the body's channels (*nāḍī*). This she does while absorbed in meditation upon the Self as Śiva in the heart lotus,[195] in a *cakra* on which the six ancillary mantras (*aṅga*) have been installed.[196] She praises Śiva as "lord of the *śaktis*" (*śaktināth*a), surrounded by

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[193] Act Nine, verse 52:

jñāsyathaḥ khalv etat | (utthāya) iyam aham idānīṃ,
gurucaryātapastantramantrayogābhiyogajām |
imām ākṣepiṇīṃ siddhim ātanomi śivāya vaḥ || 52 ||

Although I cannot locate parallels for the expression *ākṣepiṇī siddhi*, the ability of yoginīs to enable men to fly pervades the literature, indeed characterizes in no small measure their popular image. It is worth noting that here, *tantra* seems unlikely to mean "text," but instead "spell" or something of this nature. Cf. the previous discussion of the Gaṅgdhār inscription.

[194] Cf *Svacchandatantra* 15.32cd–33, *BraYā* LXXIII.40ab, and *BraYā* XCIX.2–5.

[195] Cf. *Yoginīsañcāra* 6.56ab: *hṛccakramadhyam ātmānaṃ dhyātvā śivasamaprabham.*

[196] Act Five, verse 2:

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whom he is meditated upon in the heart in a *cakra* of sixteen *nāḍī*s, bestowing *siddhi* upon *sādhaka*s.[197] This conception of the deity with six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*) in the center of a *cakra* of *nāḍī*s visualized in the heart is consistent with terminology of the *BraYā*, which attests similar configurations of sixteen.[198] Matching more precisely, the unpublished *Yoginīsañcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* describes as what appears to be its basic configuration the deity and six ancillaries (*ṣaḍaṅga*), who are the Six Yoginīs, in a *cakra* of sixteen *nāḍī*s.[199] The latter correspond to the vowels, as do the sixteen mantra-deities of the *BraYā*'s *bhautikacakra* and *kulacakra*, the latter moreover having a special association with yoginīs.[200] It seems probable that Kapālakuṇḍalā speaks of a

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iyam aham idānīm

nityaṃ nyastaṣaḍaṅgacakranihitaṃ hṛtpadmamadhyoditam
paśyantī śivarūpiṇaṃ layavaśād ātmānam abhyāgatā |
nāḍīnām udayakrameṇa jagataḥ pañcāmṛtākarṣaṇād
aprāptotpatanaśramā vighaṭayanty agrenabho 'mbhomucaḥ ||

"I have now arrived, ever viewing by the power of meditative absorption the Self, in the form of Śiva, arisen in the heart-lotus and placed in a *cakra* where the six ancillary [mantras] have been installed. Parting the clouds in the sky before me, I am untired by my flight, [caused] by extraction of the five nectars of living beings (*jagat*) via the ascending sequence of *nāḍī*s."

[197] Act Five, verse 1:

ṣaḍadhikadaśanāḍīcakramadhyasthitātmā
hṛdi vinihitarūpaḥ siddhidas tadvidām yaḥ |
avicalitamanobhiḥ sādhakair mṛgyamāṇaḥ
sa jayati pariṇaddhaḥ śaktibhiḥ śaktināthaḥ || 1 ||

"Victorious is the Lord of the Śaktis, surrounding by *śakti*s and placed in the middle of a *cakra* of sixteen *nāḍī*s, his form placed in the heart bestowing *siddhi* upon those who know him, sought after by *sādhaka*s with unwavering minds."

[198] Perhaps the most significant *cakra* of sixteen mantra-deities is the *kulaṣoḍaśa cakra*, the subject of *BraYā* XIV, which does not, however, use the terminology of *nāḍī*s. It encodes a configuration of the sixteen vowels around the central deity. The *bhautikacakra* of chapter nineteen, on the other hand, explicitly correlates its sixteen *nāḍī*s with the vowels.

[199] On the sixteen *nāḍī*s as the vowels, cf., e.g., *Yoginīsañcāra* 11.47ab: *nāḍīṣoḍaśabhāgotthā[n] kramā[d] varṇān samuddharet*. Chapter ten narrates how the Six Yoginīs arose from the ancillary (*aṅga*) mantras of the *vidyā*, protecting Skanda from the Seven Mothers, who had become proud of their power after slaying the demons and receiving Śiva's boon. The Six arise as deities of the *kālacakra*, the same deity configuration mentioned in chapter 5 in connection with extraction of the five nectars.

[200] This connection is suggested in the Goddess's opening question of *BraYā* XIV, which teaches the *kula[ṣoḍaśa]cakra* or *khecarīcakra*:

yoginyaḥ svalpabuddhyas tu svalpacittālpasattvikāḥ |
bhartuḥ śuśrūṣaṇaparā gurubhaktisamanvitāḥ || 1 ||
tāsāṃ siddhir yathā deva tam me brūhi samāsataḥ |

1a yoginyaḥ] *em.*; yoginyoḥ By^a °buddhyas] *em.*; °buddhyās By^a 1b °sāttvikāḥ] *em.*; °sattvikāḥ By^a 1c bhartuḥ] *corr.*; bhartu By^a °śuśrūṣaṇa°] *em.*; °svaśrūṣaṇa° By^a

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comparable configuration of sixteen *nāḍīs* of the Sanskrit vowels encircling Bhairava and his six ancillary mantras. Sanderson has, in addition, drawn attention to the fact that the process Kapālakuṇḍalā alludes to of extracting the vital essences is described in considerable detail in the *Yoginīsañcāra*.[201] As described in its fifth chapter, this involves placing the victim (*paśu*) before one and yogically drawing out the 'nectars' via the *nāḍīs*, through coordinated application of breath control and mantra.[202] In this chapter, "meditation" (*dhyāna*) is defined as the "conjoining of *bīja*-mantras and *nāḍīs*."[203] While flight is mentioned among the *siddhi*s acquired through such practices, it is by no means the exclusive aim, however.

In the dichotomy of the cruel Kapālakuṇḍalā and virtuous Saudāminī, Ronald Davidson sees the contrast of the (Śaiva) "Kāpālika propensity for violence" and the "specifically Buddhist contribution to extreme ascetic practice" of "restraint in the service of a moral direction." In his interpretation, Saudāminī is the first "Buddhist siddha" to be represented in non-Buddhist literature.[204] A number of questions might be raised concerning this formulation, however. Saudāminī's involvement with *kāpālika* observances might indeed attest emergent Buddhist participation in this domain of extreme Śaiva practice, for such begins to be described in eighth-century Tantric Buddhist sources. Yet the characterization of Saudāminī as "Buddhist" warrants further consideration, all the more so with regard to some of the play's other major characters. Although one would expect the disciple of a Buddhist nun to follow her in religious orientation, the only testament of Saudāminī's devotion is provided when, while flying, she spots the naturally-formed image of Śiva called Suvar-

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"Yoginīs, of very little intellect, very little brains and little heroic spirit, [but] intent on serving their husbands, and possessing devotion to the gurus—tell me succinctly, O god, how they may have *siddhi*."

Cf. *BraYā* 1.12cd–13, and the annotation thereon. The implication appears to be that the pantheon and practices of the *kulacakra* are specifically for yoginīs, female practitioners emulating their flying exemplars.

[201] "Purity and Power," 213 (n. 89).

[202] *Yoginīsañcāra* 5, especially from verse 41.

[203] 5.37ab: *dhyāne tu nāḍibījānāṃ saṃyogo jñānapūrvakaḥ* ("but in the case of meditation, there is the conjoining of the *bīja*-mantras and *nāḍīs*, which depends upon knowledge").

[204] *Indian Esoteric Buddhism. A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, 203.

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ṇabindu, to whom she offers homage and a verse of praise. It would thus appear that her *kāpālika* practices involve her in devotion to Śiva. Of the young ladies and men who comprise the remaining cast—"the Buddhists" Davidson speaks of Saudāminī aiding[205]—little indication of religious affiliation is in fact provided. Kāmandakī's acolytes Buddharakṣitā and Avalokitā have, unsurprisingly, Buddhist names. However, the heroine Mālatī is said to visit the temple of Śiva on the fourteenth day of the waning moon; this she does escorted by none other than the Buddhist nun.[206]

Another reason why it might be unwarranted to read the contrast between Kapālakuṇḍalā and Saudāminī in sectarian terms is that the dichotomy of the pernicious, cruel sorceress and benevolent flying demi-goddess reflects yoginī typologies found throughout Śaiva sources.[207] Moreover, Bhavabhūti's theme of the evil versus good witch might have been inspired by tales from the lost *Bṛhatkathā*—the source from which Bhavabhūti in fact drew the basic plot of his drama.[208] If Davidson is nonetheless correct in seeing in Saudāminī evidence for Buddhist engagement in *kāpālika* practice, it should still be pointed out that his interpretation reflects a one-sided, blood-and-power characterization of Śaivism that little captures the complexities of this tradition, echoing dramatic, polemical, or exoticizing treatments of extreme Śaiva practice in medieval literary texts. This attitude seems to extend even beyond Davidson's depiction of *kāpālikas*; note, for instance, his characterization of the medieval

[205] Davidson remarks, "She [Saudāminī] has gained the siddhis, most particularly that of flight (*khecari* [*sic*]), and has come to assist the Buddhists in their struggle with the evil Kāpālika siddha, Aghoraghaṇṭa, and his female companion, Kapālakuṇḍalā." Ibid., 203.

[206] Act Three, p. 103: *ajja kasaṇacaüddasi tti bhaävadīe samaṃ māladī saṃkaragharaṃ gamissadi tado evaṃ kila sohaggaṃ vaḍḍhadi tti devadārāhaṇaṇimittaṃ sahatthakusumāvacaäṃ uddisia lavaṅgiādudīaṃ māladiṃ bhaävadī jevva kusumāarujjāṇaṃ āṇaïssadi tado aṇṇoṇṇadaṃsaṇaṃ bhodu tti* ("Since today is the fourteenth of the waning moon, Mālatī will go with Her reverence [Kāmandakī] to the temple of Śiva. Then, as it is believed conjugal fortune (*saubhāgya*) thus increases, Her reverence shall herself bring Mālatī, attended by Lavaṅgikā, to the garden 'Treasury of Flowers,' with the aim of [her] gathering flowers with her own hands for the purpose of worshiping the deities. Thus may [Mālatī and Mādhava] behold each other").

[207] See the critical editions and annotation of *BraYā* LXXIII.

[208] See the introduction to M.R. Kale's edition of the *Mālatīmādhava*, 24–27. On the theme of the good versus wicked witch, note in particular an episode in *Kathāsaritsāgara* XII.1, a Sanskrit retelling of the *Bṛhatkathā*, in which a woman—secretly an evil *śākinī*—transforms her husband into a buffalo when he catches her in a compromising position with a buffalo herder. He is later rescued through the kindness of a benign yoginī, who restores his form, provides him her daughter in marriage, arms him with magical mustard seeds to enact revenge, and instructs him finally in the *vidyā*-mantra of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī. I discuss related material in the subsequent section on the *Bṛhatkathā* retellings.

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representation of Śiva: "a killer divinity with a permanent erection."[209]

What I see this fascinating play providing evidence for is severalfold. First, the practices described are of course those of the Mantramārga, and not of a non-tantric *kāpālika* sect.[210] This is evidenced in particular by Aghoraghaṇṭa's stated engagement in *mantrasādhana*, and the above descriptions of the two yoginīs' sources of ritual power. Significant parallels in descriptions of ritual and its aims, as well as the importance of Cāmuṇḍā, "leader of the Mother goddesses" (*mātṛnāyikā*), point moreover towards the *kāpālika*- and goddess-oriented cults of Vidyāpīṭha scriptures. Also present is a fundamental formulation of the Yoginī cult: the possibility of women becoming flying Mistresses of Yoga through ritual perfection. That this tantric and *kāpālika* cult had its centers of activity at sacred *pīṭha*s such as Śrīparvata, was viewed primarily as a domain of Śaivism, and invited Buddhist participation, might also be suggested. Altogether, the evidence from the *Mālatīmādhava* suggests that by the early eighth century, the Yoginī cult described in *bhairavatantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha was prevalent, corroborating references to this literature in the old *Skandapurāṇa*.

THE HARAVIJAYA OF RATNĀKARA

While the *Mālatīmādhava* shows general awareness of the *kāpālika* cult of yoginīs described in Vidyāpīṭha sources, the early ninth-century *Haravijaya* of Ratnākara,[211] in contrast, contains clear references to the Trika—the cult of the goddess triad Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā—probably in its developed Kaula variety. This Kashmirian *mahākāvya* echoes specific *siddhāntatantra*s, as identified by Sanderson,[212] and in a hymn to the goddess Caṇḍī, displays technical knowledge of the Trika's system of deity visualization.[213] This hymn makes passing reference to yoginīs as well, describ-

[209] *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 90.

[210] In contrast, note that the *Mattavilāsa*, a seventh-century drama which parodies the antinomian and *kāpālika* activities of a Śaiva ascetic, provides no conclusive indications of Mantramārga practices.

[211] Concerning the date of composition, Sanderson suggests "around 830," based upon his assessment of the dates of Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, the Kashmiri monarch in whose court Ratnākara apparently wrote the *Haravijaya*. "History through Textual Criticism," 6 (n. 3).

[212] "History through Textual Criticism," 5–6.

[213] See Sanderson, "Maṇḍala and Āgamic Identity in the Trika of Kashmir," 169 (n. 1); and "History through Textual Criticism," 18–19 (n. 21). See also David Smith, *Ratnākara's Haravijaya: An Introduction*

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ing the Goddess in union with Bhairava as the radiant nave of a *cakra* of *yogeśvarī*s, i.e. yoginīs, upon whom one meditates to attain identity with Śiva.[214] Also noteworthy is the fact that yoginīs, in contrast to the Seven Mothers, have not been incorporated into the rich Śaiva mythology of this work to any significant degree: they figure only in the above reference to esoteric ritual.[215] In marked contrast, the thirteenth-century *Haracaritacintāmaṇi* of Rājānaka Jayadratha, also a Kashmiri, prominently integrates yoginīs into Śaiva mythology.[216]

THE BṚHATKATHĀ AND ITS RETELLINGS

The various retellings of the lost Prakrit *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, "The Grand Tale," offer a wealth of material pertinent to Tantric Śaivism and the Yoginī cult. The *Kathāsaritsāgara*, an early eleventh-century Sanskrit version by the Kashmiri author Somadevabhaṭṭa, is permeated with references to tantric practices and practitioners and contains vivid accounts of yoginīs. Closely parallel to this is the mid eleventh-century *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra, this too of Kashmiri provenance. An earlier Sanskrit version, the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha*, also contains much that is relevant to the study of Tantra; but there are telling contrasts in these texts, probably separated by a century or more in time. Reaching further back to the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* of Saṅghadāsagaṇin, an early Jaina retelling in Prakrit, evidence for Tantra and the yoginī cult recedes from view.[217]

In the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, "The Odysseys of Vasudeva," we do nonetheless glimpse proto-tantric ideas and practices of some relevance to the formation of the Yoginī cult, especially its tales of the *vijjāhara*s (i.e. *vidyādhara*) and their "lores" (*vijjā*, i.e.

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to the Sanskrit Court Epic, 263–66.

[214] *Haravijaya* 4.28; this has been quoted and translated by Smith, *Ratnākara's Haravijaya*, 262.

[215] I base my knowledge of the deities and myths in the *Haravijaya* largely on the studies by Smith (Ibid., 225–76), and Santosh Kumari Sharma, *Haravijaya of Ratnākara: a Criticism*, 268–316.

[216] An episode prominently featuring yoginīs is described in Sanderson, "Religion and the State," 285–86.

[217] For an overview of the *Bṛhatkathā* and a thesis on the relations between its various retellings, see Donald A. Nelson, "The *Bṛhatkathā*: a Reconstruction from the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgrha, Peruṅkatai* and *Vasudevahiṇḍi*;" and "*Bṛhatkathā* Studies: the Problem of an Ur-text," *Journal of Asian Studies* 37:4 (1978), 663–676.

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vidyā).[218] While of uncertain dating, the text is written in a Prakrit Ludwig Alsdorf argues belongs to the early centuries of the common era.[219] The *Vasudevahiṇḍi* therefore comprises the earliest surviving retelling of the *Bṛhatkathā*, though owing to its adaptation to Jaina "universal history," not the most faithful.[220] While yoginīs have no role in this tale, another category of divine woman does have a significant position: the *vidyādharī*, female counterpart of the *vidyādhara* or "lore-holder." It is these "lores" (*vidyā*) and their semi-divine masters, both male and female, that have significance for the present study.

In Donald Nelson's assessment, the core narrative of the original *Bṛhatkathā* had three concerns: the hero Naravāhanadatta's gradual acquisition of wives, *vidyā*s, and overlordship of the *vidyādhara*s. These also form an integral sequence, for *vidyā*s must be mastered in order to conquer *vidyādhara*s, and Naravāhanadatta learns many of these from his *vidyādharī* brides.[221] On the treatment of *vidyā*s in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, I take as example an episode from book fourteen, which tells the tale of the hero's marriage to the *vidyādharī* princess Mayaṇavegā.[222] In an aerial scuffle with his *vidyādhara* abductor, the hero, Vasudeva, falls from the sky and finds himself in the River Gaṅgā. He encounters a person endeavoring to master a *vidyā*, standing in the water in the garb of a mendicant ascetic, who says, "on seeing you, my *vidyā* has become perfected (*siddhā*) ... tell me, what token of friendship might I offer you? I am a *vidyādhara*."[223] Vasudeva requests to learn a *vidyā* that bestows the power of

[218] Saṅghadāsagaṇin's text has been published as *Vasudevahiṇḍiprathamakhaṇḍam*, 2 vols., edited by Caturavijaya and Puṇyavijaya[-muni?] (Kathiawar: Shri Jain Atmanand Sabha, 1930). On *vidyā*s in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, see A. P. Jamkhedkar's useful appendix, *Vasudevahiṃḍī: A Cultural Study*, 225–35. Note also Jagdish Chandra Jain, "Vidyādharas in the Vasudevahiṇḍi," *Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda* 24 (1974?): 120–127.

[219] Alsdorf argues that the text is written in an archaic form of Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī dating to a period "centuries" prior to the sixth century C.E., possessing linguistic features that bear comparison with the Ardhamāgadhī of the early Jaina canon. Alsdorf, "The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a Specimen of Archaic Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8:2–3 (1935–37): 319–33 (quote on p. 320).

[220] Nelson, "*Bṛhatkathā*: a Reconstruction," 256.

[221] Nelson, "*Bṛhatkathā*: A Reconstruction," 282–83, 294, 305–06.

[222] This chapter was brought to my attention by Nelson, 222–23, and Jamkhekdar, *Vasudevahiṃḍī: A Cultural Study*, 228. Here and elsewhere, I have consulted the comparative summary/translation of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* and *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* by Jagdish Chandra Jain, *The Vasudevahiṇḍi: An Authentic Jain Version of the Bṛhatkathā*.

[223] *Vasudevahiṇḍi* 14 (vol. 2), p. 229: *siddhā me vijjā tumha daṃsaṇeṇa ... saṃdisaha, kiṃ vā payacchāmi*

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flight. After initiating him, the *vidyādhara* instructs Vasudeva in this lore. He follows the prescribed ritual for a day; in the evening a divine woman manifests before him, and with his assent, carries him off into the sky.[224]

The method and terminology for *vidyā*-practice in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* bears remarkable continuity with later tantric ritual. First and foremost, *vidyā*s are not only "lores," in the sense of spells to be mastered that accomplish specific aims, but also deities to be propitiated. Thus when the divine woman manifests before Vasudeva, he wonders whether she is the *vidyā*-goddess herself, pleased with his worship.[225] This shows clear similarity with the tantric conception of *vidyā*s as goddesses, female mantra-deities. Furthermore, access to the *vidyā* requires initiation, for which the terminology is identical to that of later Śaivism: Vasudeva becomes *dikkhio*, i.e. *dīkṣitaḥ*, "initiated;" the rite is unfortunately not described. Just like a tantric mantra-deity, a *vidyā* bears fruit when it becomes "perfected" or "mastered" (*siddhā*).[226] This initial process of making the mantra effective is, in our example, described as *puraccaraṇa* (Sanskrit *puraścaraṇa*), "prelimary service/propitiation," a term having similar meaning in tantric ritual. As in tantric *puraścaraṇa*, this involves primarily incantation, alongside other rites and observances.[227] For example, in order to master the *vidyā*s called *suṃbha* and *nisuṃbha*, Vasudeva must make food offerings to deities (*bali*) on a mountain peak on the fourteenth night of the waning moon, and repeat the *vijjā* one-thousand and eight times. Here, significantly, no distinction is made between the

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pītidāṇaṃ? ahaṃ vijjāharo.

[224] Ibid., 229–30; cf. Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, 435–37.

[225] Vasudeva at first wonders whether the divine woman is an "obstruction personified" (*viggha*, i.e. *vighna*) taking the form of a beautiful temptress, but then decides she is the goddess of the *vidyā* (*vijjābhagavatī*), "pleased by his preliminary worship" (*puraccaraṇatosiyā*, i.e. *puraścaraṇatoṣitā*). It becomes clear in the course of the story that she is rather Mayaṇavegā, a *vidyādharī* princess—the sister of Daṇḍavega, the *vidyādhara* Vasudeva encountered upon falling from the sky. *Vasudevahiṇḍi* 14 (vol. 2), p. 230.

[226] Hence, the *vidyādhara* who teaches Vasudeva the lore for magical flight states, *ahorāte atīe ahaṃ te samīvaṃ essaṃ ti, puṇṇapuraccaraṇassa ya vijjā siddhā bhavissaï tti na saṃdeho so gato* ("He said, 'When a day and a night have passed, I will come to you', and 'you will master the *vidyā* when the preliminary worship is complete; of this, there is no doubt,' then left"). *Vasudevahiṇḍi* 14 (vol. 2), p. 229–30.

[227] On the subject of *puraścaraṇa* or *pūrvasevā*, "the 'preliminary ritual' for making a mantra effective (*siddha*)," see Gudrun Bühnemann, "On Puraścaraṇa: Kulārṇavatantra, Chapter 15," in Teun Goudriaan (ed.), *Ritual and Speculation in Early Tantrism. Studies in Honor of André Padoux*, 61–64 (quote on p. 61); and Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Initiating the Monarch" (*forthcoming*), n. 355.

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vidyā and its mantra: the *vidyā* is the mantra to be perfected, upon which it grants its powers. In this case, however, the two *vidyā*s are not explicitly deified—although they might conceivably embody their namesake demons: the Śumbha and Niśumbha of *Devīmāhātmya* fame.[228] In another story, a *vidyādhara* who had lost his powers is said to practice the *sāhaṇa* (Sanskrit *sādhana*) of a *vidyā*, this being in Tantric Śaivism the term for the observances one undertakes to achieve power (*siddhi*) with a particular mantra or *vidyā*.[229] It is unclear whether in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* this is distinct from *puraścaraṇa*.

Further investigation is required into early Indian conceptions of *vidyā*s, for they seem highly relevant to the development of Tantra and the Yoginī cult. In the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*'s *vidyā*s, it would seem that we find, already, a conflation of mantras, female deities, and specific magical powers, access to which requires initiation. In other words, by the term *vidyā/vijjā* is connoted a specific mantra, the power resulting from its mastery, and the goddess who embodies it, who must be won over through *puraścaraṇa* and/or *sādhana*. This nexus of ideas has clear continuity with later, self-consciously tantric conceptions of mantra and ritual. The idea of *vidyā*s as goddesses takes on extraordinary significance in the later tradition, for the earliest literature of the Śaiva Yoginī cult identifies itself as belonging to the Vidyāpīṭha division of the Śaiva canon: "The Seat of Female Mantra-deities." This level of the tradition is distinguished by its emphasis on practices for attaining power, *siddhi*, and upon *vidyā*s or female mantra deities—myriad manifestations of Śiva's primordial energy or power, *śakti*. Through the conception of this *śakti* as feminine, goddesses and

[228] *Vasudevahiṇḍi* 6 (vol. 1), p. 195: *ahaṃ vijjāharo, atthi me duve vijjāo suhasāhaṇāo sumbhanisumbhāo uppayanippayaṇīo, tāo tava demi. tumaṃ si tāsiṃ bhāyaṇaṃ. jaṃ puṇa balivihāṇaṃ taṃ ahaṃ savvaṃ uvaṇemi. tumaṃ kālacaüddasīe egāgī mamaṃ milasu. aṭṭasahassāvattiyā ya te vijjā sijjhihiti tti* [=*sijjhahi tti*?]: "I am a *vidyādhara*, and I have two *vidyā*s easily mastered, Śumbha and Niśumbha, for flying up and coming down; I'll give them to you—you are a fit recipient for these. I will on my part take care of all the *bali* food offerings. Meet with me alone on the fourteenth of the waning moon, and when the *vidyā* has been repeated one-thousand and eight times, you will master it." My attention was directed to this passage by Jamkhedkar, *Vasudevahiṃḍī: A Cultural Study*, 228.

[229] *Vasudevahiṇḍi* 4 (vol. 1), p. 176: *esa aṃgārao vijjābhaṭṭo sāhaṇaṃ kuṇati vijjāe* ("this is Aṅgāraka, who has lost his lore and [hence again] does *sādhana* of the *vidyā*"). Cf. the description of the *vidyā*s *sumbha* and *nisumbha* as *suhasāhaṇa*, "the *sādhana* of which is easy," i.e. "easily mastered," quoted in the previous note.

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power become consubstantial—a connection absent in proto-tantric conceptions of *vidyā*s.

It would appear that *siddhi*-oriented forms of tantric practice, which culminate in the cult of yoginīs, represent the continuity of proto-tantric *vidyā* practices integrated within Śaiva and Buddhist soteriologial systems. One of the most distinctive characteristics of Tantric Śaivism, as well as Buddhist Tantra, is indeed the claim of efficacy for both soteriological ends and the pursuit of power. This pursuit of power was, in the broadest sense, a quest for superhuman agency: to embody the powers of deities. One important locus for such conceptions is the figure of the *vidyādhara*, the individual whose mastery of *vidyā*s affords transcendence of the human condition. This transcendence is expressed through abilities such as flight, and entry into paradisal realms neither of this world nor, strictly speaking, beyond it; one may enter into the community of *vidyādhara*s.

Attainment of *vidyādharapada*, the status of a *vidyādhara*, was in fact the aim of much of the non-soteriologically oriented ritual outlined in early tantric literature, from the Śaiva *Niśvāsa* corpus to early Tantric Buddhist texts.[230] Recall that this was, for instance, the aim of the 'zombie rite' (*vetālasādhana*) in which the king Puṣpabhūti assisted Bhairavācārya, as portrayed in Bāṇa's early seventh-century *Harṣacarita*. Writing in 673 C.E., a Chinese monk in India named Yi-jing refers to the emergent corpus of Buddhist tantric literature as the *Vidyādharapiṭaka*, "the canon of the *vidyādhara*s."[231] This concern with *vidyā*s and becoming a *vidyādhara* must also be seen as a broader theme in ancient Indian folklore, apparently predating the early medieval formation of tantric sects. Nowhere is this more evident than in the retellings of the *Bṛhatkathā*—the narrative of an individual's journey from human prince to emperor of the *vidyādhara*s. With the development of the cult of yoginīs, the

[230] Becoming a *vidyādhara* appears as the goal of many of the *siddhi*-oriented practices outlined in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*, this being mentioned a dozen times. Note, for instance, 11.85: *oṃ parameśvaraparāya namaḥ | anena mantreṇa parvataśikharam āruhya bhikṣāhāro daśalakṣāṇi japet | vidyādharo bhavati ||* ("OṂ PARAMEŚVARAPARĀYA NAMAḤ—after ascending the peak of a mountain, one should incant one million times with this mantra. One becomes a *vidyādhara*").

[231] Stephen Hodge, ed., *The Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra: with Buddhaguhya's Commentary*, 10.

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figure of the *vidyādhara/ī* recedes somewhat into the background in Tantric Śaivism, while the quest to embody divine powers takes on new forms. The figure of the yoginī is itself among the foremost of these expressions, for as is the case with the *vidyādharī*, a woman may aspire to become one.

Though written perhaps half a millenium after the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*,[232] the Sanskrit *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* still contains scant references to yoginīs. A scene in chapter twenty describes a cremation ground, where at night a variety of tantric practitioners congregate:

> In one place I saw a circle of witches [*ḍākinīmaṇḍala*] with upraised arms and flowing hair dancing naked around a corpse. In another place I saw a man brandishing a sword and holding a skull that he was using as a bowl. He was saying, 'Mighty ones, buy some human flesh!' Then, guarded in each of the cardinal directions by a troop of armed men, there was an aspiring magician [*sādhaka*] with a magical sword who was floating up into the sky.[233]

Here we see depictions of tantric cremation-ground ritual familiar from other literary sources: the sale of human flesh (*mahāmāṃsavikraya*), as depicted in the *Mālatīmādhava*, and a rite parallel to the *vetālasādhana* Bhairavācārya undertakes under armed guard in the *Harṣacarita*. However, there is also described a coven exclusively of women, *ḍākinī*s, engaged in a wild rite with a corpse. Most interesting of all is the subsequent depiction of Dhanamatī, a *vidyādharī* queen who has taken the guise of an elderly tribal woman (*mātaṅgavṛddhā*). There in the cremation ground at the root of a banyan

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[232] The dating of the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* of Budhasvāmin is problematic. Its editor, Félix Lacôte, places the text in the eight or ninth century C.E. Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā. Suivi du Texte Inédit des Chapitres* XXVII *à* XXX *du Nepāla-Māhātmya*, 147; cited by Nelson, "*Bṛhatkathā*: a Reconstruction," 5. Nelson, without explaining his reasons, sees the text as a composition of the late Gupta period; ibid. The text's most recent editor and translator, James Mallinson, remarks more cautiously that we can only be sure of a pre eleventh-century dating. *The Emperor of Sorcerors*, vol. 1, 13.

[233] *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* 20.94–96:

> *ujjhitāmbaram udbāhu prakīrṇakacasaṃcayam |*
> *paritaḥ kuṇapaṃ nṛtyad ḍākinīmaṇḍalaṃ kvacit || 94 ||*
> *kvacit puruṣam utkhaḍgaṃ upāttaghaṭakarparam |*
> *mahāmāṃsaṃ mahāsattvāḥ krīyatām iti vādinam || 95 ||*
> *saśastrapuruṣavrātarakṣitāśācatuṣṭayam |*
> *sādhakaṃ siddhinistriṃśam utpatantaṃ nabhaḥ kvacit || 96 ||*

Text and translation as given by Mallinson, *Emperor of Sorcerors*, vol. 2, 186–87.

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tree she performs fire sacrifice, offering human blood into a charnel fire with a ladle held in her left hand, incanting a mantra ending with the syllable 'HAṂ'.[234] Animating a corpse to do her bidding, she uses this rite of subjugation (*vaśīkaraṇa*) to bring the hero under her power and marry him to her beautiful granddaughter. He offers scant protest.

In the parallel episode of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, chapter four, the disguised *vidyādharī* is said merely to recite a mantra in the cremation ground, by which she causes an animated corpse (*veyāla*, i.e. *vetāla*) to kidnap the hero.[235] It thus appears that a reference in the original to a *vidyādharī* practicing her art in the cremation ground has in the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* been fleshed out with reference to later tantric ritual. That is, *vidyā*s and their *vidyādhara/ī* masters are to some extent recast in the image of contemporaneous tantric ritual and ritualists. Besides the reference above to *ḍākinī*s, the figure of the yoginī does not, however, feature with any prominence.

In contrast, the *Kathāsaritsāgara* affords a fascinating view of yoginīs from a region and period in which their cult was highly prominent—eleventh-century Kashmir. In this text, yoginīs take on much of the imagery and roles of the *vidyādharī* from earlier retellings of the *Bṛhatkathā*.[236] In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, we encounter yoginīs as both divine and corporeal women: powerful and nameless groups of flying goddesses, as well as remarkably human characters, between which, perhaps, little distinction was intended.[237] Those depicted as "actual" women range from impetuous, even vile

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[234] *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* 20.97–98:

ityādibahuvṛttāntaṃ paśyatā pretaketakam |
yātrāṃ yā gacchatā dṛṣṭā sā dṛṣṭā sthavirā mayā || 97 ||
vaṭamūle citāvahnau vāmahastārpitasruvā |
haṃkārāntena mantreṇa juhvatī naraśoṇitam || 98 ||

[235] *Vasudevahiṇḍi* 4 (vol. 1), p. 178–79, especially p. 179: *...saṃpāvio piuvanaṃ | diṭṭhā ya mayā māyaṃgavuḍḍhā kiṃ pi jaṃpaṃtī |* ("I reached a cremation ground, and saw the elderly tribal woman incanting some powerful [mantra]").

[236] Though omitted from the present discussion, the same may be said of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, a text closely parallel to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* written not long after it in Kashmir.

[237] I am grateful to Isaacson for first directing my attention to accounts of yoginīs in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, beginning with a Sanskrit reading seminar in the autumn of 2002. My awareness of the material has also benefitted from a stimulating article by Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt, which draws on stories of yoginīs from the *Kathāsaritsāgara*: "The Good Woman's Shadow: Some Aspects of the Dark Nature of Ḍākinīs and Śākinīs in Hinduism," in Cornelia Vogelsanger and Anette Wilke, eds.,

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"witches" to virtuous and accomplished tantric adepts. This spectrum of characters accords with taxonomies of yoginīs from tantric literature: in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, yoginīs are classified, variously, as *ḍākinī*s or *śākinī*s—lowly and cruel varieties—while yoginīs without such qualifiers are frequently benevolent.

The yoginīs of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* form a colorful assortment. In book six we meet one named Citralekhā, whose prowess in flight facilitates the union of her friend, the princess Uṣā, with Aniruddha of Dvāravatī.[238] Another well-meaning yoginī instructs her friend in mantras for turning her illicit lover into a monkey, and for restoring her pet to human form on demand.[239] In contrast, note for instance the *ḍākinī* Kālarātri, the grotesque and lusty wife of an orthodox brahmin teacher (*upādhyāya*) who possesses the power of flight through mantra-practice and consumption of human flesh. She secretly acts as guru to a coven of *ḍākinī*s, which a future queen joins with disastrous consequences.[240] Another story tells of a weary traveller who unknowingly accepts the hospitality of a *śākinī*. He thwarts her attempt to use enchanted barley to turn him into a goat, but ends up being turned into a peacock by the butcher's wife, a "wicked" (*duṣṭa*) yoginī.[241] In another episode of book six, we find not yoginīs, but false accusations: a jealous queen, a greedy female renunciant, and clever barber conspire to make the king think his newest bride is secretly a *ḍākinī*, who sucks out his vitals whilst he sleeps.[242] A different sort of yoginī is represented by Śarabhānanā, whose name and description are suggestive of a theriomorphic goddess rather than human 'sorceress'.[243]

A number of tales in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* pit benevolent and malefic yoginīs against each other, much as does the *Bṛhatkathā*-inspired *Mālatīmādhava*. Book seven includes the story of a certain Bhavaśarman of Vārāṇasī, who had an affair with a

Wild Goddess in India and Nepal, 39–70.

[238] *Kathāsaritsāgara* VI.5.1–36.

[239] Ibid., VII.107–18.

[240] Ibid., III.6.102–218.

[241] Ibid., XII.4.263–77.

[242] Ibid., VI.6, especially 153–80.

[243] Ibid., VIII.5.123–134. This name means "Śarabha-face," the *śarabha* being an exotic, mythical beast.

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fickle brahmin woman, Somadā, a "secret yoginī" (*guptayoginī*, 150d) of the worst sort—a "petty *śākinī*" (*kṣudraśākinī*, 168b). One day, in a fit of jealous anger he beats her. Hiding her rage, the next day she slips his sacred thread around his neck and turns him into an ox. Sold as a beast of burden, another yoginī, Bandhamocinī, spots him and restores him to human form. Transforming themselves into horses, the two yoginīs duel, and Bhavaśarman and Bandhamocanī fell Somadā.[244] In another, parallel episode, a certain Vāmadatta discovers that his wife, Śaśiprabhā, is secretly both an adultress and a *śākinī*. Caught in the act with a herdsman, she turns her enraged husband into a buffalo, beats him, and sells him off. A "perfected yoginī," however, recognizes him in animal form and restores his humanness. She gives him her own daughter in marriage, supplies him with enchanted mustard seeds to enact revenge, and in the end, initiates him and his wife into the *vidyā* of the goddess Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī. Upon the sacred mountain Śrīparvata, their mantra-practice achieves fruition, and Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī herself manifests and bestows a magic sword. They become *vidyādhara*s.[245]

In the story of Kandarpa of Ratnapura, in *Kathāsaritsāgara* XVIII.4, we encounter yoginīs as groups of powerful, flying beings. One day, when at dusk the brahmin Kandarpa goes to fetch water from the river Veṇā, the current sweeps him away. He nearly drowns, awakening on the riverbank near a deserted temple of the Mother goddesses. Entering the temple, he prays to the Mothers for succor. At night, from among the Mothers emerge a group of flying yoginīs who take Kandarpa under their protection. Later, while in flight, another group of yoginīs accost them, desiring to harm Kandarpa, and in the scuffle he falls to the ground, lost.[246] This has some

[244] This episode occurs as VII.3.147–69.

[245] Ibid., XII.1.31–72.

[246] There are considerable inaccuracies in David White's summary of this episode (*Kathāsaritsāgara* 18.4.204–22). In his words,

> A brahmin named Kandarpa from Ratnapura comes upon a deserted Mother goddess temple (*śūnya mātṛdevagṛha*) in the night. Entering, he sees a brilliant light. He prays to the Mothers to protect him. When the daylight comes, he finds garlands of bones and the skulls of children. He realizes they are from a host of Mothers [i.e., witches]. He later hears the group of Yoginīs speaking amongst themselves: "Today we must go to the gathering of the circle (*cakramelaka*) that is taking place in Cakrapura." The Yoginīs

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parallels in a story from book fourteen.[247] After failing in his studies, a certain Nāgasvāmin sets off from Pāṭalīputra to see the goddess Vindhyavāsinī. In a town along the way, a housewife gives him a red lotus along with the alms he seeks. The lady of another house sees him, and exclaims, "O alas! You have been selected by a yoginī. Under the pretext of a red flower, she has given you a human hand—look!"[248] And so it was. The housewife sends him to a brown cow (*kapilā*) in the home of a certain Devarakṣita; nestled between her hooves, the divine cow affords him protection through the night when the yoginī and her coven descend upon him, seeking flesh and blood. Next he seeks the aid of a "great Pāśupata," but he too can keep the yoginīs at bay only temporarily, and sends him off to someone else. Along the way, the yoginīs catch Nāgasvāmin and whisk him off into the sky. Like Kandarpa, he falls to the ground when there ensues an aerial battle with a rival group. He lands in a deserted place near a temple, where dwells a beautiful *yakṣiṇī*, Sumitrā, cursed to dwell among mortals. She takes him as lover for the duration of her curse.

Looking at the development of the *Bṛhatkathā* corpus, it appears that the yoginī becomes an increasingly important locus for tales of magical women, encroaching

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find him hiding there, and carry him off with them... One of their number, named Sumanas, marries him. Leaving the circular gathering of the Yoginīs (*yoginyaścakramelaka*), she carries him away with her up into the sky.

Kiss of the Yoginī, 213. Compare with the sound translation of Charles Tawney, *The Ocean of Story*, vol. IX, 57–61. In fact, having been swept away by a river, Kandarpa comes upon the Mother temple at dawn (*dināgame*), and overcome by exhaustion, sleeps there into the night (205–10). No reference is made to "garlands of bones and the skulls of children;" the night is described as a female ascetic (*rajanitāpasī*) who is white with the ashes of moonlight, who wears a necklace of bones that are the stars, and whose gleaming skull-bowl is the moon (*āgāt tārāsthimālāḍhyā jyotsnābhūtisitā tataḥ | śaśiśubhrakapālā ca raudrī rajanitāpasī*, 211cd; perhaps White finds *śiśu*, "child," in *śaśiśubhra*?). In order not to leave him unprotected in the wild, the assembled yoginīs decide to take Kandarpa along for their airborne night journey, and drop him off at the home of a *brāhmaṇa*. It happens that the gentleman's daughter's auspicious period for marriage (*lagna*) had arrived, but no suitable groom. Kandarpa is promptly married to Sumanas, and we are given no indication she was but an ordinary young woman (213–20). Late in the night (*paścime yāme*), the yoginīs return from their ritual gathering (*yoginyaś cakramelakāt āgatya*; White appears to understand *yoginyaścakramelakāt* as a compound, or else the nominative plural *yoginyaś* as genitive plural). They carry Kandarpa back up with them into the sky, from which he is dropped when a battle ensues with a group of yoginīs desiring to do him violence (°*jihīrṣubhiḥ*) (221–22).

[247] *Kathāsaritsāgara* XIV.4.20–61.

[248] Ibid., XIV.4.25d–26a: *tatratyā gehinī hā dhig yoginyā svīkṛto bhavān || paśya datto nṛhastas te raktābja-vyājato 'nayā.*

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upon the territory of the *vidyādharī* especially. A number of conceptual continuities link the *vidyādharī* and yoginī, above all their command of mantras, powers of flight and shapeshifting,[249] and their variegated transactions with mortals, for whom they present both danger and access to powers. We find, for instance, the *vidyādharī* Hiraṇṇamatī of the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* recast in the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* as a tantric sorceress, Dhanamatī, while in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *vidyādharī* Bhadrā is also referred to as a *yogeśvarī*.[250] Note also how in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* story of Vāmadatta, a perfected yoginī (*siddhayoginī*) takes on roles played by the *vidyādhārī* in earlier retellings: the yoginī bestows her own daughter in marriage to the hero, as did for instance Hiraṇṇamatī/Dhanamatī, and she facilitates the hero's mastery of *vidyā*s, just as do Hiraṇṇamatī's daughter and other *vidyādharī*s. In this case the *vidyā* is the mantra of Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, a form of Kālī important in the Krama cult of contemporaneous Kashmir.[251] Its fruit, however, remains that which the original *Bṛhatkathā* would have attributed to mastery of *vidyā*s: Vāmadatta and his wife become *vidyādhara*s.[252]

While the *Kathāsaritsāgara*'s yoginīs have direct continuity with the earlier figure of the *vidyādharī*, we also find *yakṣiṇī*s, a class of demi-goddess with strong connections to trees and the natural world, recast as yoginīs. Note that the stories of Kandarpa and Vāmadatta, summarized above, both involve the theme of yoginīs dropping a man to the ground when they are accosted in the sky by rival groups. This appears to recast tales of *yakṣiṇī*s from earlier *Bṛhatkathā* versions: in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, in the beginnings of chapters five and fourteen, the hero fabricates stories of having been dropped from the sky when there ensued a scuffle over him between two *yakṣiṇī*s.[253] This is of particular interest, for it illustrates the breadth of the cate-

[249] While both share the ability to change forms, yoginīs more typically take on animal form, as discussed in the introduction to this dissertation. Cf. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 23, quoted later in this chapter (n. 309). *Vidyādharī*s, on the other hand, more often transform themselves by taking on human guise; note e.g. the case of Dhanamatī/Hiraṇṇamatī, mentioned above, who along with her daughter takes on the form of a tribal woman (*mātaṅgī*).

[250] Ibid., III.4.378.

[251] On Kālī as Kālasaṃkarṣaṇī, see Sanderson, "Maṇḍala and Āgamic Identity in the Trika of Kashmir," 188–204.

[252] *Kathāsaritsāgara* XII.1.64–68.

[253] For example, in chapter fourteen, after being dropped by the wicked *vidyādhara* Mānasavega, the

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gory 'yoginī', which could encompass earthly women of power as well as goddesses. This also reinforces the degree to which multiplicity was integral to conceptions of yoginīs: pairs of rival *yakṣiṇī*s become cast as feuding groups of yoginīs.

THE YAŚASTILAKA OF SOMADEVASŪRI

Beyond the ninth century, references to yoginīs become common in literary sources, and a comprehensive review is beyond the present study. One work meriting particular mention is the *Yaśastilaka*, composed by a Jaina author, Somadevasūri, in the Śaka year 881 (i.e. 959 C.E.).[254] The *Yaśastilaka*'s frame story concerns the battle-lusty and passionate Māradatta, a king who, advised by a Kaula guru (*kulācārya*) named Vīrabhairava, plans a massive sacrifice to the goddess Caṇḍamārī. Through this he seeks to attain a magical sword and thereby become lord of the *vidyādhara*s.[255] On the appointed day, a veritable zoo of sacrificial animals is assembled, while the king himself is to slay two human victims. Unbeknownst to the monarch, those brought before him in the temple are his own nephew and niece, who had left home as children to become Jaina ascetics. Chastened by their tranquil presence, the sovereign sets down his sword and listens to his nephew narrate the life of king Yaśodhara—the core narrative of the *Yaśastilaka*. In the end, Māradatta abandons his violent ways and becomes a renunciant. With its theme of a narrowly-averted human sacrifice to

hero says, *ahaṃ jakkhiṇīhiṃ dohiṃ mahaṃ tumaṃ ti bhaṃḍaṃtīhiṃ paḍimukko āgāse ihaṃ paḍio* ("I fell here, released into the sky by two *yakṣiṇī*s threatening 'you're mine!' "). Vol. 2, p. 229.

[254] I read primarily from the *editio princeps*: *Yaśastilaka of Somadev Sūri, with the commentary Candrikā of Śrutadeva Sūri*, ed. Paṇḍit Śivadatta and Vāsudeva Laxman Śāstrī Paṇaśikar (2 vols.). The more recent edition is that of Sundaralāla Śāstrī, *Śrīmatsomadevasūri-viracitaṃ Yaśastilakacampū Mahākāvyam*. This work has been the subject of a rich and useful study by Krishna Kanta Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, or Somadeva's Yaśastilaka and Aspects of Jainism and Indian Thought and Culture in the Tenth Century*. On the dating of the text, see ibid., 2.

[255] *sa punar ekadā nṛpatir ātmarājadhānyām eva caṇḍamāridevatāyāḥ puratah sakalasattvopasaṃhārāt svayaṃ ca sakalalakṣaṇopapannamanuṣyamithunavadhād vidyādharalokavijayinaḥ karavālasya siddhir bhavatīti vīrabhairavanāmakāt kulācāryakād upaśrutya khecarīlokalocanāvalokanakutūhalitacetās tathaiva pratipannatadārādhanavidhiḥ* ... ("Once, the king heard from a *kula*-master named Vīrabhairava that by sacrificing all [sorts of] creatures before the goddess Caṇḍamārī in one's own capital city, and oneself slaying a pair of humans endowed with all the auspicious marks, one gains the power of a magical sword that gives victory over the *vidyādhara*s. His heart made eager to gaze into the eyes of the flying [*vidyādhara*-] women, and having learned the procedure for worshipping her [Caṇḍamārī], ..."). *Yaśastilaka* 1, vol. 1, p. 44.

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the Goddess, this work hence appears to echo the *Mālatīmādhava* or the latter's own sources.

References to Śaivism in the *Yaśastilaka* attest to Kaula goddess cults in the tenth century, a period from which in any case there survives abundant Kaula literature.[256] Unsurprisingly, the text's Jaina author provides a polemical characterization of the Kaula—what he refers to as the teachings of the "clan masters" (*kulācārya*)—connecting it intrinsically with blood sacrifice and the consumption of forbidden substances. Somadevasūri also mentions a specific Kaula sect, referring twice to the "Trika system" (*trikamata*)—the important cult of the goddesses Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā.[257] The text also alludes to practices connected with yoginīs: a spy of the king Yaśodhara disguises himself as a colorful and seedy Śaiva, an antinomian *siddha* who mimics Śiva in his form as the tribal huntsman (*kirāta*), and who, on account of communion with yoginīs, is advertized as possessing astonishing knowledge and powers.[258] His "communion with yoginīs" (*mahāyoginīsaṅgati*) undoubtedly signifies

[256] Handiqui identifies and discusses numerous references to Śaivism in the *Yaśastilaka*, which concern Pāśupatas, the Śaivasiddhānta, and the Kaula. *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 199–219, 224–29, and 354–60.

[257] One reference to the *trikamata* occurs in a brief doxography of views on liberation: *sarveṣu peyāpeya-bhakṣyābhakṣyādiṣu nihśaṅkacittād vṛttād iti kulācāryakāḥ | tathā ca trikamatoktiḥ madirāmodameduravadanat-starasarasaṭprasannahṛdayaḥ savyapārśvaviniveśitaśaktiḥ śaktimudrāsanadharaḥ svayam umāmaheśvarāyamā-ṇaḥ kṛṣṇayā śarvāṇīśvaram* [*em. (silent)* Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 204 (n. 3); *sarvāṇī*° Ed.] *ārādhayed iti* ("According to the *kula*-gurus, [liberation transpires] due to acting with a mind free of inhibition with regard to all that is considered fit or unfit for drinking, and fit or unfit for eating, etc. Hence the saying of the Trika system, 'having one's heart (¿) ... impassioned and gladdened on account of (?) a mouth dense with the fragrance of wine, having one's female ritual partner seated on the left side, holding the posture of the *śaktimudrā*, themselves imitating Umā and Śiva, one should worship the Lord of Śarvāṇī [i.e. Bhairava] together with the Dark Goddess [*kṛṣṇayā*; or, "with dark spirits"?]'." *Yaśastilaka* VI, vol. 2, p. 269. The text appears suspect at the point °*vadanastarasarasa*°; perhaps emend °*vadanas taralasarasa*°? The possibility that *kṛṣṇā* could refer to Kālī/Caṇḍikā was suggested to me by Isaacson (personal communication, March 2007). The variant reading reported for *kṛṣṇayā* in the edition of Sundaralāla Śāstrī is *madirayā* ("with wine"), which could suggest understanding *kṛṣṇā* as "dark liquor." Śāstrī (ed.), *Śrīmatsomadevasūri-viracitaṃ Yaśastilakacampū Mahākāvyam*, 184. Another passage in *Yaśastilaka* I refers to initiation into the Trika system: *sakalajanasādhāraṇe 'pi svadehe trika-matadīkṣitasyeva devabhūyenābhiniviśamānasya* ("[the king Māradatta] who, as though initated into the Trika system, was obsessed with [the idea] that his body is divine, even though it is like everybody's"). Vol. 1, p. 43. Sanderson points out that the *Yaśastilaka* thus provides evidence for the presence of the Kaula Trika in the Deccan in the mid-tenth century—one of several indications that the Trika was by no means a specifically Kashmirian tradition. "A Commentary on the Opening Verses of the *Tantrasāra* of Abhinavagupta," 132–33.

[258] *Yaśastilaka* III, vol. 1, p. 399–400: ... *pracurapratikarmavikṛtagātraiḥ sattriputrair daṇḍājinikaiś ca pari-vrājakaiḥ eṣa khalu bhagavān saṃjātamahāyoginīsaṃgatir atīndriyajñānodgatiḥ siddhaḥ sāmedhikaḥ saṃvanana-karmaṇā kariṇā kesariṇam api saṃgamayati vidveṣabheṣajena jananīm apy ātmajeṣu vairiṇīṃ vidadhātīty*

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yoginīmelāpa, the "union" or "encounter" with deities texts of the Yoginī cult describe as among the foremost attainments of ritual, effecting access to the highest powers.

Caṇḍamārī ("Grim Destroyer"), the goddess to whom Māradatta intended to offer sacrifice, presides over a temple called Mahābhairava in the royal capital.[259] The goddess' association with this temple and her vivid *kāpālika* iconography link her to Bhairavī, the goddess consort of Bhairava and primary locus of the concept of the Mahādevī and "supreme Śakti" (*parā śakti*) in the *bhairavatantra*s. Caṇḍamārī's name and description also place her within the broader "fearsome goddess" typology epitomized by Caṇḍikā/Caṇḍī—the primary name with which Bāṇa addresses the "Great Goddess" in his panegyric, the *Caṇḍīśataka*.[260] While the name Caṇḍamārī seems unattested in tantric sources, a goddess Mārī does appear to have had importance. The *BraYā* mentions texts by the names *Mārī* and *Mahāmārī*, presumably centered upon this goddess' cult, while the *Tantrasadbhāva* contains some material concerning this deity.[261] *Purāṇic* sources too refer to Mahāmārī; in particular, the *Agnipurāṇa* has a chapter devoted to her *vidyā*-mantra,[262] while the *Devīmāhātmya* provides *mahāmārī* as an epithet of the Goddess as universal destroyer.[263]

āvedyamānajñānamantratantraprabhāvaḥ ("He has his powers of [occult] knowledge, spells, and mantras announced by (¿) *sattriputra*s, whose bodies are disfigured by plentiful apotropaic rites (?), and by ascetics with staves and antelope skins, who say, 'this lord is veritably a perfected wizard (*sāmedhika*); he has attained communion with powerful *yoginī*s, and reveals extrasensory knowledge, and possesses supernatural power. Through magical rapprochement, he can make even a lion accord with an elephant, and through drugs for causing enmity, he can make even a mother inimical to her children'."). Cf. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 57–58. Handiqui renders the highly uncertain *sattriputrair* with "acting as informers," a description of the *parivrājaka*s. The commentary of Śrutadevasūri reads the no less opaque *sanniputraiḥ*, as does the edition of Śāstrī, who reports *satriputraiḥ* as a variant. *Śrīmatsomadevasūri-viracitaṃ Yaśastilakacampū Mahākāvyam*, vol. I, p. 253.

[259] That the temple of Caṇḍamāri stands in the royal capital is stated in *Yaśastilaka* I, vol. 1, p. 44 (*ātmarājadhānyām eva caṇḍamāridevatāyāḥ puratah*), while its name is given in the prose on p. 148 (line 4–5, *mahābhairavaṃ nāma tad devāyatanam*).

[260] Descriptions of Caṇḍamārī include *Yaśastilaka* I, vol. 1, pp. 150–51 (in part quoted and translated by Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 56), and verses I.136–37. Her iconography is entirely *kāpālika*, and her descriptions include images of sacrificial violence; cf. Bāṇa's descriptions of Caṇḍikā in the *Kādambarī* (pp. 224–28 of the edition).

[261] *BraYā* XXXVIII.41c lists texts called *Mārī* and *Mahāmārī* in its account of the Vidyāpīṭha division of the *bhairavatantra*s. A goddess called Mahāmārī is mentioned in *Tantrasadbhāva* 20.111–13, with her mantra and its application given in 20.124cd–139ab. This mantra-deity is, fittingly, connected with magical slaying (*māraṇa*).

[262] Chapter one-hundred and thirty seven, of which the colophon reads *ity āgneye mahāpurāṇe yuddhajayārṇave mahāmārī nāma saptatriṃśadadhikaśatatamo 'dhyāyaḥ*.

[263] *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* 92.35–36 (*Devīmāhātmya* 12).

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Somadevasūri connects Caṇḍamārī and her temple with "*mahāyoginīs*," bellicose goddesses whose flight through the heavens he depicts vividly. In contrast to the *Mālatīmādhava*, in which yoginīs were accomplished human adepts, here they are portrayed as a horde of powerful deities. Brandishing skull-staves (*khaṭvāṅga*), adorned with snakes and skulls, and with third-eyes blazing, the yoginīs assemble in the Caṇḍamārī temple from the skies, the earth, the depths of the netherworlds, and the intervening regions (*digantarāla*).[264] The flight of the tempestuous goddesses shakes the heavens as they descend like the nights of universal destruction.[265] While not specifically described as enshrined within its precincts, their association with Caṇḍamārī's temple is noteworthy, for, as Vidya Dehejia observes, the *Yaśastilaka* belongs to the period in which major Yoginī temples were constructed.[266] The temple environs "being filled" by alighting yoginīs evokes the language of embodiment used for describing deities as living presences in a temple, and suggests the possibility of their presence as sculpted images. This possibility receives some support in the reference made to worship of the "circle/group of Mothers" (*mātṛmaṇḍala*) within the temple precincts; at least one period source appears to uses the term *mātṛ* to refer to the sixty-four goddesses of a yoginī temple.[267] Irrespective of this possibility, the *Yaśastilaka* appears to point toward a contemporaneous association between yoginīs and temples.

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[264] Note in particular, *sasaṃrambham ambaratalād ilāyāḥ pātālamūlād digantarālebhyaś ca vibhāvaryāṃ tamaḥsaṃtatibhir ivāvirbhavantībhiḥ* ... (describing *mahāyoginībhiḥ*; *Yaśastilaka* I, vol. 1, pp. 44–45).

[265] Cf., especially, *Yaśastilaka* I, vol. 1, p. 47: *sakalasya jagataḥ kṣayakṣapābhir ivātidāruṇadīrghadehābhir mahāyoginībhir āpūryamāṇaparisaram* ... ("[the temple of Caṇḍamārī,] the precincts of which were filling up with powerful yoginīs, whose bodies were extremely frightful and long, like the nights of the whole world's destruction;" describing *devāyatanam* [p. 49]). Cf. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 56–57.

[266] *Yoginī Cult and Temples. A Tantric Tradition*, 26. Dehejia provides an English translation of this passage from the *Yaśastilaka*, ibid., 26–27.

[267] *Yaśastilaka* I, vol. 1, p. 49, *kvacit tīkṣṇapuruṣāpakṛṣṭasvakīyāntrayantradolanatoṣyamāṇamātṛmaṇḍalam*, describing *devāyatanam* ("in one part [of the temple], fanatic people appease the group/circle of Mothers by swinging by the contraption of their own extracted entrails"). Cf. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, 22. The eleventh-century Siyān inscription of Bengal refers to the installation of Bhairava surrounded by sixty-four Mothers, i.e. yoginīs; this is discussed in the subsequent section.

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2.4 TEMPLES OF THE YOGINĪS

By the middle of the tenth century, if not somewhat earlier, yoginīs became the focus of a temple cult of wide geographic distribution and evident prominence, with the construction of major yoginī temples continuing through perhaps the thirteenth century. Erected in stone from Orissa to Hinglajgadh, on the Madhya Pradesh–Rajasthan border, and as far south as Tamilnadu, the circular, hypaethral (open to the sky) temples of the yoginīs are architecturally unique in medieval India, and remain enigmatic in terms of religious history and ritual function. Numerous temples and much loose yoginī statuary have been documented by Vidya Dehejia, beyond whose important monograph on yoginī temples only a few additional contributions have been made in the past two decades.[268] Despite her efforts to relate the art historical record to literary accounts of yoginīs, the state of the study of Śaiva literature limited Dehejia's access to the textual corpus of greatest relevance to the yoginī temple tradition. Bringing these two bodies of evidence together still presents considerable challenges, and in the present section I offer only preliminary, general reflections upon the yoginī temples in light of Śaiva textual sources—an area to which I expect to devote further study.

Of the yoginī temple sites and image sets no longer *in situ* identified by Dehe-

[268] Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples. A Tantric Tradition.* From the earlier literature, I should mention the unpublished doctoral thesis of Margrit Thomsen: "Kult und Ikonographie der 64 Yoginīs" (Free University of Berlin, 1976). Though less comprehensively than Dehejia, Thomsen was the first to bring together references to yoginīs from a broad range of *purāṇas*, primarily, and analyse the major extant yoginī temples. Note also her brief article, "Numerical Symbolism and Orientation in Some Temples of the 64 Yoginīs," *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* (March 1980): 53–56. Of less significance is H. C. Das, *Tantricism: A Study of the Yoginī Cult* (of 1981); Das puts together summaries of a number of episodes concerning yoginīs from the *purāṇas*, and provides image-by-image descriptions of yoginīs from several temples—but only in some cases based upon first-hand observations. His subsequent discussion of yoginīs, *Iconography of Śākta Divinities*, vol. II, 408–67, is drawn largely from the former publication. The only monograph concerning a single yoginī temple is R. K. Sharma's *The Temple of Chaunsaṭha-yoginī at Bheraghat*—ironically titled, as Dehejia points out, since this temple probably enshrined eighty-one rather than sixty-four (*chaunsaṭha*) goddesses. The bulk of this book consists of an image-by-image description of the *mūrtis*. As Dehejia remarks (p. 126), Sharma contributes little new knowledge concerning the Bherāghāt temple, which had been more ably surveyed by R. D. Banerji, *The Haiyayas of Tripuri and their Monuments*. A revision of a doctoral thesis of 1984, the somewhat superficial monograph of Rajendra Prasad Simha also concerns yoginīs: *Cauṃsaṭha Yoginiyāṃ evaṃ unake Mandira*. More recently, Thomas Donaldson has brought his considerable knowledge of regional art to bear upon the two yoginī temples of Orissa. *Tantra and Śākta Art of Orissa*, vol. 2, 661–74.

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jia, which number around fifteen, at least five were concerned with sets of sixty-four yoginīs. The Bherāghāt temple contains eighty-one goddesses, while two ruined temples of central India might have housed sets of forty-two.[269] In the remaining cases, the original number of images cannot be determined. With exceptions, such as the rectangular Khajuraho yoginī temple, the temples have circular structures, and often feature a central shrine in the courtyard with a cult image of Śiva or Bhairava. All are hypaethral. Although the sites of the extant yoginī temples and those associated with known loose statuary are concentrated in modern Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, the medieval temple cult was certainly not confined to these regions: one set of yoginī images has been found in northern Tamilnadu,[270] while inscriptional evidence points towards construction of yoginī temples in Bengal as well.[271] The extant images do not enshrine a group of deities with fixed individual identities: any given set of yoginīs is unlikely to tally with another, with the exception of the Seven Mothers, who appear with particular frequency—a fact entirely consonant with textual accounts of yoginīs.

One of two extant temples located in Orissa, the smallest of the yoginī temples is situated in a secluded clearing near the village Hīrāpur, not far from Bhuvaneśvar (FIGURE 2.15).[272] According to one regional source, this would place the temple within the boundaries of Ekāmra, an important religious center that is included among the *pīṭha*s or sacred sites enumerated in early tantric literature, such as the *BraYā*.[273] Thomas Donaldson, whose comprehensive surveys of Orissan art have considerable value for the study of early tantric traditions, opines on stylistic grounds that the

[269] Near Dudāhī survive the remains of a temple of forty-two yoginīs, while Dehejia argues that the superstructure of the present Gadarmal Mother temple at Badoh was built atop a rectangular temple of forty-two yoginīs; she finds evidence for forty-two niches, as well as eighteen fragmentary goddess images. *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 142–43.

[270] Ibid., 181–83.

[271] On the Siyān inscription of Bengal, see below.

[272] The following description of the temple is based upon analysis of photographs in the AIIS Photo Archive, and the images published by Thomas Donaldson, *Tantric and Śākta Art*, vol. 3.

[273] Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta Art*, vol. II, 661; he refers to the *Ekāmracandrikā*, as quoted by R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, vol. II (Kolkata: Wyman & Co., 1880), 103. The sacred geography of the *BraYā* is discussed in the subsequent chapter.

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temple belongs to the middle of the tenth century.[274] Comparatively well preserved, this small-scale hypaethral temple has an entrance passage protruding outward from its circular structure, lending to the whole the shape of the *yoni*-pedestal of a Śiva-*liṅga*, as Margrit Thomsen suggests.[275] A (rebuilt) rectangular shrine stands in the center.

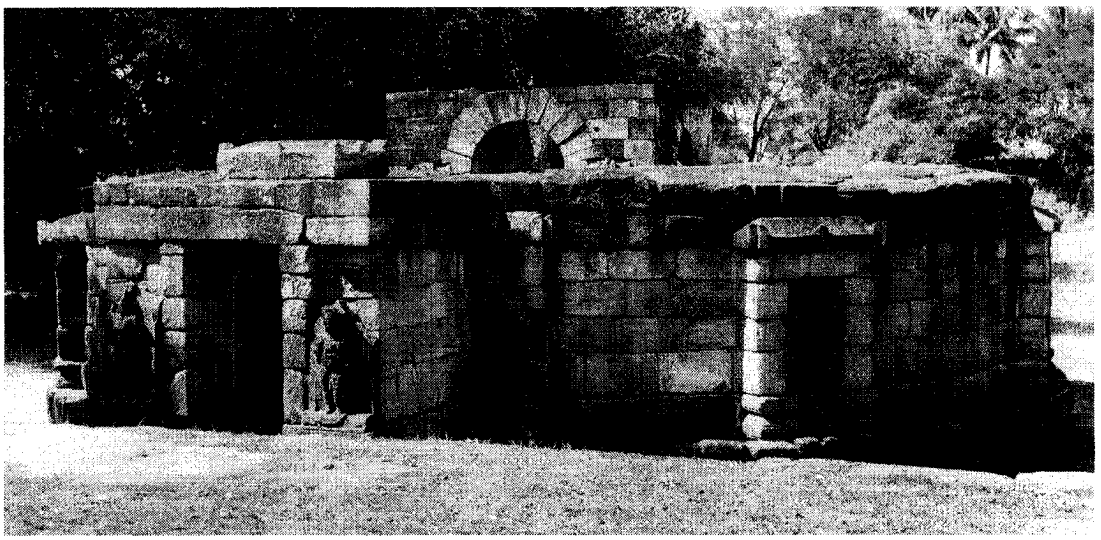


FIGURE 2.15: Frontal view of the Hīrāpur yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

Nine grim goddesses of relatively little iconographic distinction appear around the exterior of the circular structure, which is unusual in yoginī temples. Local tradition points toward identification of these as the "nine *kātyāyanī*s" (FIGURE 2.18).[276] Two male "door guardians" (*dvārapāla*) flank the entranceway, while a skeletal male deity is present on either side of the entrance passage's interior. The iconic program of the interior of the temple features sixty-four yoginīs, sixty of whom are arrayed in shallow cells along the interior perimeter of the circular wall. The goddesses therefore face towards the central shrine, a rectangular structure with four entrances

[274] This date is posited based upon similarity to the *alasakanyā* images on the Mukteśvar temple of nearby Bhuvaneśvar, which Donaldson assigns to the mid tenth-century. Dehejia had also noted these similarities, but considered the Mukteśvar temple to be somewhat older; she places the Hīrāpur temple in the second half of the ninth century. *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 99–100.

[275] Thomsen, "Numerical Symbolism," 53.

[276] See the discussion of Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta Art*, vol. II, 662.

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that might once have housed an image of Śiva.[277] Flanking each door of the central shrine is a deity pair: two pairs of yoginīs, who complete the sixty-four, and two pairs of *bhairava*s. The latter include Ekapādabhairava (FIGURE 2.20)—a deity of regional significance who also features in the *BraYā* under the name Jhaṅkārīśa or Jhaṃkāra-bhairava.[278] One of the sixty goddesses along the perimeter (no. 31) appears to be "leader" of the group, for her image is positioned opposite the entrance, possesses ten arms rather than two or four, and is significantly larger. Perhaps intended as female counterpart to the central Śiva, this unidentified image is unfortunately in a poor state of preservation.[279] Viewing the temple as a maṇḍala, an analogy likely to have substance in this case, Śiva stands at the center with an inner circuit of deities comprised of four yoginīs and four *bhairava*s, surrounded in the second circuit by sixty yoginīs. Nine *kātyāyanī*s form the outer layer of divinities, while additional deities guard the maṇḍala entrance (*dvāra*).

The yoginīs of the Hīrāpur temple compose an expressive and variegated set, for detailed descriptions of which I refer the reader to K. N. Mahapatra, Donaldson, and Dehejia.[280] Their iconography ranges from macabre (FIGURE 2.21) to martial, playful (FIGURE 2.16), and sensuous (FIGURE 2.17). A number of the goddesses are theriomorphic (FIGURE 2.19) and still more have animal *vāhana*s (FIGURES 16–17, 21), encompasssing species of considerable variety. Particularly common are images of dance, music, and war. Several, but still a small minority of the yoginīs have *kāpālika* iconography; some, for instance, carry or even drink from skull-bowls (FIGURE 2.17) or stand upon severed heads or corpses. Excepting Cāmuṇḍā (FIGURE 2.20), the most

[277] Dehejia reports that the image of Śiva had been *in situ* when the temple was first discovered. *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 95. However, the basis for her claim is unclear, for nothing of the sort is reported by the first scholar to document the temple: K. N. Mahapatra, "A Note on the Hypaethral Temple of Sixty-four Yoginīs at Hirapur," *Orissa Historical Research Journal* II (1953?): 23–40; reprinted in H. K. Mahtah, ed., *Orissa Historical Research Journal, Special Volume*, 1982.

[278] On images of Ekapādabhairava in Orissa, see Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta Art*, vol. 2, 464–64. I have noted sculptures of Ekapāda only in Orissa and neighboring Andhra Pradesh.

[279] Published in Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 63. A full-bodied goddess, this image probably does not represent Cāmuṇḍā, who appears elsewhere in the circle (FIGURE 2.21). None of the iconic emblems associated with her damaged ten arms remain discernable. Perhaps Bhairavī?

[280] Mahapatra, "Note on the Hypaethral Temple;" Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta Art*, vol. 2, 661–67; and Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 95–102.

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FIGURE 2.16: Hīrāpur yoginī with *ḍamaru* drum, standing upon wheel and rat (?). *AIIS Photo Archive* (detail).



FIGURE 2.17: Hīrāpur yoginī on lotus and elephant, drinking from a skull-bowl. Photograph by Don Stadtner, from the *AIIS Photo Archive*.

macabre deities of all are not the yoginīs themselves, but the goddesses upon the temple's exterior face—grim, well-armed deities perched upon heads (FIGURE 2.18)—and the two skeletal male deities in the entrance passage. While few other sculpted sets approach the expressiveness of the Hīrāpur deities, the breadth of characterization of the latter is typical of both textual and iconic representations of yoginīs.

Also perhaps of the mid-tenth century, the larger yoginī temple at Rānīpur-Jharial in Orissa houses sixty-four goddesses, with its simple, four-pillared central shrine containing a dancing Śiva (FIGURE 1.1). Donaldson suggests that a damaged and relocated image of similar scale, perhaps of Cāmuṇḍā, might have originally have been situated in the company of the central Śiva.[281] Probably of the same period, the yoginī temple of Khajuraho in central India has a rectangular rather than circular plan,

[281] Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta Art*, 670.

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FIGURE 2.18: One of nine *"kātyāyanīs"* (?); Hīrāpur yoginī temple, to the right of the entrance, exterior facade, standing upon severed head. *AIIS Photo Archive.*



FIGURE 2.19: Lion-faced yoginī, Hīrāpur temple. Photograph by Don Stadtner; included in the *AIIS Photo Archive.*

although it too is open to the sky. Though none of its images appears to be extant, the niches number sixty-five, with no indication of there having existed a central shrine; a comparatively large niche opposite to and facing the entrance presumably housed the central cult image, whether of Śiva or the Goddess. A ninth-century dating had been proposed for this temple, but Dehejia considers the mid-tenth century more plausible on stylistic grounds.[282] To the south, on an isolated hilltop near Jabalpur, stands the most imposing and perhaps best known of the yoginī temples—that of Bherāghāt. A circular structure, this temple appears to have enshrined yoginīs in each of eighty-one cells along the covered walkway of its inner perimeter. The shrine in the courtyard belongs to a later period, while, as Dehejia points out, the images of eight Mother goddesses now included among the yoginīs belong to an earlier

[282] Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 115–17.

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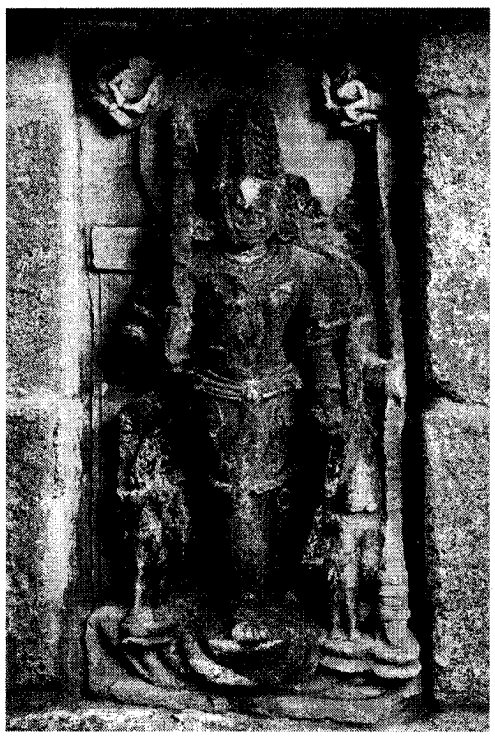


FIGURE 2.20: Ekapādabhairava, Hīrāpur yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive.*



FIGURE 2.21: Cāmuṇḍā, Hīrāpur yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive* (detail).

period.[283] As for the temple's dating, Dehejia suggests, with a degree of plausibility, that the labels inscribed on the yoginī images' bases date to the late tenth or early eleventh century, based upon paleographic comparison.[284] This might make the Bherāghāt temple roughly contemporaneous with the badly damaged temple of forty-two yoginīs at Dudāhī, near Lalitpur, M.P., but earlier than the Mitauli temple of sixty-four yoginīs near Gwalior; a damaged inscription seems to place construction of the latter in the third quarter of the eleventh century.[285] There are clear indications of royal patronage of several of the above temples.[286]

[283] Ibid., 125–27. While Dehejia describes this as a temple of eighty-one yoginīs—and quite plausibly so—the iconic program is not entirely clear; many images are missing and few remain in their original positions, while three images of Vināyaka and two of male Śaiva deities presently occupy niches. Some of these appear similar in style to the yoginīs, and might have had places in the circle or in the original central shrine, asssuming one had been present at all.

[284] Ibid., 138–39.

[285] Dehejia's proposed dating of the Dudāhī temple is based upon inscriptional evidence from a nearby Brahmā temple. Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 141. On the date of the Mitauli temple, see ibid., 88, 123–24.

[286] The Mitauli temple appears to have been errected by the Kacchapaghāta ruler Devapāla (1055–75 C.E.), and an inscription shows that this temple still received major patronage as late as 1503 C.E. Ibid.

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Among the loose sets of yoginī images identified by Dehejia, one that was probably installed on a hill-top temple in Lokhari, Uttar Pradesh, merits particular mention. Although only twenty images have been identified, these are almost all theriomorphic,[287] and hence suggest a unique iconic program (FIGURE 2.6). If Dehejia is correct that these images belong to the first half of the tenth century, this could also represent one of the earliest of the temple sites so far identified. Indeed, no compelling evidence I am aware of points toward the existence of yoginī temples prior to the tenth century, although it would warrant little surprise if earlier examples surface. Most of the extant temples appear to have been constructed in the tenth through twelfth centuries, and the case appears similar with regard to the loose statuary identified as once belonging to yoginī temples.[288] It is of course probable that stone structures were preceded by yoginī shrines and temples made from perishable materials; worship of yoginīs has indeed continued into modern times in more humble temple contexts, sometimes using aniconic images.[289] Davidson mentions the cases of two temples at Maṇḍi, Himachal Pradesh, where yoginīs are represented by sixty-four sets of footprints on slabs of stone.[290] That this could represent an old tradition is suggested by the depiction, below one of the Bherāghāt yoginī's pedestal, of worshippers paying reverence to a set of sandals (FIGURE 2.22).

The hypaethral temples of the yoginīs could perhaps have continuity with ancient conventions of shrines open to the elements.[291] However, the template that appears most directly applicable to the yoginī temple is the tantric *yoginīcakra*, as Dehejia recognized:[292] the maṇḍala of mantra-goddesses surrounding Śiva/Bhairava, instal-

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The Rānīpur-Jharial and Khajuraho temples, as part of large complexes of stone temples, also were surely constructed under royal patronage, the later under the auspices of the Candella rulers.

[287] Among the images from Lokhari published by Dehejia, only Cāmuṇḍā is not theriomorphic.

[288] On the loose yoginī statuary, see Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 145–84.

[289] David White, for instance, publishes a photograph of painted stones embodying yoginīs outside of the Līlāḍ temple of Ghatiyali, Rajasthan. *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 268.

[290] *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 181–83.

[291] Note, for instance, depictions in early Indian art of simple *liṅga* shrines, with the phallic cult object set up upon a platform under a tree. Two are published by Doris M. Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms and Eyes. Origin, Meaning and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art*, plates 17.2 (first century), 17.6–7 (a *mukhaliṅga* of Mathurā, early centuries C.E.).

[292] Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 2, 185–86.

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lation of which in various inflections and upon a variety of substrates was central to the ritual of the esoteric Śaiva cult of yoginīs. One might suspect other influences, for instance "tribal" or "folk" traditions of worshipping goddesses in a circle; yet tantric worship of "circles" of yoginīs appears to predate the temples by at least two centuries, and the remarkable congruity in Śaiva textual representations of yoginīs and their depiction in sculpture suggest direct continuity. It does appear possible that yoginī temples incorporated local deities into their iconic programs;[293] but in no case has this been demonstrated to be a process of central significance. Some yoginīs who have been singled out as "local" deities in fact present ambiguous cases.[294]

It is thus difficult to concur with Dehejia and Donaldson, without more evidence, in the view that the yoginīs enshrined in temples "represent localised cult traditions of village deities that eventually were transformed into potent groups of sixty-four *yoginī*s."[295] The extraordinary diversity of names and identities attested in yoginī scultpures appears wholly consistent with the tantric yoginī cult, with almost each scriptural tradition offering its own pantheon of this malleable category of divinity. Non-elite and tribal traditions might have been highly significant to the yoginī cult, however difficult to document; but if these were formative influences, they should be looked for in the early Śaiva and Buddhist esoteric traditions, given the apparent chronology of evidence.

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[293] Dehejia, for instance, points out that sixteen yoginīs listed in a late medieval Orissan *purāṇa* are worshipped as independent goddesses in Orissa. Ibid., 93.

[294] The non-Sanskrit names of some goddesses might suggest locally meaningful identities. Dehejia draws attention to the yoginī labelled "Teramvā" at the Bherāghāt temple, identical to Durgā "Mahiṣāsuramardinī" in iconographic type. One might mention the cow-faced Eruḍi of the same site. See ibid., 133–36. However, the name Teramvā, in the Sanskrit form *tryambakā*, is an attested name of the spouse-goddess of Śiva; cf. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 14.28. In both vernacular and Sanskrit forms, this occurs in pan-Indian sources as a personal name (in the masculine) and as the name of a Śaiva monastic order (*maṭhikā*). See Sanderson, "A Commentary on the Opening Verses of the Tantrasāra of Abhinavagupta," 121 (n. 79). It is hence problematic to ascribe local meaning to this name in the absence of evidence from regional sources. Similarly, a Śaiva *pīṭha* called Eruḍī is listed in the *Tantrasadbhāva* (13.74b and 15.70b), and is also mentioned by Abhinavagupta in *Tantrāloka* 15.91a (as Eruḍikā). The Bherāghāt yoginī is perhaps connected to the *pīṭha* by this name, but there are no grounds for linking the Eruḍī-*pīṭha* to the Bherāghāt region.

[295] Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta Art*, 658 (quotation); Dehehjia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 93–94.

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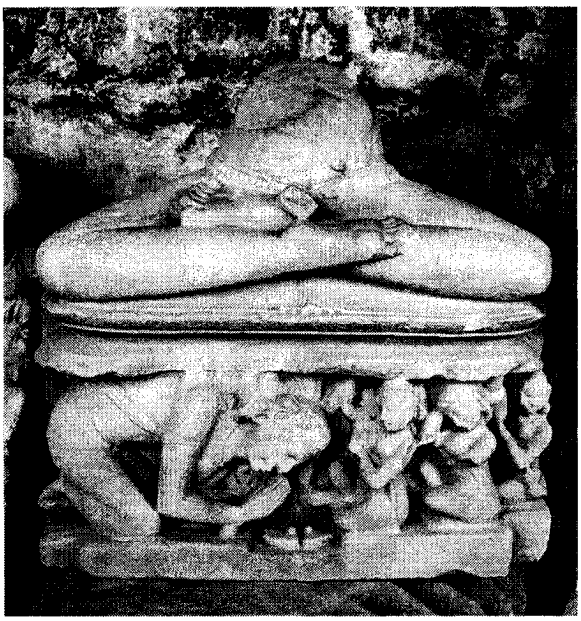


FIGURE 2.22: Veneration of sandals representing a yoginī, depicted below a yoginī image's pedestal. Bherāghāt yoginī temple. *AIIS Photo Archive.*

No textual material intimately connected with the temples of yoginīs appears as yet to have come to light, such as a manual concerned with their construction, consecration of the images, and worship within the temple precincts. This is hardly surprising, for given the fragmentary record and present state of research, this level of correlation between text and temple remains rare in the study of early medieval India. Perhaps more surprising is the apparent paucity of references to yoginī temples in period literary sources. As discussed previously, the association between yoginīs and the temple of Caṇḍamārī in the *Yaśastilaka* is highly suggestive, given that this mid tenth-century work dates to the period of the construction of major yoginī temples. Dehejia claims that a tale in the *Ākhyānakamaṇikośa,* a Jaina work of the late eleventh century, makes reference to a yoginī temple.[296] We also find fascinating references to yoginīs in an eclectic Persian work presenting itself as a translation of the *Kāmrubījākṣa,* evidently a tantric Śaiva text connected with the cult of the goddess Kāmākhyā. The Persian redaction, dating to as early as the thirteenth century, declares the sixty-four yoginīs the most revered deities of the Hindus, who worship their idols.[297] The *Rājataraṅginī* of Kalhaṇa attributes several figures of various Kashmiri courts with endowments to *mātṛcakra*s ("circles of the Mother goddesses"), but despite suggestions to the contrary, none of these are likely to refer to yoginī temples.[298] As for the epigraphic record, this also appears minimal; an

[296] Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples,* 55. I have not yet had access to this text.

[297] Carl Ernst, "The Islamization of Yoga in the *Amrtakunda* Translations," 203–8, 219–20. I make reference to this text in the introduction (n. 65).

[298] Four references to *mātṛcakra*s or *devīcakra*s in the *Rājataraṅginī* were brought to my attention by

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eleventh-century inscription from Siyān in Bengal does however state that a yoginī temple was constructed in this region.[299] A number of textual sources on temple architecture, such as the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* and *Agnipurāṇa*, mention the possibility of circular structures, but the yoginī temples are the primary surviving representatives of this rare type.[300]

Tantric Śaiva literature itself appears silent on the construction of yoginī temples, although a large quantity of potentially relevant material awaits study with this question in mind.[301] There is nonetheless much that can be said, preliminarily, concerning the yoginī temple cult and Śaiva literature. Although configurations of eighty-one and forty-two are attested, the extant temples suggest that in the period of their construction, yoginīs were normally considered a set of sixty-four goddesses, a numerical association pervasive in *purāṇic* accounts of yoginīs that persists through the late medieval and modern periods. Much like the popular notion that *tantra*s number sixty-four, this numerical association belies the fact that few lists agree in their particulars.[302]

White, *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 137, who cites Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Les Eseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purana* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1967), 173. White implies that these might have been yoginī temples. Three cases do clearly refer to temples—probably of the Mother goddesses—while that of v.55 refers to a temple of Bhairava associated with a *mātṛcakra*. If M. A. Stein's identification of the latter site is correct, it seems improbable that the ruins of the Bhairava temple at Buthiser resembled extant yoginī temples. See Stein (trans.), *Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī. A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, vol. I, 194. In any case, this section of the text pertains to events of the ninth century, before yoginī temples are attested; the other references (I.122, I.333 [not 350, as gives White], and III.99) pertain to even earlier periods.

[299] The eleventh-century Siyān inscription mentions, among various pious works undertaken by the Bengali monarch Nayapāla and his ancestors, installation of Bhairava surrounded by sixty-four Mothers, i.e. yoginīs, possibly in the capital city of the ruler (*ghaṇṭīśaṃ yaḥ svanagare nyadhāt kṣemāya dehināṃ | catuḥṣaṣṭyā ca mātṝṇāṃ parītan* [em. Sircar; *parītat*] *tatra bhairavaṃ* ||). D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphia Indica* XXXIX, 39–56. This inscription was brought to my attention by Davidson, who also cites the Mominābād inscription of Udayāditya as recording the construction of a yoginī temple. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 183. However, the 1144 C.E. Western Cālukya inscription of Mominābād appears to pertain only to a cave temple of the goddess Jogāī or Ambejogāī (*jogāī* ← *yoginī*); I see no indication in the inscription for the presence of multiple yoginīs. P. B. Desai, *Selected Stone Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh*, 94–95.

[300] See Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 42.

[301] The *Pratiṣṭhātantra*s in particular, works concerned with the construction and consecration of temples and images, are likely to be pertinent; I have unfortunately studied little even of the *Pratiṣṭhātantra* associated with the *BraYā*: the unpublished *Piṅgalāmata*, transmitted in Nepalese manuscripts.

[302] Several scholars have given accounts of references to yoginīs in the *purāṇa*s, perhaps the most complete being that of Olga Serbaeva, "*Yoginī*s in Śaiva *Purāṇa*s and *Tantra*s. Their role in transformative experiences in a historical and comparative perspective," especially 43–60. Incidentally, the earliest reference to *tantra*s as sixty-four appears to be *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.19.

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The earliest textual sources of the Yoginī cult do not in fact associate yoginīs with the number sixty-four. In the *BraYā*, groups of six dominate, with the primary set of six comprising the ancillary (*aṅga*) mantras of the supreme Goddess; the largest configurations of yoginīs involve multiple groups of six, such as twenty-four.[303] The primary group of sixty-four is a set of *rudra*s, deities whose maṇḍala forms the subject of *BraYā* xxx. Sets of sixty-four goddesses are also absent from the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, another early scripture of the Vidyāpīṭha. A Vidyāpīṭha text postdating the *BraYā* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*,[304] the *Tantrasadbhāva* presents what might be the earliest reference to sixty-four yoginīs. In chapter thirteen, after delineating a maṇḍala of sixty-four *bhairava*s distributed in eight lotuses around a central lotus, a parallel configuration of sixty-four goddesses is introduced, called the "*mātṛyāga*" or "pantheon of Mothers." Their names are feminine-gender mirrors of the *bhairava*s, suggesting a secondary status. Around the central Bhairava, the sixty-four yoginīs form octads in lotuses grouped according to clans of the Eight Mothers, from Brahmāṇī to Aghorī.[305] This explicit link to the Mothers is highly significant, for the same association is evident in most of the extant sculpted sets of yoginīs, who include among them identifiable images of the Mother goddesses. This association persists in the profuse yoginī name lists of the *purāṇa*s as well, which most frequently concern sixty-four yoginīs and often include among them the Mothers.[306]

In tantric Śaiva literature, the association between sixty-four and yoginīs appears particularly common in Kaula sources, which, as discussed in the next chapter, ap-

[303] On the Six Yoginīs of the *BraYā*, see the section "*navākṣaravidhāna*" in chapter 5 of the present dissertation. *BraYā* xxix in particular features large sets of goddesses. This chapter teaches a pantheon and worship specific to the Four Devīs, the extensive maṇḍala based upon which involves numerous sets of six yoginīs. This maṇḍala is based nine *cakra*s: the root *cakra* of Bhairava and Aghoreśī, in the center, with *cakra*s in the eight directions upon which are installed one of the Four Devīs or Four Dūtīs/Kiṅkarīs, each associated with Six Yoginīs and "servants of the servants" (*kiṅkaryanucarāḥ*). The latter groups of eight are associated with each of the Eight Mothers, forming, in a fashion, a set of sixty-four goddesses.

[304] See the discussion in chapter 4.

[305] The *mātṛyāga* begins with *Tantrasadbhāva* 13.56, and continues until the end of the chapter (verse 88). See the collation/draft edition of Dyczkowski.

[306] For *purāṇic* and other yoginī name lists, see Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 187–218 (appendices I–III). As the case of the sixty-four yoginīs of *Tantrasadbhāva* 13 suggests, the absence of Mothers from a list of yoginīs should not be take as evidence of dissociation between the two goddess types.

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pear in general to postdate the early Vidyāpīṭha literature. Hence in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, a scripture describing itself as the *Yoginīkaula* ("Kaula Scripture of the Yoginīs"), the most important cult deities are "the sequence of the sixty-four yoginīs" (*catuḥṣaṣṭiyoginīkrama*), whose maṇḍala and ritual worship (the *aṣṭāṣṭakavidhi*) are central to this text.[307] Preserved in a manuscript of the mid eleventh century, this text contains no indications of particular antiquity,[308] and might date to the early period of the production of yoginī temples. Its twenty-third chapter describes the manifestation of the sixty-four yoginīs as female beings of every variety in particularly vivid terms. Yoginīs are said to sport on the earth as female animals of any type, from pigeons and vultures to cows and cats. When they assault non-devotees, they manifest as snakes, rats, tigers, and so forth, and as dangers such as disease, lightning, thieves, and royals. One is admonished never to insult women; we are not informed whether this is because yoginīs afford them special protection, or because any given woman might secretly be one.[309] While not specifically concerned with temples,

[307] The titular epithet *yoginīkaula* occurs in most of the colophons of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, and also in 16.49c. The sequence or *cakra* of the sixty-four yoginīs forms the subject if *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8 in particular, as well as chapter ten, while a number of other chapters refer to the yoginīs as sixty-four in number.

[308] On the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, see the discussion in chapter 3, section 3.

[309] *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 23.1–12ab (provisional edition, reporting the codex NAK 3-362 or NGMPP reel A48-13 [KJN^{cod}] and the *editio princeps* of P. C. Bagchi [KJN^{ed}]):

devy uvāca ||
kaulave yoginī deva saṃcaranti kathaṃ bhuvi |
tan mamācakṣva deveśa bhaktā jānanti bhūtale || 1 ||
bhairava uvāca ||
martye 'smin devatānāṃ tu saṃcāraṃ śṛṇu bhāmini |
kayotikā tathā gṛdhrī haṃsī caiva nakhī tathā || 2 ||
khañjarīṭakabhāṣī tu kokābhāṣī tu sundari |
ulūkī pecakī vā tu sararī vāgdulī tathā || 3 ||
sṛgālī ajā mahiṣī ūṣṭrī mārjārarūpiṇī |
vyāghrī hastī mayūrī ca kukuṭī nakulī tathā || 4 ||
anyāni yāni rūpāṇi saṃsthitāni mahītale |
tāni rūpāṇi saṃgṛhya yoginyaḥ krīḍante bhuvi || 5 ||
nipatanti yadā bhadre abhakteṣu kulādhipe |
tadrūpaṃ kathyate bhadre śraddhāyuktāvadhārayet || 6 ||
hayaś ca nakharaḥ sarpaś citriko ghonasas tathā |
vṛściko ṭdhyantaraṭ śvāno mūṣako dardураḥ priye || 7 ||
grahabhūtasvarūpeṇa jvālāgniśastrasaṃkaṭaiḥ |
vedanā ca jvaravyādhi rājānaś caiva taskarāḥ || 8 ||
vidyut tuṅgo tathā gaṇḍa vyāghra siṃho gajas tathā |
anekākārarūpeṇa bhayaṃ nānāvidhaṃ viduḥ || 9 ||

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this text, among numerous other period sources one might cite, gives indications of contemporaneous conceptions of the enshrined yoginīs.

Although the *Kubjikāmata* does not itself refer to yoginīs as sixty-four in number,[310] later literature of the Kaula cult of the goddess Kubjikā suggests a strong link. The *Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya*, the "essence text" (*sāra*) of the *Kubjikāmata*,[311] appears to refer to "airborne yoginīs" (*gaganagāminī*) as sixty-four, while other types, such as terrestrial (*bhuvanagāminī*), are considerably more numerous.[312] A work called the *Kubjikāpūjāpaddhati* enumerates sixty-four yoginīs by name, while the *Śrīmatottara* (i.e. *Kubjikāmata Uttaratantra*) has extensive material on yoginīs, both sixty-four and eighty-one.[313] More significantly, the unpublished fifteenth chapter of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* provides a detailed account of the iconography and worship (*pūjā*) of sixty-

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catuḥṣaṣṭhiś ca yoginyo yathā kupyanti sādhake |
evaṃ rūpaṃ samāśritya kṣipraṃ gṛhṇanti taṃ paśum || 10 ||
kopaṃ tu naiva kartavyaṃ nāpamānaṃ surādhipe |
kumārikāḥ striyo vāpi nāpamānet kadācana || 11 ||
yathāśaktyā sadākālaṃ strī caiva vratam āsthitaiḥ |
pūjanīyā prayatnena kumāryaś ca kulāśritaiḥ || 12 ||

1b bhuvi] KJN^{cod}; °avi KJN^{ed} 3a khañjarīṭaka°] *conj.*; kaṃja - - - KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} 3c ulūkī] KJN^{cod}; ulukī KJN^{ed} 3d vāgdulī] KJN^{cod}; vā gulī KJN^{ed} 4b ūṣṭrī] KJN^{cod}; uṣṭrī KJN^{ed} mārjārarūpiṇī] KJN^{cod}; mārjāranakulī tathā KJN^{ed} 4d nakulī tathā] KJN^{codpc}; na - - - - KJN^{codac}KJN^{ed} 6b abhakteṣu] KJN^{cod}; abhakṣyeṣu KJN^{ed} 6c kathyate bhadre] KJN^{codpc}; kathya - - - KJN^{codac}; kathyante ...KJN^{ed} 6d śraddhāyuktā°] *conj.*; ś (- ?) yuktā° KJN^{codpc}; - - yuktā KJN^{codac}KJN^{ed} 7b citriko ghonasas] KJN^{cod}; citrikotamānasas KJN^{ed} 7c †dhyantara† śvāno] KJN^{cod}; °dhyantaraścāno KJN^{ed} 8b °śastra°] KJN^{cod}°śāstra° KJN^{ed} 8c vedanā ca jvaravyādhi] KJN^{codpc}; veda - - - - vyādhi KJN^{codac}; veda ...vyādhi° KJN^{ed} 8d rājānaś] KJN^{cod}; rājānañ KJN^{ed} taskarāḥ] KJN^{codpc}KJN^{ed}; taskakārāḥKJN^{codac} 9a vidyut tuṅgo] KJN^{ed}; vidyu tuṅgo KJN^{cod} 10a catuḥṣaṣṭhiś] KJN^{ed}; catuḥṣaṣṭhiñ KJN^{cod} yoginyo] KJN^{ed}; yoginya KJN^{cod} 10b yathā kupyanti] KJN^{codpc}; - - - pyanti KJN^{codac}KJN^{ed} 10c samāśritya] *corr.*; samāsṛtya KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} 11b nāpamānaṃ] KJN^{cod}; bhāṣamāṇaṃ KJN^{ed} 11c kumārikāḥ] *em.*; kumārikā KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} 11d nāpamānet] *em.* Isaacson; nāpamāne KJN^{cod}; bhāṣamāṇe KJN^{ed} 12b āsthitaiḥ] *em.* Isaacson; āsthitam KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed}

I defer discussion of the interpretation of this passage until publication of a new edition of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, currently under preparation.

[310] *Kubjikāmata* 6.87–91, for instance, speaks of the Mothers as seven groups of seven, with additional unspecified subdivisions; the yoginīs are yet more numerous.

[311] Cf. *Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya* 8.4cd–5ab:

kathitaṃ devadeveśi saṃkṣepān na tu vistaram || 4 ||
śrīkubjikāmatasāro 'yaṃ vistaraṃ kathitaṃ mayā |

From the draft edition of Dyczkwoski.

[312] See the five mantras given in prose following 9.121 in Dyczkowski's draft edition; the first appears to be addressed to the sixty-four *ākāśagāminī* yoginīs.

[313] I have not personally studied either of these unpublished works. The sixty-four yoginīs of the *Kubjikāpūjāpaddhati* are tabulated in Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 214; she draws the list from Gopinath Kaviraj, *Tāntrika Sāhitya*, 135. Dehejia makes extensive reference to the *Matottara* throughout her study, especially 45–51.

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four yoginīs.[314] The *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* survives in manuscripts as early as the twelfth century, apparently, but postdates the *Kubjikāmata* (10th century?), therefore belonging to the period of the major yoginī temples.[315] Olga Serbaeva tabulates three additional sources for the iconography of the same set of sixty-four yoginīs: the *Agnipurāṇa*, *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasamuccaya*, and the *Mayadīpikā*, the latter as cited by Hemādri in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*.[316] Although not explicitly connected with temples, these pre fourteenth-century sources, both Kaula and otherwise, attest a tradition of iconic representation of sixty-four yoginīs.

The yoginī temple pantheons hence have parallels in contemporaneous textual accounts of the sixty-four yoginīs. However, the representation and worship of yoginīs in images have earlier precedents. The *BraYā* itself has extensive material on iconography and iconometry in its fourth chapter, which has as its subject "the characteristics of images" (*pratimālakṣaṇa*). This chapter provides detailed instructions on constructing and empowering images of the cult deities of the *BraYā*, whose images it classifies as "supradivine," "divine," and "semidivine" (*divyādhika*, *divya*, and *divyādivya*). The goddesses of the maṇḍala of Kapālīśabhairava are considered "divine;" these include the Six Yoginīs, the four *guhyakās/devīs*, four *kiṅkarīs/dūtīs*, and Mothers, as well as their male counterparts (*pati*, *vīra*), the sixty-eight *rudras*, *yoginīs* of the sacred fields, and "guardians" *lokapālas*.[317] As an iconic type, the *BṛaYā*'s

[314] This was brought to my attention by Olga Serbaeva, who quotes *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* 15 from a draft edition of Sanderson. "*Yoginīs* in Śaiva *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*," 75 (in "Cited Sanskrit Passages") and 56–61 ("appendix 7.6"). This set of sixty-four yoginīs is linked to the Eight Mothers—the standard seven of Brāhmī to Cāmuṇḍā, plus Mahālakṣmī.

[315] On the date of the manuscripts of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā*, a text incorporating within itself the *Kubjikāmata*, see J.A. Schoterman, *The Ṣaṭsāhasra Saṃhitā. Chapters 1–5: Edited, Translated and Annotated*, 12–13.

[316] Serbaeva, "*Yoginīs* in Śaiva *Purāṇas* and *Tantras*," 56–61 ("appendix 7.6").

[317] *BraYā* IV.4–7ab:

> *śaktiḥ sadāśivaś caiva śaktitrayaṃ tu eva ca |*
> *śrīkaṇṭhaś ca tathā devī umāpatis tathāparaḥ || 4 ||*
> *ete divyādhikāḥ proktās tathā divyaṃ śṛṇu priye |*
> *yoginyo guhyakādyāś ca mātryās tāś ca sakiṅkarāḥ || 5 ||*
> *guhyakāpatayaś caiva vīrāś caiva prati prati |*
> *aṣṭaṣaṣṭhi tathā rudrā yoginyaḥ kṣetrasaṃsthitāḥ || 6 ||*
> *lokapālās tathā caiva ete divyā prakīrtitāḥ |*
>
> 4d umāpatis] *em.*; umāpati Bʏ[a] 5a °dhikāḥ] *corr.*; °dhikā Bʏ[a] 5d mātryās] *em.*; mātryāṃ Bʏ[a] sakiṅkarāḥ] *em.*; sakiṅkarāṃ Bʏ[a] 6a guhyakāpatayaś] *conj.*; guhyakāṃ patayaś Bʏ[a] 6d

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yoginīs bear general comparison to the extant yoginī statuary. The names of the primary Six Yoginīs alone—Kroṣṭhukī ("Jackal Woman"), Vijayā ("Victoria"), Gajakarṇā ("Elephant-ears"), Mahāmukhī ("Big-mouth"), Cakravegā ("Wheel-speed"), and Mahānāsā ("Big-snout")—suggest much of the iconographic range of extant images, including theriomorphism, auspiciousness, power, and the grotesque. As with the other "divine" images, all are four-armed *kāpālika* deities bearing the Five Insignia, skull-staves, skull-bowls, and rosaries, raising a right hand in the gesture of munificience. Garlands of skulls extend to their feet, and they stand upon human corpses. In contrast to the other maṇḍala goddesses, *yoginī*s have only a single face—the norm in sculpted images.[318] One contrast with the extant statuary lies in the disproportionate body parts suggested by some yoginī names in the *BraYā*, such as Mahānāsā

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yoginyaḥ] *em.*; yoginyo By^{a}

[318] *BraYā* iv.170cd–78ab, 254cd–55ab, 263cd–64:

divyaṃ caiva pravakṣyāmi yathāvad vaktrasaṃkhyayā || 170 ||
guhyakānucarā ye tu kiṅkarīṇān tu kiṅkarāḥ |
yoginīpatayaś caiva mātṝṇāṃ patayas tathā || 171 ||
pañcavaktrāḥ samākhyātā vīratbhaktyāst tathaiva ca |
guhyakās tu caturvaktrāḥ kiṅkaryas trimukhāḥ smṛtāḥ || 172 ||
yoginyas tv ekavaktrās tu caturvaktrās tu mātarāḥ |
divyādhikās tathā divyāḥ pañcamudrāsamanvitāḥ || 173 ||
khaṭvāṅgamuṇḍadhāriṇyo mahāpretakṛtāsanāḥ |
varadodyatahastās tu caturhastāḥ prakīrtitāḥ || 174 ||
akṣasūtradharāḥ sarvāḥ kapālakarakās tathā |
dakṣiṇe tu kapālaṃ syāt khaṭvāṅgaṃ vāmataḥ sthitam || 175 ||
dakṣiṇaṃ varadaṃ jñeyaṃ vāmahaste 'kṣasūtrakam |
kapālamālābharaṇā āpādāt kaṇṭham āsṛtāḥ || 176 ||
evaṃvidhās tu kartavyā divyādivyādhikās tathā |
ekavīravidhāne tu pañcavaktrās tu guhyakāḥ || 177 ||
mātaraś ca tathā caiva kartavyā sādhakottamaiḥ |
...
kroṣṭhukī vijayā caiva gajakarṇā mahāmukhī || 254 ||
cakravegā mahānāsā ṣaḍ yoginyaḥ prakīrtitāḥ |
...
yoginyaḥ śvetavarṇās tu śakhakundendusaprabhāḥ || 263 ||
pīnāvayavasaṃpūrṇāḥ stanapīnapayodharāḥ |
kumārīvratadhāriṇyo aklinnaratayas tathā || 264 ||

171b kiṅkarāḥ] By$^{a\,pc}$; kiṅkarā By$^{a\,ac}$ 171c yoginī°] *corr.*; yoginū By^{a} 172a °vaktrāḥ] *corr.*; °vaktrā By^{a} 172c °vaktrāḥ] *corr.*; °vaktrā By^{a} 173c divyāḥ] *corr.*; divyā By^{a} 173d °samanvitāḥ] *em.*; °samanvitā By^{a} 174b °āsanāḥ] *em.*; °āsanā By^{a} 175c tu kapālaṃ syāt] *conj.*; tukapāla(syā?) By^{a}(*tops cut off*) 175d khaṭvāṅgaṃ] *em.*; khaṭvāṅga By^{a}(*tops cut off*) 176c °haste 'kṣa°] *em.*; °hasteṃkṣa° By^{a} 177b tathā] By$^{a\,ac}$; tathāḥ By$^{a\,pc}$ 255b ṣaḍ] *corr.*; ṣaṭ By^{a} 263c śveta°] *corr.*; sveta° By^{a} 264a °saṃpūrṇāḥ] *corr.*; °saṃpūrṇā By^{a}

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("Big-nose"); animal features are depicted in sculpture, but not, that I am aware of, disproportionate human mouths, ears, and so forth.

Otherwise rich in detail, *BraYā* IV nonetheless leaves many questions unanswered concerning the architectural and ritual contexts of religious images. Their scale suggests grand structures; the iconometric description of "divine" images, which include those of the Six Yoginīs, approaches the human: goddesses possess feet twelve *aṅgula*s ("finger-breadths") long,[319] hips thirty-four finger-breadths wide,[320] and throats five finger-breadths in width,[321] for instance—only marginally smaller than the five-faced "supradivine" deities. Yet this chapter is silent on temples, and the material elsewhere in the text clarifies little. The instructions for image making are decidedly oriented toward the *BraYā*'s own esoteric pantheon, hardly a range of deities found in large public temples; yet at the same time, among the "supra-divine" images are deities of no cultic consequence in the *BraYā*—Umāpati and Śrīkaṇṭha. Religious images are clearly a significant concern, but their roles and context require further inquiry. Certainly the presence of the mantra-deities in a substrate is central to ritual: thus the ubiquitous instruction to perform ritual action "before/in the presence of the goddesses" (*devīnām agrataḥ*). Yet this need not, and usually clearly does not, refer to religious images.

THE PROBLEMS OF RITUAL AND SECTARIAN AFFILIATION

Much as the architectural and ritual contexts for the religious images the *BraYā* describes remain unclear, so too the cultic context of the yoginī temples. Attempts to reconstruct the ways in which yoginī temples served as cultic spaces have, given the paucity of textual descriptions, involved reading ritual from iconography. Thus Dehejia, remarking upon the presence of corpses and severed heads in the iconography of some yoginīs, wonders, "is this all an indication of human sacrifice, or is it in-

[319] *BraYā* IV.157abc: *pādau dīrgheṇa cākhyātau kalāḥ* [em.; *kalāṃ* BY^{a}] *tu ṣaṭpramāṇataḥ | pārṣṇyāś* [conj.; *pāṣṇyā* BY^{a}] *cāṅguṣṭakaṃ yāvat.*

[320] *BraYā* IV.163ab: *nitambas tu tathā proktaḥ* [em.; *proktāṃ* BY^{a}] *kalāsaptadaśas tathā.*

[321] *BraYā* IV.168cd: *kaṇṭhas tu protthataḥ proktaḥ* [em.; *protthato proktāḥ* BY^{a}] *sārdhaṃ caiva kalādvayam.*

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stead a pointer to *śava-sādhana* or corpse ritual?"[322] Her general conclusion is that the yoginī temples served primarily as sites for "Kaula" worship involving sacrifice, consumption of wine, blood, and flesh, and ritual copulation, suggesting that the temples would have invited lay devotional worship as well.[323] In contrast, Ronald Davidson questions the Kaula connection. The grounds for this skepticism include the curious claim that "most Kaula works appear composed after the sites were constructed;" he argues that "the primary activity depicted at these sites . . . is the display of severed heads, indicating that the sanguinary rites were probably the principal activity practiced."[324] It should be pointed out, however, that the image he captions with "Yoginī from Hirapur displaying human sacrifice" does not depict the act of sacrifice, but a well-armed goddess—not in fact one of the yoginīs—standing upon a smiling, severed head.[325] Sacrifice might well have taken place in connection with the Hīrāpur temple; but to argue this on the basis of iconography of a variety emblematic of extreme tantric deities, both Buddhist and Śaiva, seems uncompelling, all the more so given that such iconography is not particularly prominent in the Hīrāpur yoginīs.

While Kaula texts offer insight into the nature of the divinities enshrined, and attest a tradition of iconic representation of yoginīs, it is unclear to what extent the temples should, in a meaningful cultic sense, be described as "Kaula." Despite their novel architectural forms, it remains entirely possible that the liturgy of the yoginī temples differed little in basic character from that of contemporaneous temples of other goddesses, or Bhairava. For although possessing historical links with esoteric Śaivism, period literary sources such as the *Kathāsaritsāgara* point toward the grow-

[322] Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 59. By *"śava-sādhana,"* a term I have encountered only in late medieval sources, Dehejia refers to rites of the variety sometimes referred to as *vetālasādhana*; on the latter, see the discussion of the *Harṣacarita* earlier in this chapter.

[323] Ibid., 186.

[324] *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 180–1.

[325] Ibid., FIGURE 7. This is the very image I include as FIGURE 2.18: one of the nine goddesses upon the exterior facade of the temple, which as mentioned earlier have been identified as nine *"kātyāyanīs."* The depiction of jackals—emblematic of the cremation ground—on either side of the severed head reinforces the *kāpālika* rather than sacrificial nature of the iconography.

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ing prominence of the yoginī in the religious landscape of medieval India, while burgeoning material on yoginīs in *purāṇa*s suggests worship beyond the narrow confines of the tantric traditions. Dedicated to divinities widely regarded as potent agencies, the yoginī temples need not have been centers for the activity of initiated Kaula specialists, although it is entirely possible that worship of the goddesses was presided over by officiants with links to esoteric Śaivism. Despite their hilltop locations, the yoginī temples appear by and large to have been prominent, visible monuments, as evidenced by their proximity to other major state-sponsored temples—especially those of Khajuraho and Rānīpur-Jharial.[326] Along with the increasing significance of yoginīs in the *purāṇa* corpus, the yoginī temples in fact appear to mark the entry of these deities into a wider religious domain, beyond the confines of the esoteric tradition—to the point that their ritual maṇḍalas are translated into monumental circular temples.

2.5 Conclusions

The foregoing chapter has focused upon the background and early evidence of the Yoginī cult in non-tantric literature, inscriptions, and the art-historical record. In the course of presenting this material, I have attempted to establish a chronological framework and to place these varieties of evidence in relation to tantric literature, especially the *BraYā*. In the subsequent chapter the focus shifts to yoginīs in tantric literature proper, prior to undertaking more detailed examination of the *BraYā* in chapters four and five.

It was shown that the cult of yoginīs, as described in tantric literature, presupposes the Śaiva cult of the Seven Mothers (*saptamātṛ*), a development that art-historical and epigraphic sources situate in the fifth century, with possible fourth-century precedents. The roots of this heptad of Brahmanical goddesses lie in ancient

[326] Hilltop temple sites include those of Mitauli, Rānīpur-Jharial, Bherāghāt, Khujaraho, Dudāhī, and probably Lokhari; on the latter two see Dehejia, *Yoginī Cult and Temples*, 141, 156. The Hīrāpur temple appears to be neither on a hill nor near other major temples; but as mentioned, it is in the vicinity of the major pilgrimage site of Bhuvaneśvar/Ekāmra.

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traditions of maternal deities possessing close ties to the natural world, fertility, and death. Although the Mothers have a close connection with Skanda in early sources such as the *Mahābhārata*, Śiva largely displaces this deity as companion of the Seven Mothers by the sixth century. Yet as the early fifth-century Gaṅgdhār inscription illustrates, a tantric or proto-tantric cult of Mother goddesses and female spirits might already have been in existence, possibly centered upon the mysterious, *kāpālika* goddess Cāmuṇḍā. It is in the context of describing the greatness of Koṭivarṣa—a place sacred to the Mothers and presided over by Cāmuṇḍā, as Bahumāṃsa, and Śiva, as Hetukeśvara—that the old *Skandapurāṇa* (*circa* 6th–7th century) provides momentous references to the Śaiva yoginī cult and its early scriptural sources, including the *BraYā*.

The Śaiva temple cult of the Mothers becomes prominent from the sixth century, and the inclusion of Mahākāla in *mātṛ*-shrine iconic programs from the late sixth century might reflect developments in Tantric Śaivism, for tantric cults of Mahākāla and the fierce Goddess—identified with Cāmuṇḍā—find unambiguous attestation in the early seventh-century works of Bāṇa and Vākpati. In these works, evidence for the ritual of the *bhairavatantra*s is abundant, yet there are only vague suggestions of the cult of yoginīs. The most significant textual account of yoginīs from this period remains therefore the *Skandapurāṇa*, which attests the Śaiva cult of yoginīs and Mothers and provides a list of "Tantras of the Mother-goddesses" (*mātṛtantra*). That a Śaiva Yoginī cult of the variety attested in Vidyāpīṭha literature existed by the eighth century receives confirmation in Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, a work displaying detailed knowledge of Vidyāpīṭha ritual systems, if not specific texts. On the other hand, the *Haravijaya* of the early ninth century and *Yaśastilaka* of the mid-tenth show knowledge of a particular tradition: the Trika.

The sources reviewed attest to the growing prominence of yoginīs and their cult in the religious landscape of medieval India, especially from the tenth century—the period in which temples of these goddesses were constructed throughout India. Ex-

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amination of the *Bṛhatkathā* corpus illustrates this historical trajectory, for only in the eleventh-century redactions of Kashmir does the figure of the yoginī become a significant locus for tales of magical women and demi-goddesses. This period is largely beyond the scope of the present dissertation, and the subsequent chapters are concerned primarily with pre tenth-century tantric literature. I have nonetheless attempted to show, cursorily, that the yoginī temple cult appears to draw upon Kaula traditions of sixty-four yoginīs, although iconic representation of yoginīs has precendent even in early Vidyāpīṭha literature. By the period of the temples and latter Kaula literature, yoginīs appear to have become significant sacred figures beyond the confines of the esoteric traditions, as reflected in the material devoted to them in *purāṇa*s of the second millennium.

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Chapter 3

The Cult of Yoginīs and its Background in Early Tantric Literature

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Beyond the literary, epigraphic, and sculptural evidence for yoginīs in early medieval India reviewed in the previous chapter, there survives a substantial body of pre eleventh-century tantric Śaiva literature devoted in various degrees to their cult. The bulk of this material remains unpublished; and while fortunately extensive, the extant texts represent only a fraction of what might once have existed. Complementing the textual corpus of the Śaiva yoginī cult, there survives another large body of yoginī-cult literature as well: the Buddhist scriptural sources that came to be classified as *yoganiruttaratantra*s ("The Ultimate Tantras of the Yoga Class") or *yoginītantra*s ("Tantras of the Yoginīs"), upon which there also survives a considerable quantity of exegetical literature. The present chapter comprises a discussion, far from exhaustive, of the background of the Yoginī cult in early Śaiva and Buddhist textual sources, and a (rather cursory) review of actual *tantra*s of the Yoginī cult. As with the previous chapter, the focus remains upon the early evidence—primarily pre tenth-century—with the *BraYā* remaining a constant point of reference. Chapters four and five will then focus upon detailed examination of the *BraYā* itself.

The nondualist Śaiva exegetical and philosophical literature that flourished from the tenth century, particularly in Kashmir, draws on an enormous and diverse corpus of tantric scripture, a canon that must have developed over the course of mul-

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tiple centuries. In his definitive review of the available early evidence, Sanderson concludes, "it is quite possible that by the seventh century most of the literature available to Śaiva scholars in the tenth century was already in existence. But it is not until the beginning of the ninth that we have firm evidence of specific texts."[1] Many of the sources that come into evidence in this period are *siddhāntatantra*s of the cult of Sadāśiva, and have little direct relevance to yoginīs. Exceptional in this regard is the ancient *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, a text which, although not directly concerned with yoginīs, provides clues concerning their roots in earlier forms of Tantric Śaivism. The present chapter begins with review of the *Niśvāsa*. Subsequently, the discussion turns to varieties of tantric literature highly significant to the development of yoginī traditions, but poorly represented in the surviving literature—particularly the *vāmatantra*s of the cult of the "Sisters" (*bhaginī*) of Tumburu.

The earliest extant *tantra*s of the Yoginī cult belong to the corpus of *bhairavatantra*s, scriptures centered upon Śiva as the archetypal skull-bearing ascetic (*kapālin*), Bhairava, as well as allied goddesses. One of the earliest of the *bhairavatantra*s appears to be the *Svacchandatantra*, which, as will be discussed, attests the cult of yoginīs only in its final chapter—probably a late addition to the scripture. Following discussion of the *Svacchandatantra*, section three addresses the Śaiva *tantra*s of the Yoginī cult. These belong to two primary categories: those identifying themselves as scriptures of the Vidyāpīṭha, "The Seat of Wisdom-[goddess] Mantras"—a division of the *bhairavatantra*s—and the diverse corpus of Kaula scripture: *tantra*s "Of the [Goddess] Clans." The earliest attested *yoginītantra*s, including the *BraYā*, belong to the Vidyāpīṭha, while on the other hand, the bulk of surviving Śaiva literature concerned with yoginīs belongs to various Kaula systems.

[1] "History through Textual Criticism," 18. Sanderson has compiled a list of the sources cited by circa tenth to eleventh-century Śaiva authors, and also has identified the extant tantric scriptures we can infer, on the basis of datable references or manuscripts, were in circulation in the ninth century. For the texts of which "early Kashmirian authors show that they have direct knowledge," see ibid., 3–4 (n. 1). This list supercedes those of Navjivan Rastogi, who enumerates the works Abhinavagupta cites in the *Tantrāloka*, and those Jayaratha refers to in his commentary thereon. *Introduction to the Tantrāloka: A Study in Structure*, 253–83; cf. 284–85. For Sanderson's list of the texts probably in circulation in the ninth century, see "History through Textual Criticism," 4–8 (fns. 2–5).

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In the fourth section of this chapter, I attempt to trace the emergence of the Buddhist cult of yoginīs. Through analysis of *tantra*s of the Buddhist "Path of Mantras" (*mantranaya*), it is shown that the Yoginī cult's development can be linked to the increasing prominence of Mother goddesses and a variety of other female deities and spirits, primarily as reflected in the literature classified as *yoga-* or *mahāyogatantra*s. In particular, the emergence of a tantric Buddhist cult of yoginīs appears closely tied to the Buddhist "conversion" and transformation of the *ḍākinī*, a female being figuring as a pernicious and lowly variety of yoginī in Śaiva typologies of goddesses. In Buddhist *yoginītantra*s, the term "*ḍākinī*" becomes entirely synonymous with "yoginī."

The final section of the chapter takes up an aspect of the complex problem of the relation between Śaiva and Buddhist yoginī traditions. An analysis of parallel passages in the *BraYā* and the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, first identified by Sanderson, confirms the latter's findings concerning the Śaiva sources of this Buddhist *yoginītantra*.

3.2 THE BACKGROUND OF THE YOGINĪ CULT IN TANTRIC ŚAIVA LITERATURE

THE NIŚVĀSATATTVASAṂHITĀ

Preserved in a Nepalese codex copied most probably in the ninth century,[2] the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* has been recognized on strong grounds as being among the earliest surviving texts of Tantric Śaivism, and perhaps the most ancient of all. Although a scripture of the cult of Sadāśiva and subsequently classified as a *siddhāntatantra*, the

[2] NAK 1-227 (NGMPP reel A41/14). Two apographs of this codex also survive: NAK 5-2406 (NGMPP reel A159/18), and Wellcome Institute Sanskrit MS I.33. See Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson, "Workshop on the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*: the Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra?," *Newsletter of the NGMCP* 3 (Jan–Feb 2007), 4. Sanderson assigns the *Niśvāsa* manuscript to approximately 850–900 C.E. "The Lākulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate Between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism," *Indian Philosophical Annual* 24 (2006), 152. Cf. Teun Goudriaan and Sanjukta Gupta, *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature*, 34. Unless otherwise noted, I cite the text of the *Niśvāsa* from transcriptions of the aforementioned manuscripts, as circulated among the participants of the "Workshop on Early Śaivism: the Testimony of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*," Pondicherry, Ecole francaise d'Extrême-Orient, January 2007. Those involved in preparing the transcriptions are mentioned in Goodall and Isaacson, "Workshop on the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*," 5 (n. 4). Note that in speaking of "the *Niśvāsa*," I exclude from consideration the *Niśvāsakārikā*, which appears to be a late supplement to the *Niśvāsa*-corpus.

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Niśvāsa appears in fact to predate Tantric Śaivism's bifurcation into the Sadāśiva cult of the *siddhāntatantra*s, and the non-Saiddhāntika traditions, of which the cults of Bhairava and related goddesses form the primary division.[3] The religious world of the *Niśvāsa* is undoubtedly far removed from the Vidyāpīṭha cults of Bhairava and yoginīs, deities of powerful mortuary iconography whose *siddhi*-oriented worship was often radically antinomian in character. Yet in comparison to the later Saiddhāntika tradition, the gulf between the *Niśvāsa* and early Vidyāpīṭha sources appears less pronounced. In particular, the *Niśvāsa*'s fifth and largest book, the *Guhyasūtra* (hereafter *Niśvāsaguhya*) contains a wealth of *siddhi*-oriented ritual presaging themes central to non-Saiddhāntika "magical" traditions. This material appears to afford a window into the formation of characteristic ritual forms of the *bhairavatantra*s, and is hence relevant for inquiry into the roots of the Yoginī cult. The following pages examine the *Niśvāsa* from this perspective, primarily with reference to the *BraYā*, as representive of the early Vidyāpīṭha.

The *Niśvāsa* places little cultic importance upon goddesses. It makes reference to worship of the "Great Goddess" (Mahādevī), yet only in the context of describing non-tantric, lay religious practices (*laukikadharma*).[4] The goddesses Kālī and Vijayā also find passing mention, but in a context of no cultic consequence.[5] In the domain

[3] One of the most compelling arguments for the antiquity of the *Niśvāsa* concerns its considerable continuity with the early, non-Tantric Śaivism of the Atimārga, on which subject see Sanderson's pioneering study, "The Lākulas: New Evidence." See also Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 29–31. Another, related indication of the early date of the *Niśvāsa* concerns its unique position within the corpus of Saiddhāntika scriptures: although later included in canonical lists of *siddhāntatantra*s, the text shows no awareness of this classificatory category nor of any other division within Tantric Śaivism, and is in numerous ways highly anomalous. Sanderson, ibid., and Goodall and Isaacson, "Workshop on the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*," 6. Although the dating of the *Niśvāsa* corpus remains an open question, Goodall and Isaacson's preliminary assessment would place "the earlier parts of the text between 450–550 AD." Ibid.

[4] *Mukhāgama* (hereafter *Niśvāsamukha*) 3.103cd–107 describes worship of the Mahādevī (*mahādevyās tu pūjanam*, 103d). Present here is an unmistakable and perhaps comparatively early articulation of the idea of the "Great Goddess," with Umā, the spouse of Śiva, heading a list of the following names and epithets: Umā, Kātyāyanī, Durgā, Rudrā, Subhadrikā, Kālarātri, Mahāgaurī, Revatī, Bhutanāyikā, Āryā, *prakṛtirūpā* ("She Who Takes the Form of Prakṛti"), and *gaṇānāṃ nāyikā* ("Leader of Śiva's Troops") (104cd–105). Noteworthy is the identification of the Mahādevī with the *prakṛti* of Sāṃkhya, and absence of explicit identification with *śakti* and *māyā*.

[5] In *Uttarasūtra* (hereafter *Niśvāsottara*) 1.34d, Kālī and Vijayā are listed among the interlocutors of tantric literature, alongside various gods, Śiva's *gaṇa*s, and sages—as well as Mother goddesses, *guhyaka*s, and other divinities, a number of which seem unlikely to figure in the revelation of a

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of ritual, a triad of Śiva's female "powers" (*śakti*) almost ubiquitous in later Śaivism does figure: Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī.[6] Another common set of *śakti*s appears as well: the series of nine beginning with Vāmā and ending with Manonmanī, who here as well as in the later tradition have place in the inner circuit of deities in the maṇḍala of Sadāśiva.[7] Present in the *Niśvāsa*, furthermore, are key elements of the theology of *śakti* familiar from later sources, such as the cosmogonic role of the supreme Śakti and the function of the "descent of Śiva's power" (*śaktipāta*) in grace and initiation.[8] Besides the aforementioned *śakti*s, goddesses appearing in the *Niśvāsa* as tantric deities are to a large extent apotheoses of feminine principles, such as Vāgīśvarī, goddess of speech; Suṣumnā Devī, the central channel of the yogic body; and *tattva*s with femi-

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siddhāntatantra. This, and a vague reference to a derivative "compilation" genre of scripture (*yo 'nyaḥ parataro bhedo śivatantreṣu paṭhyate | saṅgrahaḥ sa tu vijñeyo, Niśvāsottara* 1.32abc), might suggest the existence of diverse tantric literature in the period of the *Niśvāsa*'s composition. The list of interlocutors does not suggest the existence of *bhairavatantras* or *vāmatantras*, however.

[6] As described in *Niśvāsamūla* (hereafter *Niśvāsamūla*) 5.3–4, the initiation of the liberation seeker (*muktidīkṣā*) involves linking/fusing (*yojana*) the initiate's soul to *tattva*s via the *śakti*s Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī, although the mantras of the three are not there explicated. Elsewhere in the text, cf., e.g., *Niśvāsaguhya* 7.260ab (*vāmā jyeṣṭhā ca raudrī ca śaktitrayam ataḥ param*). Remarkably, the well-known triad of *jñānaśakti*, *kriyāśakti*, and *icchāśakti* seems absent as such. There does occur reference to *icchāśakti* (*Niśvāsaguhya* 8.79a), and *jñānaśakti* and *kriyāśakti* find mention as a pair (*Niśvāsaguhya* 7.260cd, and probably 8.65b), but these are not, it seems, linked as a set of three. This might lend plausibility to Hélène Brunner's suggestion that the pair *jñānaśakti* and *kriyāśakti* underlies the later groupings of three or more. See "Jñāna and Kriyā: Relation between Theory and Practice in the Śaivāgamas," in *Ritual and Speculation in Early Tantrism. Studies in Honor of André Padoux*, edited by Teun Goudriaan, 1–7.

[7] Describing the basic maṇḍala for "worship of Śiva" (*śivārcanavidhi*, 2.1b), *Niśvāsamūla* 2 enjoins installing the Nine Śaktis upon a white lotus (*tasyopari sitaṃ padmaṃ navaśaktisamanvitam*, 2.2cd). This appears in continuity with the later tradition, in which the Nine are installed on a lotus of eight petals, forming the inner layer (*āvaraṇa*) of the maṇḍala of Sadāśiva; see Goodall, et al., *The Pañcāvaraṇastavaḥ of Aghoraśivācārya: A Twelfth-century South Indian prescription for the visualization of Sadāśiva and his retinue*, figure 4. Note also that *Niśvāsaguhya* 8.65a refers to "the ninefold *śakti* pantheon/worship" (*navadhā śaktiyāgaṃ*).

[8] On the cosmogonic role of the supreme Śakti, see especially *Niśvāsottara* 1.5–6, where is attested the notion that Śiva's *śakti*, possessing his power, gives rise to *bindu*, the material cause of the upper levels of the universe (*tasya śaktiḥ śivā nityā* [conj. (Diwakar Acharya); *śivāniryā* Cod.] *śivatejopabṛṃhitā | śivatejena saṃyuktā śakter jāyati bindukaḥ*, 1.5cd–6ab). *Nayasūtra* (hereafter *Niśvāsanaya*) 1 connects *śaktipāta* with Śiva's grace (*anugraha*) and with initiation, grace's quintessential expression in Tantric Śaivism:

> *śivaśaktinipātena dīkṣā[jñā]naṃ prayacchati || 88 ||*
> *so 'nugrahaḥ smṛto [hy eva dā]tā caiva sadāśivaḥ |*
>
> "Through the descent of Śiva's power, he bestows initiation and the scriptural wisdom. It is this which is known as 'grace', and its giver is Sadāśiva."

(The codex, NAK 1-227 (hereafter referred to as $A^{41/14}$), is not fully legible here; the bracketed syllables are transmitted by its two apographs.) Note also that in *Niśvāsanaya* 4, the guru (*deśika*) whose initiation is efficacious is described as *śivaśaktyopabṛṃhitaḥ*, "brimming with Śiva's *śakti*" (4.41b).

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nine gender names, such as *vidyā* and *māyā*.[9] Despite the presence of these goddesses, their roles appear largely ancillary in the *Niśvāsa*'s ritual systems, and much of the material concerning *śakti*s belongs to the *Guhyasūtra*, probably a comparatively late stratum of the text.[10] There alone do we find allusion to a different sort of goddess, the fierce Caṇḍikā: the text gives in passing an otherwise anomalous "*caṇḍimantra*" and its application, alluding to a tradition of ritual centered upon this deity—the goddess to whom the "Dravidian" *tāntrika* of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* professed devotion.[11]

As for the Mother goddesses so central to the development of the Yoginī cult, the *Niśvāsa* describes them as cult deities only within the sphere of public, lay religion (*laukikadharma*)—not as tantric mantra-deities.[12] Like numerous other Śaiva sources, the *Niśvasa* also lists temples of the Mother goddesses among the places appropriate for performing solitary tantric ritual, along with crossroads, jungles, mountain peaks, Śiva temples, and so forth.[13] It appears to be the liminality of the Mother temple—

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[9] The *Niśvāsamukha*, for instance, twice describes Vāgeśvarī/Vāgeśī (i.e. Vāgīśī) as the source (*yoni*) of the *praṇava*, viz. 4.94ab and 4.125cd. An intriguing prescription for meditation upon the goddess Suṣumnā is given in *Niśvāsaguhya* 7.293–98; she is said to be white, with the shape of a lotus stalk, and to "emerge from the body of Śiva" (*padmasūtrākṛtiḥ śuklā*, 294c; *śivakāyād viniḥsṛtā*, 297b). As for *tattva*-goddesses, *Niśvāsanaya* 3 describes meditation upon the series of *tattva*s as male and female deities, beginning with the goddess Prakṛti in 3.20. See also *Niśvāsaguhya* 7 (especially 219–252) and 8 (52–57); in the latter section on the subject of *tattvayojana*, note worship of Māyā (8.52c) and "the goddess Vidyā" (*vidyādevī*, 8.53c).

[10] Here I follow the working hypothesis on the stratification of the text put forward by Goodall in a presentation entitled, "The Structure of the *Niśvāsa*-corpus," at the "Workshop on Early Saivism: the Testimony of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*" held in Pondicherry, January 2007.

[11] The passage giving the mantra is unfortunately lacunose; $A^{41/14}$ reads, *oṃ caṇḍike krama ... caṇḍimantro 'yam* (3.25 ab).

[12] *Niśvāsamukha* 2.28 lists the Mothers among cult deities of temples (*prāsāda*), while 3.33–34ab refers to devotees of and places sacred to the Mothers and other divinities. Both of these passages occur within the description of *laukikadharma* (*Niśvāsamukha* 2–3).

[13] Viz. *Niśvāsottara* 2.4c and *Niśvāsaguhya* 6.32. These bear comparison with the lists of suitable locations for *sādhana* provided in later sources, e.g. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 6.2–4, or *BraYā* XVIII.18–19, the latter of which, however, omits reference to Mother temples:

> *śmaśāne ekadeśe vā nadītīre viśeṣataḥ |*
> *parvatāgre samudre vā ekaliṅge catuṣpathe || 18 ||*
> *nagare grāmadeśe vā rathyāyāṃ gopure tathā |*
> *ekavṛkṣe viseṣeṇa kalpoktaṃ tu samācaret || 19 ||*
>
> śmaśāne] *corr.*; smasāne BY^a
>
> "In a cremation ground, (¿) a solitary place (?), the bank of a river, particularly, the top of a mountain, the ocean, a solitary *liṅga*, a crossroads, a town or village, a road or a town gate, or a solitary tree, in particular, one should practice what is stated in the *kalpa*-text [for propitiation of the mantra]."

Cf. *BraYā* XIV.11cd–13ab, which adds empty houses, old wells, ant hills, and Mother temples to the list

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presumably a secluded shrine rather than public temple—that makes it suitable for the rituals envisioned, for these do not directly involve worship of Mother goddesses. In the *Niśvāsa,* there is in fact only limited evidence for the Śaiva appropriation of the Mothers, and this occurs in the context of cosmology rather than ritual. Chapter five of the *Niśvāsaguhya* lists the Mother goddesses among other lords (*patayaḥ*) of a series of seven *pātāla*s, "netherworlds," together with deities such as *rudra*s, *gaṇa*s, *nāga*s, *rākṣasa*s, *bhaginī*s, and *yogakanyā*s.[14] None of these are presented as tantric deities proper, that is to say, mantra-deities.

Several of the *Niśvāsaguhya*'s netherworld divinities warrant discussion. By and large, the cosmological spheres described are populated with male mantra-lords (*mantreśvara,* etc.) and manifold *rudra*s. While in later Vidyāpīṭha accounts of the cosmos, goddesses would largely eclipse male deities, in the *Niśvāsaguhya* the goddesses of the netherworlds are exceptional. In the lowest *pātāla* are present groups of Mothers (*mātṛgaṇāḥ*) and Sisters (*bhaginyaḥ*).[15] It seems unlikely that these refer to their most famous representatives, the Brahmanical Seven Mothers and the Four Sisters of Tumburu; most probably are intended amorphous bands of minor female deities. Two other sets of Mother goddess find mention: "tawny" (*piṅgala*) Mothers who bear blue lotuses in the third netherworld, while in the fourth preside *kapālamātṛ*s, "Skull Mothers." The latter, who have parallel in the *kapālarudra*s of the next higher cosmological sphere, appear to represent a transformation of the Mothers into Śaiva, tantric goddesses, whose *kāpālika* iconography presages the image of the yoginī.[16]

Positioned even higher in the series of netherworlds are *yogakanyā*s, "yoga maidens" or "daughters of Yoga," deities of the sixth and seventh *pātāla*s. Here described merely as "possessing great power" (*mahāvīryāḥ*),[17] goddesses by this designation

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of places suitable for worship of the *kulavidyā* mantra.

[14] *Niśvāsaguhya* 5.1–21.

[15] *anye mātṛgaṇā rudrā bhaginyaś ca gaṇās tathā* (5.6cd).

[16] See *Niśvāsaguhya* 5.9ab (*mātarā[ḥ] piṅgalā yatra vasanty utpalahastikāḥ*), 5.11cd (*kapālamātaro yatra* ... [lacuna]), and 5.14ab (*tathā kapālarudrāś ca asaṃkhyeyāḥ puna[ḥ] sthitāḥ*).

[17] *yogakanyakā*s are mentioned in *Niśvāsaguhya* 5.15d, in a description of the city Ratnavatī of the sixth

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are little attested in Śaiva textual sources familiar to me. Yet as powerful, youthful goddesses connected with yoga who transcend the Skull Mothers, these "yoga maidens" might have continuity with the deities later referred to as *yogeśvarī*s, "female masters of yoga," or *yoginī*s. This connection is in fact drawn much later by a Kashmirian, Kṣemarāja, in commenting upon a parallel passage in the *Svacchandatantra*.[18] Unfortunately, the *Niśvāsa* provides little material for further exploration of this possibility. Nonetheless, this cosmological system describes a hierarchy of divinities with goddesses suggestive of those later brought within the rubric of the *yoginī*: multiple categories of Mother goddess, the Sisters, and maiden goddesses born from or possessed of yogic powers.[19]

Although the cosmology of the *Niśvāsaguhya* only faintly suggests developments relevant to the formation of the Yoginī cult, its ritual offers more substantive material for comparison. It is rich in *siddhi*-oriented practices that foreshadow varieties of ritual elaborated upon in the *bhairavatantra*s. Particularly noteworthy are its mortuary (*kāpālika*) practices, the use of magical substances (*siddhadravya*s), and instances of sexual ritual. The *kāpālika* rites of the *Niśvāsaguhya* appear largely magical in orientation, which places them in much closer relation to those of the *bhairavatantra*s than the liberationist *kāpālika* ritual of the Pāśupatas. This is particularly evident in the *Niśvāsaguhya*'s prescriptions for preparing magical substances in a skull; in one case the end-product is an ash that would turn the practitioner into a *vidyādhara*, and in another an eye-ointment that induces invisibility. Similar procedures are common

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pātāla; other denizens include *atharvarudra*s (*atharvarudrās tatraiva vasante yogakanyakāḥ*). "Yoga maidens possessed of great power" (*yogakanyā mahāvīryās*, 5.19a) are also met with in a description of the seventh *pātāla*, along with "sons" of Agni and Vāyu (*agnikumārakāḥ*, 18d; *vāyukumārakāḥ*, 19b). Note that the fifth *pātāla* contains *agnikumārikā*s, female counterparts of the "sons of Agni."

[18] See below, n. 59.

[19] Cf. *BraYā* LV and LXXIII; both chapters contain detailed typologies of yoginīs, and are edited in the present dissertation. Compare also the list of potentially malevolent divinities in *Netratantra* 2, the female ones among these being "hordes/groups of *śākinī*s and *yoginī*s; the *bhaginī*s, *rudramātṛ*s, etc.; *ḍāvī*s, *ḍāmarikā*s, and *rūpikā*s" (°*śākinīyoginīgaṇaiḥ* | *bhaginīrudramātrādiḍāvīḍāmarikādibhiḥ* || *rūpikābhir* ..., 13b–14a). This list hence includes both Mother goddesses and "Sisters," the latter, according to Kṣemarāja's commentary, "originating from partial incarnations of [the Seven Mothers,] Brāhmī, etc." (*brahmyādyaṃśakotthā bhaginyaḥ*).

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in the *BraYā*, where however more marked use of the 'impure' is made.[20] Perhaps the most extreme of the *kāpālika siddhi*-practices taught in the *Niśvāsaguhya* is chapter three's rite of fire sacrifice, performed in the mouth of a corpse, which in structure and aim parallels *vetālasādhana* as described in the *BraYā* and *Harṣacarita*. As in the *BraYā*, the rite culminates with the corpse's tongue emerging, which when severed becomes a magical sword.[21] Elsewhere, the *Niśvāsaguhya* describes rituals for mag-

[20] A process for producing invisibility-inducing kohl in a human skull is given in *Niśvāsaguhya* 3.81–82. The recipe involves nothing more offensive than ghee. The process in 11.110 utilizes ash:

> *oṃ yogādhipa namaḥ | anena mantreṇa bhasma gṛhya kapālasampuṭe sthāpya tāvaj japed yāvad †āvartitamatiḥ† tatas tu tenoddhūlane vidyādharo bhavati | ...*
>
> "OṂ YOGĀDHIPA NAMAḤ—taking hold of ashes using this mantra and placing them in the hollow of a skull, one should repeat the mantra until (¿) ... (?). Then, when one is dusted with these ashes, he becomes a *vidyādhara. ...*"

Compare with *BraYā* XLIX, which taps the powers of considerably less innocuous substances:

> *kroṣṭhukasya tu piśitaṃ haritālamanacchilām |*
> *rocanāñ ca mahāmāṃsaṃ ekīkṛtvā tu pīṣayet || 8 ||*
> *kapālasaṃpuṭaṃ kṛtvā ātmaraktena miśritam |*
> *sahasrāṣṭādhikaṃ japtvā tṛskṛtvā tilakaṃ kuru || 9 ||*
> *bhavate bhūtale siddho adreśyaḥ kālavāśinaḥ |*
>
> 8b °manacchilām] *em.*; °manacchilā $B_Y{}^a$ 8c rocanāñ] *em.*; rocanā $B_Y{}^a$ 9c sahasrāṣṭādhikaṃ] *em.* Isaacson; sahasrāntādhikaṃ $B_Y{}^a$ 10b adreśyaḥ] *em.*; adreśyoḥ $B_Y{}^a$
>
> "One should mix together and make a paste of the flesh of a jackal, the *haritāla* and *manaḥśilā* minerals, yellow pigment, and human flesh. After placing this in the hollow of a skull mixed with one's own blood, and reciting the mantra one-thousand and eight times, make a bindi [with this] thrice. He becomes perfected on this [very] earth, invisible, having power over death."

This brief chapter, the *kroṣṭukakalpa*, has as its theme magic using jackal (*kroṣṭuka*) flesh.

[21] *Guhyasūtra* 3.60cd–64ab:

> *ekaliṅge ekavṛkṣe śmaśāne saṃgame vane || 60 ||*
> *tatra maṇḍalam ālikhya tattvāṅgabhuvanaṃ śubham |*
> *akṣataṃ mṛtakaṃ gṛhya sthāpayitvāviśaṅkitaḥ || 61 ||*
> *susnāpitaṃ ca liptāṅgaṃ puṣpasragdāmabhūṣitam |*
> *hṛdi tasyopaviṣṭaṃ tu tattvena sravitaṃ carum || 62 ||*
> *tasya vaktre tu hotavyaṃ śatasāhasra-m-āyutam |*
> *tato jihvā viniṣkrāmet tāṃ tu mantreṇa cchedayet || 63 ||*
> *sā jihvā bhavate khaḍgo guhyavi ˘ ˘ – ˘ ˘ |*
> *anāhatagatiḥ so hi jīved ācandratārakam || 64 ||*
>
> 61a tatra maṇḍalam] *conj.*; - - - - - m $A^{41/14}$ 61d °viśaṅkitaḥ] *conj.* (D. Acharya?); ˘ śaṅkitaḥ $A^{41/14}$ 62a liptāṅgaṃ] *em.*; liptāṅge $A^{41/14}$ 62b puṣpasragdāma°] *Kathmandu apograph*; pu - - - ma° $A^{41/14}$ 64a khaḍgo] *em.*; khaḍgā $A^{41/14}$ 64c anāhata°] *Kathmandu apograph*; - nāhata° $A^{41/14}$ 64d jīved] *Kathmandu apograph*; - ved $A^{41/14}$
>
> "At a solitary *liṅga*, a solitary tree, or in a cremation ground, confluence [of rivers], or forest, one should draw the auspicious maṇḍala which houses the *tattva*-mantra and its ancillaries. One should take an unmutilated corpse and place it there, without hesitation, one well-washed and with oiled limbs, decorated with flower garlands. Seated upon its chest and using the *tattva*-mantra, the melted (? *sravita*) food offering (*caru*) should be given in fire sacrifice [into a fire] in its mouth, one billion times. Then [its] tongue would

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ically enlivening a corpse that does one's bidding.[22] Such magic was undoubtedly ancient, described for instance in the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, as mentioned previously.

As for sexual ritual, the *Niśvāsaguhya* teaches an *asidhārāvrata* ("the razor's edge observance") that involves the participation of a beautiful young woman. She is to be skilled in the erotic arts, although one who succumbs to lust in her embrace falls into hell. The description is brief; but it is worth noting that a full chapter of the *BraYā*, its thirty-ninth, is devoted to a rite of the same name almost identical in nature, though spelled out with attention to much more intimate details.[23] Absent

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emerge. One should sever this with the mantra. That tongue becomes a sword ... With unimpeded movement, he lives as long as the moon and stars."

MSS as reported in the transcription of Goodall, et al. (see note 2 above). *śatasāhasramāyutam* in 63b appears to mean *śatasāhasrāyutam*, "one-hundred thousand ten thousands"—a case of sandhi-breaking *-m-* as well as metrical lengthening of *ayuta* to *āyuta*, it seems. However, *āyuta* might be a variant orthography; this is what the MSS of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* read in 13.10a (*[ā/a]yutāṣṭakahomaṃ ca*), as reported by Törzsök.

[22] *Niśvāsaguhya* 11.86 describes magically enlivening an unmutilated corpse, which if male becomes a slave whom one may ride as a mount and go anywhere; if female, the corpse becomes like a celestial maiden, with whom one may live ten-thousand years, invisible. The more elaborate rites described in 14.127–29 are performed in a cremation ground, and the enlivened corpse (*vetāla*) may be dispatched to do a particular task or fetch magical substances or treasure: *tataś cottiṣṭhati bruvate ca | bho vīrapuruṣa kiṃ karomīti | sa vaktavyaḥ | īpsitaṃ kāmaṃ dadasveti | tataḥ sarvaṃ sampādayati | atha vāñjanarocanamanaḥśilā hy auṣadhiratnanidhānaṃ vā ānayasveti | tatas tat karma kṛtvā tatraiva gatvā nipatati ||* ("And then [the *vetāla*] arises and says, 'O heroic man, what shall I do'? He is to be told, 'provide the [following] desired wish'. The he accomplishes everything. Or [one should say,] 'fetch ointment, yellow pigment, the *manaḥśilā* mineral, or herbs, gems, or hidden treasure'. Then, after doing that work, [the corpse] goes there and falls [back] down"). 14.127, excerpt.

[23] *Guhyasūtra* 3.38cd–43ab:

ratisambhogakuśalāṃ rūpayauvanaśālinīm || 38 ||
īdṛśīṃ striyam āsādya niruddhendriyagocaraḥ |
cumbanāliṅganaṃ kuryāl liṅgaṃ sthāpya bhagopari || 39 ||
japadhyānaparo bhūtvā asidhārāvrataṃ caret |
yadi kāmavaśaṃ gacchet patate narake dhruvam || 40 ||
navātmakaṃ japel la ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ – dvaye |
abdaṃ ṣaṇmāsamātraṃ vā yaś cared vratam uttamam || 41||
tasya siddhiḥ prajāyeta adhamā madhyamottamā |
vratasthaḥ pañcalakṣāṇi punar japtvā tu siddhyate || 42 ||
sarve mantrāś ca siddhyante īpsitaṃ ca phalaṃ bhavet |

40cd °vaśaṃ gacchet patate] *conj.* (Goodall); °vaśaṃ cche patate $A^{41/14}$ 42b °ottamā] *em.* (Goodall); °ottamāḥ $A^{41/14}$ 42c vratasthaḥ] *corr.* (Goodall); vratastha $A^{41/14}$

Compare with *BraYā* XXXIX, the *asidhāravratapaṭala* (excerpts):

ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi asidhāravrataṃ mahān |
sarvasiddhipradaṃ proktaṃ sarvayoginipūjanam || 1 ||
pūrvalakṣaṇasaṃyuktāṃ yoṣitāṃ suratocchukām |
atīvarūpasaṃpannāṃ navayauvanadarpitām || 2 ||
...
cumbanāliṅganaṃ kṛtvā liṅgaṃ tatra vinikṣipet |
nityanaimittikaṃ kāmyaṃ japaṃ kuryād avagrahe || 11 ||

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from the *Niśvāsaguhya*, however, is focus upon what in the *BraYā* are the most potent of potent substances: the *guhyāmṛta*s or "secret nectars," i.e. sexual fluids. However, besides metal ores, neem oil, and the like, the *Niśvāsaguhya*'s ritual occasionally taps the power of conventionally impure substances, such as blood and beef.[24]

In the *Niśvāsaguhya*, some glimpses may be had of the cult of spirits prominent in later *bhairavatantra*s. In an example from chapter eleven, one who fasts, smears the body with crematory ash, and performs twelve-lakh repetitions of the mantra OṂ ANĀTHĀYA NAMAḤ has the *darśan* of spirits (*bhūta*), who offer him magical substances (*siddhadravya*) that induce invisibility.[25] Such magical, transactional experiences are greatly elaborated upon in the Yoginī cult, wherein encounter (*melāpa*) with goddesses becomes one of the central aims of ritual. Also noteworthy is the *Niśvāsaguhya*'s prescription for gaining the aid of a *yakṣiṇī*, a subject to which the *BraYā* devotes a chapter.[26] Further reference is made to achieving power over such

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nirācārapadāvastho vyomārṇavanisevakaḥ |
pramādād yadi kṣobhaḥ syāt svayam eva akāritaḥ || 12 ||
japed daśasahasrāṇi tattvayuktaḥ tu sādhakaḥ |
cumbanāliṅganaiś caiva śītkāraiḥ savilāsakaiḥ || 13 ||
paratattvāvalokī ca kṣobho naiva samācaret |
...
anena kramayogena avrataghnas tu sādhakaḥ || 27 ||
māsadvayaṃ trimāsam vā cāturmāsyam athāpi vā |
pañcaṣaṇmāsikaṃ yāvac cared dhyānaparāyaṇaḥ|| 28 ||
†pratimāsā bhavet tasya uttamā divyagocaraḥ† |
ṣaṇmāsena prajāyeta aṇimādiguṇānvitaḥ || 29 ||
...

12c kṣobhaḥ] *em.*; kṣobho By^{a} 13b °yuktaḥ] *em.*; °yuktiṃ By^{a} 28c °ṣaṇmāsikaṃ] *corr.*; °ṣaṭmāsikaṃ By^{a} 28cd yāvac cared] *em.*; yāva care By^{a} 29c ṣaṇmāsena] *corr.*; ṣaṭmāsena By^{a} 29d °guṇānvitaḥ] *em.*; °guṇānvitau By^{a}

Sanderson draws attention to a similar rite in another early Saiddhāntika source—the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*. Review of N. R. Bhatt, *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama (Kriyāpāda, Yogapāda et Caryāpāda), avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha. Edition Critique*, BSOAS 48, 3 (1985): 565.

[24] Note for instance that *Niśvāsaguhya* 10.87 mentions *homa* using beef (*gomāṃsa*), while 14.66 describes smearing an effigy (*pratikṛti*) with blood as part of a rite of subjugation (*vaśīkaraṇa*).

[25] *Guhyasūtra* 11.64: *anena mantreṇa śmaśānabhasmanā snātvā nirāhāro dvādaśalakṣaṃ japet bhūtagaṇāni paśyati* [em.; *paśyanti* Cod.] | *siddhadravyāṇi prayacchanti | taiḥ siddhadravyair antarhito bhavati || 64 ||* ("Having bathed in ashes using this mantra, while fasting, one should repeat the mantra twelve-hundred thousand times. He sees groups of spirits; they bestow magical substances. Through those magical substances, he becomes invisible").

[26] *Niśvāsaguhya* 10.81–84. This procedure, called *yakṣiṇīvidhi* (*yakṣiṇyā eṣa vidhiḥ*), involves worship of an image that comes to life when the rite is complete: *siddhā sā kiṃ karomīti bhāryā me bhavasveti | tayā saha ramate yāvad ācandratārakam* ("when accomplished, she [says] 'what shall I do?' 'Be my wife'. He enjoys himself with her for the duration of the moon and stars"). The subsequent verse (10.84) provides

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female spirits as the *bhūtī*, *piśācinī*, and *nāginī*, although generally, feminine-gender spirits are little emphasized. Erotic magic is present, such as a rite in the *Niśvāsaguhya* wherein one magically transforms a female goat or sheep (*ajā*) into a woman who fulfills "all of one's desires."[27] Also noteworthy are the numerous references to joining the ranks of the *vidyādhara*s, suggesting that even at this level of the tradition, magical perfection and the attainment of embodied divinity had emerged as well-defined aims of ritual. In general character, the *Niśvāsaguhya* thus suggests the extent to which the ritual of the *bhairavatantra*s and Yoginī cult has deep roots in earlier tradition, representing a shift in emphasis rather than something altogether novel.

TANTRAS OF ḌĀKINĪS, BHŪTAS, AND THE SISTERS OF TUMBURU

While aspects of the *Niśvāsaguhya* afford insight into the cultic background of the *bhairavatantra*s, the gulf between the *Niśvāsa* corpus and Vidyāpīṭha sources remains considerable. There appear, however, to have been early traditions within Tantric Śaivism possessing closer links with the cult of yoginīs, possibly representing phases intermediary between the *Niśvāsaguhya* and the Vidyāpīṭha, although the documentation for these is fragmentary. Most historically significant is the cult of the Sisters of Tumburu, the scriptures of which came to be classified as *tantra*s of the *vāmasrotas*, the "Left Stream" of scriptural revelation spoken by Sadāśiva's northern or leftward face, the feminine Vāmadeva. We also find references to an early tantric literature devoted to exorcism, the *bhūtatantra*s, and one concerned with a cult of female spirits called *ḍākinī*s.

In the first half of the seventh century, the Buddhist philosopher Dharmakīrti makes critical remarks concerning *ḍākinītantra*s and *bhaginītantra*s, the latter of which his commentator Karṇakagomin identifies as "*tantra*s of the Four Sisters" (*caturbhaginītantra*s)—in all probability, Sanderson argues, scriptures of the Śaiva *vāmasrotas*.

means for making a wife of a snake goddess (*nāginī*). Cf. *Niśvāsaguhya* 14.83, which describes rites for subjugating female spirits—the *yakṣiṇī*, *piśācinī*, and *bhūtī*. *BraYā* LXIV, the *yakṣiṇīsādhanapaṭala*, teaches in considerable detail processes for winning over various *yakṣiṇī*s, and well as a "female ear goblin" (*karṇapiśācinī*).

[27] *rūpavatī strī bhavati sā sarvakāmā[n] dadāti*. The rite is described in *Niśvāsaguhya* 14.153.

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The *ḍākinītantra*s Dharmakīrti refers to do not appear to have survived, yet the existence of Śaiva texts by this designation can be confirmed through several additional references.[28] Authors mentioning these texts associate them with parasitic, violent magical practices of the sort ascribed to *ḍākinī*s, female beings characterized in Śaiva sources largely as malevolent. While this literature is no longer extant, descriptions of the activities of such beings and similar ritual practices do survive in Vidyāpīṭha sources, and it is possible that the tradition represented by the *ḍākinītantra*s was in part subsumed into the Yoginī cult of the *bhairavatantra*s.[29]

While not clearly documented until Dharmakīrti's reference in the early seventh century, magical practices centered upon *ḍākinī*s could be considerably older than this; as discussed earlier, such deities are attested in the fifth-century Gaṅgdhār inscription, in association with the Mother goddesses. This association is certainly suggestive, for in Vidyāpīṭha scriptures, *ḍākinī*s and *mātṛ*s figure with prominence in typologies of the "clans" (*kula, gotra*) of goddesses. Nonetheless, it is unclear to what extent Dharmakīrti's reference to *ḍākinītantra*s should be taken as evidence for the existence of a cult of yoginīs in the seventh century, for a tradition of ritual centered upon *ḍākinī*s does not necessarily presuppose a Yoginī cult of the variety evidenced by Vidyāpīṭha and Kaula sources. In any case, the *ḍākinītantra*s undoubtedly have significance for the history of the cult of yoginīs, either representing one of its early forms or comprising one of the independent strands coming together in its formation.

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[28] Concerning the statements of Dharmakīrti and Karṇakagomin, see Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 11–12. Sanderson identifies several other references to *ḍākinītantra*s, including Kṣemarāja's *Netroddyota*, ad *Netratantra* 20.39. Ibid., 12 (n. 10).

[29] On *ḍākinī*s and their characterization in Śaivism, see chapter 2, n. 46. Cf. Sanderson, ibid., 12 (n. 10). *BraYā* XCIX.11–12 associates *ḍākinī*s with violent transactional encounters (*haṭhamelāpa*), and attainment of the state of being a *ḍākinī* with "inverted" (*viloma*) ritual means. See the edition in the present dissertation. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.181–218, which describes the pernicious activities of several varieties of yoginī, such as the *adhoniśvāsikā* and its sub-types; several verses from this passage are quoted by Kṣemarāja ad *Netratantra* 19.55. One would imagine that *ḍākinītantra*s taught practices such as *pañcāmṛtākarṣaṇa*, "extraction of the five [bodily] nectars," said in the *Mālatīmādhava* to be the source of the wicked yoginī Kapālakuṇḍalā's flight. This ritual is described in e.g. *BraYā* III.198–207. Regarding such practices in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, see Sanderson, "Purity and Power among the Brahmans of Kashmir," 213. The first half of *Netratantra* 20 contains a description of the yogic means by which yoginīs "liberate" their victims. Cf. *Kulasāra* 12, which describes the manner by which five varieties of yoginī invade the body; Törzsök discusses the relevant passage in the entry *"dikcarī"* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* III (forthcoming).

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Perhaps a contemporary of Dharmakīrti, the Brahmanical author Bhāruci in his commentary on the *Manusmṛti* mentions *bhūtatantras*, a class of tantric literature apparently concerned with exorcism and magic pertaining to "spirits" (*bhūta*). Although little early literature of this variety survives, it was once consequential enough to be classified as one of the five major divisions of Tantric Śaiva scripture, alongside the *siddhāntatantras*, *bhairavatantras*, *vāmatantras*, and *gāruḍatantras*.[30] Unlike *ḍākinī-tantras*, the *bhūtatantras* are unlikely to have concerned yoginīs directly; their ritual might however lie in the background of the Vidyāpīṭha's cremation-ground cult of female spirits. The *Netratantra* in particular, a text Sanderson shows to be of Kashmiri provenance (circa 700–850 C.E.),[31] provides a window into the exorcistic and apotropaic dimensions of the cult of yoginīs, which might have had roots in *bhūtatantra* material. In the *Netratantra*, yoginīs and their numerous varieties figure primarily as potentially harmful deities—a role that may be viewed in continuity with the early cult of Mother goddesses and the *grahas* of Skanda.[32]

A question of considerable importance to the early history of the Śaiva Yoginī cult concerns its relationship to the *vāmatantras*, scriptures of the cult of Tumburu and four goddesses known as "Sisters" (*bhaginī*). Dharmakīrti in all probability refers to the *vāmatantras* when he speaks of *bhaginītantras*, "Tantras of the Sisters," a literature that is in any case demonstrably old. Unfortunately, there appears to survive only one complete *vāmatantra*: the brief *Vīṇāśikhātantra*, published by Teun Goudriaan

[30] Sanderson remarks, "[Bhāruci,] who may also belong to the first half of the seventh century, refers to the Bhūtatantras in his commentary on Manu as sources teaching rites for the mastering of Vetālas." Sanderson also provides canonical lists of *bhūtatantras* from two sources, and identifies the *Kriyākālaguṇottara* as an early extant source of this type, surviving in a twelfth-century Nepalese MS and quotations in the *Netroddyota* of Kṣemarāja. "History through Textual Criticism," 13–14. On the inclusion of *bhūtatantras* as one of the streams of Śaiva revelation, see e.g. Jürgen Hanneder, *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation: Mālinīślokavārttika I, 1–399*, 17–19.

[31] "Religion and the State: Śaiva Officiants in the Territory of the King's Brahmanical Chaplain," 273–94.

[32] Cf., e.g., *Netratantra* 20.50–75; this begins with a list of harmful entities including *bhūtas*, *mātṛs*, and *yoginīs*, and outlines means for their appeasement (*praśamana*). Among many other skills, the practitioner capable of averting the dangers they pose should be versed in the rites of the *bhūtatantras* (*bhūtatantravidhau*, 61a). On the cult of Skanda, the Mothers, and *grahas*, see chapter 2, section 2; see also David White, *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 35–63.

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on the basis of its single extant Nepalese manuscript.[33] Concerning dating, there are other indications that *vāmatantra*s existed in the seventh century, if not earlier. Most compelling is the discovery of loose folios from a Śaiva text in the tradition of the *vāmatantra*s in the Gilgit manuscript horde, copied presumably prior to the eighth century.[34] It seems that Śaṅkara, the famous Vedāntin (fl. c. 800 C.E.?), refers to worship of the Four Sisters as well, alongside the Mothers, in his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*.[35] Furthermore, the core pantheon of the *vāmatantra*s features in several chapters of the Buddhist *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which includes a narrative of their conversion to the Dharma; portions of this *tantra* are held to date from the eighth century.[36] Another indication of their antiquity lies in the fact that the *BraYā*, early as it may itself be, shows clear knowledge of the Śaiva *vāmasrotas* and mentions several of its scriptures by name, including the extant *Vīṇa* (i.e. *Vīṇāśikha*).[37] As Sanderson

[33] *The Vīṇāśikhatantra: a Śaiva Tantra of the Left Current*, ed. Teun Goudriaan. This edition is based on the manuscript NAK 1-1076 (NGMPP reel A43/3). Sanderson has, in addition, suggested the possibility that the *Śiraścheda*, a text mentioned in early lists of *vāmatantra*s, has been redacted into the first of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s four *ṣaṭka*s. "History through Textual Criticism," 31–32 (n. 33).

[34] An edition of this material is under preparation by Sanderson and Somadeva Vasudeva; I thank the latter for providing this information.

[35] Śaṅkara's comments ad *Bhagavadgītā* 9.25 have been discussed by R. Nagaswamy, "The Sixty-four Yoginīs and Bhūta Worship as Mentioned by Śaṅkara in his Commentary on the Bhagavadgītā," *Berliner Indologische Studien* 9–10 (1996): 237–46. Commenting on 9.25c, *bhūtāni yānti bhūtejyā* ("worshippers of spirits attain to the spirits"), Śaṅkara remarks, according to the Ānandāśrama edition, ***bhūtāni*** *vināyaka-mātṛgaṇacaturbhaginyādīni* ***yānti bhūtejyā*** *bhūtānāṃ pūjakāḥ*; he hence glossess "*bhūta*s," with "Gaṇeśa, the group of Mother goddesses, the Four Sisters, etc." Nagaswamy, puzzled about the identity of the Four Sisters, points out that the variant °*catuḥṣaṣṭiyoginī*° ("the Sixty-four Yoginīs") is reported for °*caturbhaginī*° in the edition's apparatus, and is read by the commentator Dhanapatisūri; the MSS he consulted in the Sarasvati Mahal Library read °*caturbhaginī*°, however. Ibid., 242–44. Although further examination of the manuscript evidence is warranted, I doubt Nagaswamy is correct in opining that the reference to sixty-four yoginīs is original. As discussed in the previous chapter, the notion of the yoginīs as sixty-four does not seem particularly early, and only becomes prevalent in Kaula sources from around the tenth century.

[36] See the discussion of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* in section 4 of this chapter.

[37] In a list not necessarily of *vāmatantra*s alone, *BraYā* LXXVI.91–93 mentions the *Bhairava*, *Naya* (or *Bhairavanaya*?), *Śaukra*, *Mahāsaṃmoha*, and *Vīṇa*:

> *satyam etan mahādevi na kathyaṃ yasya kasya cit* || 91 ||
> *bhairave tu naye caiva śaukre caiva tu tsādhakaḥt* |
> *mahāsanmohavīṇe ca guhyatantre sudurlabham* || 92 ||
> *brahmayāmalatantre tu vidyāpīṭhe tu bhāṣitam* |
> *kathitam picutantre tu prayogam ida durlabham* || 93 ||
>
> 92b śaukre] *corr.*; saukre B$_{Y^a}$
>
> "This is the truth, O Mahādevī; it must not be told to just anyone. [This] is very difficult to obtain in the *Bhairava*, *Naya*, *Śaukra*, (¿) ...(?) and the secret *Mahāsaṃmoha*- and *Vīṇa*- *tantra*s. But it has been spoken in the *Brahmayāmalatantra* in the *Vidyāpīṭha*; this rare procedure has been taught in the *Picutantra*."

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shows, there are also indications that texts of the *vāmasrotas* such as the *Vīṇāsikha* were in circulation in Southeast Asia in the ninth century, along with Saiddhāntika sources such as the *Niśvāsa*.[38]

It is possible that the *vāmatantras* represent the earliest significant tantric Śaiva goddess cult, the pantheon of Tumburu and the Four Sisters presaging the goddess-dominated maṇḍalas of Bhairava in the Vidyāpīṭha. There are in fact significant iconographic parallels between Tumburu and the Four Sisters and certain forms of Bhairava and the Four Devīs in the *BraYā*.[39] In general concerns and character, the rit-

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Of these, the *Śaukra*, *Mahāsaṃmoha*, and *Vīṇa* (=*Vīṇāśikha*) are certainly *tantras* of the *vāmasrotas*; the former two are listed as such in *BraYā* XXXVIII.77, along with the *Nayottara* and †*bhavāt*. See TABLE 4.3. Note in 93d *ida* for *idam*, *metri causa*. In 93d, *guhyatantra* could, rather than be an adjective, refer to a specific text—potentially the *Niśvāsaguhya*.

[38] "History through Textual Criticism," 7–8 (n. 5). See also "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers (Part I)," 355–57.

[39] That the cult of the *bhaginīs* lies in the background of the *BraYā* is suggested by their position in the latter's cosmology. *BraYā* LV describes a hierarchy of clans (*kula*) of the goddesses in which *bhaginīs* occupy the penultimate position, at the level of *īśvaratattva*, just below the [Four] Devīs of the maṇḍala of the *BraYā*'s Kapālīśabhairava. See TABLE 4.7b, and verses 11–14 in the critical edition.

In the Buddhist *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which contains rare and important material on the cult of *bhaginīs*, the iconography of the Four Sisters and Tumburu has unusual maritime elements. The Four Sisters are repeatedly described as mounted in a boat (*nauyānasamārūḍhāḥ*) with Tumburu as the helmsman (*karṇadhāra*). Cf., e.g., 47.23–24. The maritime association of the *bhaginīs* finds confirmation in *Netratantra* 11 as well, which envisions the deities on a boat in the Ocean of Milk (*nāvaṃ kṣīrārṇavaṃ corvīṃ śaktim ādhārikāṃ śubhām || āsanārthaṃ prayuñjīta śāntyarthaṃ sitanīrajam*, 11.25cd–26ab). While impossible to determine with certainty, it seems probable that this representation of the Sisters and Tumburu is the source for the iconography of certain forms of Bhairava and the goddesses in the *BraYā*. Chapter four, a veritable treasury of tantric iconography, describes the eight goddesses of the retinue of Kapālīśa—the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs—in a row (*paṅkti*) in a boat, mounted upon human corpses, with Bhairava the helmsman, sporting in the Ocean of Milk. Compare with Mahāmardakabhairava in *BraYā* LXXVII—a *ardhanarīśvara* form of the deity possessing eight arms and four faces, standing upon a corpse in a boat. A similar four-faced, eight-armed Bhairava is mentioned in LXX.28–29. While Mahāmārdaka is worshipped as a solitary deity (*ekavīra*), chapters LXXXII and LXXXVII describe Bhairava and the eight maṇḍala goddesses with similar iconography. Cf. *BraYā* LXXXII.162–66:

> *rūpakan tu pravakṣyāmi devīnāṃ sādhanasya tu |*
> *pūrvoktarūpakaṃ jñeya kapālamuṇḍasaṃyutam || 162 ||*
> *nāvārūḍhās tu dhyātavyā nāvārūḍhās tu pūjayet |*
> *evaṃ kramavibhāgena nagnarūpāś caturmukhāḥ || 163 ||*
> *mahāpretasamārūḍhā devo devyaś ca kīrttitāḥ |*
> *dūtyo vai padmahastās tu trimukhāḥ ṣaḍbhujāḥ smṛtāḥ || 164 ||*
> *devyas tv aṣṭabhujā jñeyāḥ sādhakena tu dhīmatā |*
> *anena vidhinā jñeyā āśusiddhipradāyikāḥ || 165 ||*
> *ījyāñjalinamaskāraiḥ siddhidā muktidās tathā |*
> *svarūpadhyānayogena ekaikasyāḥ pṛthak pṛthak || 166 ||*
>
> 163c krama°] *conj.*; nagna° BY^a 163d °rūpāś] *em.*; °rūpā BY^a °mukhāḥ] *em.*; °mukhā BY^a 164b devo] *em.*; devau BY^a 164d ṣaḍbhujāḥ] *corr.*; ṣaṭbhujā BY^a 165a jñeyāḥ] *corr.*; jñeyā BY^a 165d °pradāyikāḥ] *em.*; °pradāyikā BY^a 166a °namaskāraiḥ] *corr.*; °namaskārai BY^a
>
> "I shall teach the form of the goddesses, and of [their] *sādhana*. The form [of the deities] should be known as that stated previously, endowed with skulls and severed heads.

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ual world of the *Vīṇāśikha* is largely consistent with the Vidyāpīṭha, and the colophon of the *Vīṇāśikha*'s Nepalese manuscript in fact refers to the text as a *yāmalatantra*.[40] However, despite elements of congruity, it is unclear whether and to what extent a cult of yoginīs was present in the *vāmatantras*. The short *Vīṇāśikha* contains only a single passing reference to yoginīs, describing them as deities who would punish those violating the scripture, the initiatory Pledges, or the gurus.[41] And although predating the *BraYā*, the *Vīṇāśikha* cannot be regarded as one of the earliest of its class of scriptures, for it situates itself as revelation subsequent to fundamental *vāmatantras* such as the *Nayottara* and *Śaukra*.[42] Hence, while the *vāmatantras* undoubtedly figure prominently in the background of the cult of yoginīs, it seems impossible to adequately assess the nature and extent of this role.

> But [they] should be meditated upon as mounted in a boat, one should worship them mounted in a boat. Thus the deity [Bhairava] and the goddesses, (¿) in their respective order (?), are said to be naked, with four faces, mounted upon human corpses. The Dūtīs are said to have lotuses in hand, and to have three faces and six arms. But the Devīs the wise *sādhaka* should know to have eight arms. Through this procedure, they are known to bestow *siddhi* rapidly. Through worship, supplication, and salutations they grant *siddhi*, and through the yoga of meditation on their forms, of each one individually, they give liberation."

In this schema, the Four Devīs appear to supplant the Four Sisters, attended upon by four more goddesses—the Dūtīs.

[40] According to Goudriaan's edition, the colophon reads, *vīṇāśikhā sārdhaśatatrayaṃ yāmalatantraṃ samāptam iti* ("thus ends the *Vīṇāśikha*, a *yāmalatantra* of three-hundred and fifty verses"). The middle section, in particular, concerns rituals for pacification (*śāntika*), nourishing (*pauṣṭika*), magical subjugation (*vaśīkaraṇa*), attraction (*ākarṣaṇa*), driving away enemies (*uccāṭana*), causing enmity (*vidveṣaṇa*), and slaying (*māraṇa*), similar in character to those of the *BraYā*. Some, for instance, involve cremation-ground fire sacrifice using human flesh (*mahāmāṃsa*); cf. 162, 189–90ab. Sanderson reports that the *Jayadrathayāmala* classifies *vāmatantras* as belonging to the Vidyāpīṭha. "History through Textual Criticism," 31 (n. 33).

[41] *Vīṇāśikha* 329cd–21ab:

> *svayaṃgṛhītamantrāś ca nāstikā vedanindakāḥ* || 329 ||
> *samayebhyaḥ paribhraṣṭās tathā tantravidūṣakāḥ* |
> *gurūṇāṃ viheṭhanaparās tantrasāravilopakāḥ* || 320 ||
> *yoginībhiḥ sadā bhraṣṭāḥ kathyante dharmalopakāḥ* |
>
> "Those who take up mantras on their own, atheists, critics of the *vedas*, breakers of the Pledges, desecrators of the *tantras*, those intent on harming the gurus, and those who violate the essence of the *tantras*—those who violate Dharma are said ever to be ruined by the yoginīs."

[42] *Vīṇāśikha* 4–10. The *Nayottara* and *Śaukra* are both mentioned in the *BraYā*; see above (n. 37).

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In a model of the Śaiva canon expounded in *BraYā* XXXVIII and a number of other sources, scriptures of the cult of Bhairava and associated goddesses—those designated "*bhairavatantras*"—are classified according to four *pīṭhas* or "mounds:" those of *mudrās*, *maṇḍalas*, *mantras*, and *vidyās*.[43] However, this classification appears to mask what Sanderson identifies as a more fundamental twofold division between the Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha, the pantheons of which consist predominantly of "male" mantra-deities and "female" *vidyā*-mantras, respectively.[44] Literature of the Vidyāpīṭha, "The Division/Seat of Female Mantras," is thus intrinsically concerned with goddesses, and the Vidyāpīṭha/Mantrapīṭha divide itself appears intended, primarily, for distinguishing *bhairavatantras* connected with the cult of yoginīs from those which are not—a distinction bearing comparison with that between *yoga/mahāyoga-* and *yoginītantras* in the canon of tantric Buddhist scripture (discussed subsequently). As appears true of the latter division, this might reflect an historical development, with the Vidyāpīṭha yoginī traditions developing within a Mantrapīṭha cultic context.

In some respects, the Vidyāpīṭha/Mantrapīṭha division appears contrived: note that the *BraYā* places the *Svacchandatantra* at the head of the Vidyāpīṭha as the first of eight *tantras* named after particular forms of Bhairava. Only four scriptures are assigned to the Mantrapīṭha, none of which appear extant.[45] However, the *Svacchanda* or *Svacchandalalitabhairavatantra* is in some sources, including its own colophons in the Nepalese manuscripts, held to belong to the Mantrapīṭha—a scriptural category otherwise poorly represented in the surviving literature, having this text alone as its major early exemplar.[46] The paucity of surviving texts might suggest that

[43] The *BraYā*'s vision of the Śaiva canon is discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis. The notion of the *bhairavatantras* being divided according to four *pīṭhas* is not uncommon; note for instance, in the *Svacchandatantra*, the Goddess's initial question and 13.6cd. *Jayadrathayāmala* I, chapter thirty-six, comprises an exposition on this subject.

[44] Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 668–71; and "History through Textual Criticism," 19–20.

[45] See TABLE 4.4 in the next chapter.

[46] On the *Svacchandatantra* and the Mantrapīṭha, see Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism,"

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the yoginī cult of the Vidyāpīṭha corpus largely superceded "Mantrapīṭha" forms of the Bhairava cult, much as the *vāmatantra*s appear to have lost relevance and gone out of circulation. The *kāpālika* Vidyāpīṭha itself appears to have been eclipsed by Kaula cults, eventually, the scriptures of which comprise the bulk of surviving non-Saiddhāntika Śaiva literature.

The *Svacchandatantra* survives in two recensions, one in comparatively polished Sanskrit transmitted in Kashmir, commented upon by Kṣemarāja in the eleventh century and published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies; and another preserved in Nepalese manuscripts.[47] Though these cover most of the same content, the rustic language of the latter in all likelihood reflects the text in an earlier form.[48] Sanderson highlights a number of respects in which this scripture and the cult of Svacchanda-bhairava have distinctive historical significance, representing an early and widely influential tradition in Tantric Śaivism.[49] Although it has not been firmly dated, the *Svacchandatantra* heads several lists of the non-Saiddhāntika *tantra*s, including the *BraYā*'s account of the *bhairavatantra*s and the sixty-four *tantra*s of the *sādāśivacakra* in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*.[50] It bears a close relationship to the ancient *Niśvāsatattva-saṃhitā*, from which it redacts substantial material, and predates the *Tantrasadbhāva*

19–21. While *Svacchandatantra* 14 refers to itself as the *mudrāpīṭha* (14.26ab), the *Svacchandatantra* does not place itself as a whole in a single *pīṭha*; the Ur-*Svacchanda*, like the *BraYā*, is said to contain all four within itself (*Svacchandatantra* 1.5cd; see the discussion in chapter 5 of this thesis). As mentioned, chapter colophons of the Nepalese manuscripts nonetheless assign the *Svacchandatantra* to the *mantra-pīṭha*.

[47] I am aware of four Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Svacchandatantra*: NAK 1-224 (NGMPP reel B28/18), NAK 9-68 (NGMPP reel C6/5), Rāṣṭrīyābhilekha MS 5-691 (NGMPP reel A988/4), and the incomplete Bodleian Library codex (*Svacchandalalitabhairava Mahātantra*, MS Sansk. d. 38 [R]). Eight paper manuscripts that appear complete or nearly so have been filmed by the NGMPP as well: reels A201/4 (NAK 5-4974; filmed a second time as A1176/16), E137/3, E2188/11, A204/3&5 (NAK 1-43), A203/4 (NAK 5/6165), and A201/9–A202/1 (NAK 1-224), all in Newari writing; and A201/7 (or A210/7? NAK 5-4974) and A203/9 (NAK 1-11), both in the Devanāgarī script.

[48] The case of the *Svacchandatantra* bears comparison with that of the *Netratantra*, studied in detail by Sanderson, "Religion and the State," passim. The *Netratantra* too exists in a comparatively polished Kashmirian recension and more rustic version preserved in Nepalese MSS; Sanderson proposes, compellingly, that the latter is comparatively archaic. Ibid., 243.

[49] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 20–21.

[50] *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* 273b; numbering as given in Jürgen Hanneder, *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation. Mālinīślokavārttika* 1, 1–399, 263. This section of the *Śrīkaṇṭhīya* is quoted by Jayaratha, commenting on *Tantrāloka* 1.17.

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of the (Trika) Vidyāpīṭha.[51] No evidence I am yet aware of firmly establishes its chronology relative to the *BraYā*—an issue discussed in the subsequent chapter.

In cultic orientation, the mildly *kāpālika Svacchandatantra* shares much with the *siddhāntatantras*, and in fact defies or potentially predates distinct divisions between the Saiddhāntika and non-Saiddhāntika traditions; indeed, the scripture had substantial authority in Saiddhāntika circles, evidently.[52] In the *Svacchandatantra*, the cultic status of the spouse-goddess of Bhairava, Aghoreśī or Bhairavī, is secondary,[53] while goddesses in general have little prominence in its pantheons. The Mother goddesses who feature in the background of the early Yoginī cult have only a marginal presence in the *Svacchandatantra*.[54] However, *Svacchandatantra* 10, in describing the cosmological sphere (*bhuvana*) called Sucāru, describes Śiva (Umāpati) in a maṇḍala of the Brahmanical Mothers. This appears to be an elaboration upon a brief reference in *Niśvāsaguhya* 5, upon which this section of the *Svacchandatantra* is based, to a divine city called *mātṛnandā*, "dear to the Mothers." One of thirty-four cities (*pura*) on mount Meru, the *Niśvāsa* describes this as the abode of Umāpati, where sport inebriated Mother goddesses of unspecified number.[55] In the *Svacchandatantra* ver-

[51] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 22–32.

[52] The evidence for this includes the existence of a Saiddhāntika tradition of *Svacchandatantra* exegesis, referred to by Kṣemarāja. Sanderson, "Purity and Power among the Brahmans of Kashmir," 204. Furthermore, Sanderson shows that the influential Saiddhāntika ritual manual of Bhojadeva, the *Siddhāntasārapaddhati*, drew upon the *Svacchandatantra* "extensively and deeply." "History through Textual Criticism," 21–22 (n. 26; quote on p. 22); and "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers," 359–60, 403 (n. 197).

[53] Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 670.

[54] Although referred to as prominent attendants of Śiva in the text's opening (*stūyamānaṃ maheśānaṃ gaṇamātṛniṣevitam*, 1.2cd), the Mothers are otherwise mentioned primarily in passing, in lists of deities. Cf., e.g., *Svacchandatantra* 10.214cd–15ab:

> *devagandharvasiddhāś ca ṛṣayo 'tha vināyakāḥ* || *214* ||
> *gaṇamātṛbhaginyaś ca vetālā rākṣasādayaḥ* |

[55] *Niśvāsaguhya* 5.67cd–68:

> *[e]kādaśātmā lokātmā vīrarudra umāpatiḥ* || *67* ||
> *matṛnandā purī ramyā sarvaratnavicitritā* |
> *krīḍante mātaras tatra madhupānavighūrṇitāḥ* || *68* ||

Cf. *Svacchandatantra* 10.140cd–41ab:

> *paścime dharmarājasya mātṛnandā purī smṛtā* || *140* ||
> *krīḍanti mātaras tatra madhupānavighūrṇitāḥ*

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sion, these are recast as a maṇḍala of the Brahmanical Seven Mothers, described in full iconographic detail and apparently joined by an eighth goddess, Mahālakṣmī.[56] The Kashmiri recension of the *Svacchandatantra* provides additional evidence for the incorporation of Mother goddesses: in a description of the Mātṛkā, the "alphabetical Matrix," the eight *vargas* of the Sanskrit alphabet are correlated with the Eight Mothers, a connection absent from the text as transmitted in Nepalese manuscripts;[57] no link of this sort is made concerning the *vargas* of the Mātṛkā in the *Niśvāsa* either,[58] although this becomes commonplace in latter times.

The cult of yoginīs goddesses registers a clear presence only in the *Svacchandatantra*'s fifteenth and final chapter, although these goddesses are mentioned elsewhere in the text.[59] This chapter concerns subject matters characteristic of the Yoginī cult: *chommā* (*chummā*/*chummakā* in the Kashmiri recension), the verbal and non-linguistic secret codes used for communication between initiates and with yoginīs;

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[56] *Svacchandatantra* 10.1017cd–30 describes the Seven Mothers in some detail, closing with a remark that suggests the presence of Mahālakṣmī as their eighth and highest member:

evaṃ sa bhagavān devo mātṛbhiḥ parivāritaḥ |
āste paramayā lakṣmyā tatrastho dyotayañ jagat || 1030 ||

[57] This has been pointed out to me by Sanderson (personal communcation, January, 2007). See *Svacchandatantra* 1.31cd–37ab in the KSTS edition. Mahālakṣmī's prominence is illustrated in the fact that she presides over the *a-varga* or the vowels, while Cāmuṇḍā merely presides over the sibilants.

[58] The first two chapters of the *Niśvāsottara* in particular concern the Mātṛkā and its *yāga*. See also *Niśvāsanaya* 1 and *Niśvāsaguhya* 12.

[59] In particular, note *Svacchandatantra* 10.116cd–19ab, describing the temple of Śiva as Hāṭakeśvara:

yadūrdhve caiva sauvarṇaṃ pātālaṃ parikīrtitam |
tatra vasaty asau devo hāṭakaḥ parameśvaraḥ || 116 ||
purakoṭisahasrais tu samantāt parivāritaḥ |
siddhai rudragaṇair divyair bhaginīmātṛbhir vṛtaḥ || 117 ||
yoginīyogakanyābhī rudraiś caiva sakanyakaiḥ |
siddhadravyasamair mantraiś cintāmaṇirasāyanaiḥ || 118 ||
siddhavidyāsamṛddhaṃ vai hāṭakeśasya mandiram |

Here yoginīs are mentioned alongside *siddhas*, *rudras*, *bhaginīs*, *mātṛs*, *yogakanyās*, and perhaps *rudrakanyās*, in the entourage of Śiva-Hāṭakeśvara. The commentator Kṣemarāja interprets the "yoga maidens" (*yogakanyās*) as a high grade of yoginī (*yoginyo yogena siddhāḥ, yogakanyās tu jātamātrā eva saṃsmāritayogāḥ*, "yoginīs are perfected through [practice of] yoga; but *yogakanyās* are caused to recall their yoga upon merely being born"). This passage in the *Svacchandatantra* is an elaboration upon *Niśvāsaguhya* 5.16cd–17ab, where the deities mentioned are *rudras*, *vidyās*, and *vidyeśvaras*:

sauvarṇaṃ saptamaṃ jñeyaṃ pātālaṃ nāgasevitam |
yatra citravatī nāma purī rudrasamākulā || 16 ||
tatrāsau hāṭhako devo vidyāvidyeśvarair vṛtaḥ |

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and *yoginīmelāpa*, transactional encounters with the goddesses. The section on *melāpa* describes a visionary encounter in which the yoginī, it would appear, indicates by gesture the reality level (*tattva*) corresponding to the supernatural attainment the *sādhaka* shall by her blessing obtain.[60] Otherwise, the yoginī would bestow a food offering (*caru*), the mere consumption of which transforms the *sādhaka* into Bhairava.[61]

Chapter fifteen of the *Svacchandatantra* is present in both the published Kashmiri recension and in all the old (palm-leaf) manuscripts of the Nepalese-transmitted recension. Nonetheless, one might suspect, as William Arraj suggests, that it belongs to a late stratum of the text.[62] The Goddess's initial questions in chapter 1 do not intimate its subject matter, which appears out of character with the *Svacchandatantra* as a whole. At least one of the verbal code words does occur elsewhere in the text (*giri*, "mountain," for *sādhaka*[63]); yet by and large, these imply a cultic context distinct from earlier chapters—one that includes ritual coitus, sacrifice, and engagement with a level of impurity otherwise uncharacteristic.[64] By all appearances, this chapter would seem to have been appended somewhat awkwardly. If so, the growth of the

[60] *Svacchandatantra* 15.24–32ab provides a concordance between a series of points along the body that the yoginī might indicate, from the crest-tuft (*śikhā*) to the feet, and a series of *tattvas* or reality levels. The Nepalese-transmitted recension contains several verse-halves absent from the Kashmiri recension, which would occur after 24ab, 27cd, and 31cd of the KSTS edition. These add the *tattvas niyati* and *pṛthvī* to the concordance; the absence of the latter in particular would otherwise be inexplicable. The *chommā* section ends with the statement, *darśayanti mahādhvānaṃ nānābhogasamanvitam*: "[the yoginīs] indicate the Great Course [i.e. the hierarchy of *tattvas* that comprise the universe], together with its various supernatural attainments" (34ab).

[61] *Svacchandatantra* 15.36:

> *satatābhyāsayogena dadate carukaṃ svakam |*
> *yasya samprāśanād devi vīreśasadṛśo bhavet || 37 ||*
> "Due to [his] engaging in constant practice, she bestows her own *caru*, by the mere consumption of which, O Goddess, he would become equal to [Bhairava,] Lord of the Heroes."

Cf. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 23, quoted in section 4 of the previous chapter.

[62] Arraj, "The Svacchandatantram: History and Structure of a Śaiva Scripture," 366–69.

[63] The verbal code is given in 15.2c (*sādhakas tu girir jñeyaḥ*). "*Giri*" occurs in the sense of *sādhaka* in 5.46c, in the context of enumeration of the Pledges. Arraj also suggests that the compound *mṛtasūtra* ("sacred thread from a corpse"?) in 13.21b is used in the code sense of "ligament" (*snāyu*). This is uncertain, however; the verbal code-word given for *snāyu* is "*sūtra*" alone (15.5d). Since the "thread" of a corpse would itself satisfy the context—*kāpālika* fire sacrifice—it seems unnecessary to posit a different referent.

[64] An exception is *Svacchandatantra* 13 (referred to in the previous note), on the subject of fire sacrifice. The flesh of a man slain with weapons and mixed with the "three honeys" is among the various impure offering substances listed (*raṇaśastraghātapatitaṃ narapiśitaṃ trimadhusaṃyutaṃ juhuyāt*, 13.24cd).

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Svacchandatantra might support the hypothesis that the yoginī cult of the Vidyāpīṭha evolved within a "Mantrapīṭha" context—a cult of Bhairava and male mantra-deities, primarily, its *kāpālika* dimension and ritual engagement with impurity presaging major concerns of the Vidyāpīṭha.

3.3 SCRIPTURES OF THE ŚAIVA YOGINĪ CULT: THE VIDYĀPĪṬHA AND KAULA

Pre eleventh-century Śaiva scriptures in which the cult of yoginīs is prominent appear to be of two basic categories: those of the "Vidyāpīṭha" ("Seat of Female Mantra-deities") and "Kaula" ("[Tradition] of the [Goddess] Clans"). The distinctions between these are at once significant and problematic—problematic because the Kaula tradition appears, most probably, to have developed within and had substantial continuity with the Vidyāpīṭha, complicating a neat division between the two. Thorough investigation of this important issue is beyond the present study. Most relevant is the fact that the earliest attested literature of the Śaiva Yoginī cult, including the *BraYā*, belongs to the Vidyāpīṭha, while in contrast, the greater portion of the extant Śaiva literature concerned with yoginīs belongs to various Kaula traditions.

Four Vidyāpīṭha works of the *kāpālika* yoginī cult appear extant: the *BraYā*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, and *Jayadrathayāmala*.[65] Among these, the *BraYā* and *Tantrasadbhāva* alone survive in comparatively early and complete forms. The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* is preserved only in a short, probably secondary redaction transmitted in Nepalese manuscripts, missing some passages attributed to it in the exegetical literature,[66] while in the form we have it, the *Jayadrathayāmala* might not predate Abhinavagupta.[67] However, the third book of the *Jayadrathayāmala*—the *Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa*—appears to have been an early, independent work of the Vidyāpīṭha, for along with the *BraYā*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, and *Tantrasadbhāva*, it is one of the extant Śaiva texts that Sanderson identifies as sources for the Buddhist *Laghu-*

[65] See Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 31–32 (n. 33).

[66] See Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Spirits," iv–v.

[67] See Sanderson, "Remarks on the Text of the *Kubjikāmata*," 2. Sanderson points out that the *Jayadrathayāmala* is cited by Kṣemarāja, but not apparently by his preceptor Abhinavagupta.

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śaṃvaratantra.[68] Of these four, only the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* has been critically edited, in part, while the present dissertation contributes an edition of selections from the *BraYā*.

Although focused upon distinct pantheons, these early Vidyāpīṭha scriptures share much in ritual orientation, exemplifying the yoginī cult in its most radically antinomian and possibly archaic form. The character of the ritual world of the Vidyāpīṭha has been memorably captured in the words of Sanderson:

> Smeared with the ashes of funeral pyres, wearing ornaments of human bone, the initiate would carry in one hand a cranial begging-bowl and in the other a *khaṭvāṅga*, a trident-topped staff on which was fixed beneath the prongs a human skull adorned with a banner of blood-stained cloth. Having thus taken on the appearance of the ferocious deities of his cult, he roamed about seeking to call forth these gods and their retinues in apocalyptic visions and thereby to assimilate their superhuman identities and powers. These invocations took place precisely where the uninitiated were in greatest danger of possession: on mountains, in caves, by rivers, in forests, at the feet of isolated trees, in deserted houses, at crossroads, in the jungle temples of the Mother-Goddesses, but above all in the cremation-grounds, the favorite haunts of Bhairava and Kālī and the focus of their macabre and erotic cult. The initiate moved from the domain of male autonomy and responsibility idealised by the Mīmāṃsakas into a visionary world of permeable consciousness dominated by the female and the theriomorphic. Often transvestite in his rites he mapped out a world of ecstatic delirium in which the boundaries between actual women and the hordes of their celestial and protean counterparts, between the outer and the inner, was barely perceptible. Intoxicated with wine, itself the embodiment of these powers, he sought through the incantation of mantras and the offering of mingled menstrual blood and semen, the quintessential impurities, to induce these hordes to reveal themselves. Taming them with an offering of his own blood, he received from them the powers he desired. At the same time he was alert to perceive their incarnation in human women and was provided by the tradition with the criteria by which he might recognize their clan-affinities. For a divinatory rite at the time of his initiation had determined his occult link with one of these clans, in order that by the grace of his clan-sisters, who embodied the clan-goddesses and were his spiritual superiors, he might attain by the most direct route liberating possession by the ferocious cosmic deity who was the controller and emanator of all these forces.[69]

[68] The matter of the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s sources, as identified by Sanderson in "History through Textual Criticism" (pp. 41–47), is taken up in section 5.

[69] Sanderson, "Purity and Power," 201–2. The annotation to this passage, rich with references to

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As Sanderson portrays, yoginīs are central to the ritual world of the Vidyāpīṭha—as goddesses met with in visionary ritual encounters, as the luminous matrix (*jāla*) of Śiva's feminine "powers" or *śaktis*, and as embodied in female practitioners. Recognition of yoginīs and transactional encounters with them are among the most characteristic subjects treated in Vidyāpīṭha scriptures. Indeed, the entire edifice of tantric ritual appears oriented within the Vidyāpīṭha toward the aim of *yoginīmelāpa*, power-bestowing "union" or encounter with the goddesses. In the *BraYā*, the centrality of encounters with yoginīs finds expression in the abundance of references to such as the outcome of ritual. These vary from cursory statements, such as "the goddesses manifest directly," "he becomes dear to the yoginīs," or "he attains *melaka*," to vivid accounts of transactions with the deities.[70] The very material ingredients of ritual are selected for their ability to bring about the goddesses' proximity.[71] Several passages explicitly describe *yoginīmelāpa* as the ultimate fruition of tantric ritual in the broadest sense: *BraYā* LXXIII specifies ritual discipline (*caryā*), yoga, and "rites" (*kriyā*)—besides Śiva's volition—as the causes of *melaka*, while longer lists of modes of tantric ritual are enumerated in passages in *BraYā* XCIX and *Svacchandatantra* 15.[72] Through his communion with yoginīs, the *sādhaka* attains the powers of Bhairava himself.[73]

Vidyāpīṭha literature, is omitted here.

[70] Note expressions such as *devyaḥ pratyakṣatāṃ yayau* ("the goddesses would become directly perceptible," *BraYā* IV.358b; here the perfect tense, third-person singular, appears optative plural in meaning), *yoginīvallabho bhavet* ("he would become beloved of the yoginīs," *BraYā* LXXVI.120d), *yoginīmelako bhavet* ("there would transpire *melaka* with the yoginīs," *BraYā* LVIII.111f), and *ṣaṇmāsārādhanenaiva siddhā dāsyanti melakaṃ* (*BraYā* LXXIII.70ab; see the critical edition). Detailed accounts of the encounters envisioned with goddesses are numerous, and will be discussed in a future publication on *yoginīmelāpa*.

[71] In particular, 'impure' incenses (*dhūpa*) and mixtures offered in fire sacrifice are described as *devī-sānaidhyakāraka* or *-kāraṇa*, "cause of the goddesses' proximity" (*sānaidhya* having the sense of the classical Sanskrit *sāṃnidhya*, "proximity"). Cf., e.g., LXXVI.118 (*kañjikaṃ cātmaśukraṅ ca haritālamanaḥcchilā* [i.e. *manaḥśilā*] | *gugguluṃ ghṛtasaṃyuktaṃ dhūpaṃ sānaidhyakārakam*). In LXXXVII.126cd, 159ab, and 232a, particular *mudrās* are similarly described as *sānaidhyakārikā*.

[72] See *BraYā* XCIX.2–4 in the critical edition in part II. In *Svacchandatantra* 15, the description of *yoginī-melaka* concludes with remarks suggesting it is the fruition of total accomplishment in tantric ritual—from worship (*pūjā*) and fire sacrifice (*homa*) to mantra incantation (*japa*) and meditation (*dhyāna*). See verses 32cd–38.

[73] Cf., e.g., *BraYā* LVIII.108:

> *sarvādhvani mahādevi vatsaraikaniṣevanāt* |
> *prāptamelāpako bhūtvā krīḍate bhairavo yathā* || *108*
>
> "After one year of observances, O Mahādevī, he, being one who has obtained *melāpa* [with

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Subsequent chapters offer a more detailed view of the Vidyāpīṭha through the lens of the *BraYā*—a demonstrably early and well-preserved scripture of this category. In the critical edition of part II are presented editions and translations of select chapters of the text, including material focused upon charateristic aspects of the cult of yoginīs.

The distinction between Kaula and Vidyāpīṭha levels of the tantric Śaiva tradition was posited by Sanderson, whose exposition of two decades' past remains the only significant contribution on this issue.[74] Seeing the roots of "Kaulism" in the Vidyāpīṭha or "Kula" cult of yoginīs,[75] he identifies multiple levels of distinction. In the

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the goddesses], sports through the entire universe like Bhairava."

[74] Sanderson, "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 679–90.

[75] For the term "Kaulism," see ibid., 679. What Sanderson describes there as the Kaula-Vidyāpīṭha dichotomy, he spoke of in an earlier article as one between the Kaula and "Kula," rather than Vidyāpīṭha:

> The distinction between Kula and Kaula traditions ...is best taken to refer to the clan-structured tradition of the cremation-grounds seen in the *Brahmayāmala-Picumata, Jayadrathayāmala, Tantrasadbhāva, Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, etc. (with its Kāpālika *kaulika vidhayaḥ*) on the one hand and on the other its reformation and domestication through the banning of mortuary and all sect-identifying signs (*vyaktaliṅgatā*), generally associated with Macchanda/Matsyendra.

Sanderson, "Purity and Power among the Brahmans of Kashmir," 214 (n. 110). The distinction between "Kula" and "Kaula" is found in primary sources; the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, for instance, contrasts "Kula" and "Kaula" scriptures, though in some cases using the former in a broad sense that includes the latter. Cf., e.g., *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 9.9ab, *ete pūrvamahāsiddhāḥ kulakaulāvatārakāḥ* ("these are the great Perfected ones of yore, revealers of the Kula and Kaula [scriptures]"); for *kulāgama* in its broader sense, note, e.g., *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 17.5ab, *kliśyanti manujā [']tyantam ajñātvā tu kulāgamam* ("Having failed to learn the Kula scripture, human beings suffer grievously").

Significantly, the final chapter of the *BraYā* provides a solitary reference to "Kula scriptures" (*kulajñānāni*), which comprise or at least include Vidyāpīṭha texts:

> *ṣaṇmāsābhyantarād devi kulasāmānyatāṃ vrajet* || *16* ||
> *aśeṣayoginīnāthaḥ kulavijñānasampadaḥ* |
> *bhavate sādhakendras tu bhairaveśa ivāparaḥ* || *17* ||
> *kulajñānāni yāvanti aśeṣādhvasthitāni tu* |
> *vetti sarvāṇi deveśi dadāti ca tadarthinām* || *18* ||
>
> 16c ṣaṇ°] *corr.*; ṣaṭ° B$_{Y}^{a}$ 17a °nāthaḥ] *corr.*; °nātha B$_{Y}^{a}$ 17c bhavate] *em.*; bhavatet B$_{Y}^{a}$
>
> "After an interval of six months, O goddess, one would attain equality with the Clans [of goddesses]. Master of all yoginīs, endowed with the scriptural wisdom of the Clans (*kulavijñāna*), he becomes an Indra among *sādhaka*s, like another Lord Bhairava. He knows all the Clan scriptures (*kulajñāna*)—as many as exist in the entire universe—and he gives [these] to their seekers, O Queen of the gods."

In the subsequent chapter I show that this section of the *BraYā* is likely to belong to a late stratum of the text. Nowhere else does this vast work mention or describe itself as a "Kula scripture"—a designation which in fact seems alien to early Vidyāpīṭha sources themselves.

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domain of ritual, the Kaula tradition attenuated the mortuary or *kāpālika* dimension of the Vidyāpīṭha, shifting the primary locus of ritual from the cremation ground to the body and consiousness itself. This shift involved internalization and simplification of ritual processes, increasingly interiorized conceptions of divine agencies, disavowal of the outer trappings of the *kāpālika* ascetic, emphasis on ecstatic experience in erotic ritual, and development of comparatively sophisticated systems of yoga. The Kaula tradition hence transforms the Vidyāpīṭha emphasis on the potency of 'impure' ritual substances, the cult of spirits, and visionary, transactional encounters with deities, although these dimensions persist to some degree. In addition, on the social level the Kaula opened up new possibilities for the engagement of practitioners maintaining conventional social identities and kinship relations.

The figure and cult of the yoginī retain considerable significance in Kaula scriptural sources—the corpus of texts which designate themselves, frequently, as Kaula *āgamas*, *śāstras*, or *jñānas*. A notable shift lies in increasing emphasis upon internalized, yogic conceptions of the presence and manifestation of the *śaktis*.[76] Nonetheless, decidedly exoteric conceptions of yoginīs persist; indeed, Kaula conceptions of yoginīs appear to inform the temple cult of the sixty-four goddesses and *purāṇic* accounts of yoginīs from the early second millenium, as discussed in chapter two. By way of illustrating Kaula conceptions of yoginīs, I shall focus presently upon their roles in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* ("The Definitive Judgment on Kaula Scriptural Wisdom"). The choice is admitedly arbitrary, for no single text is "typical" or representative of this large corpus. Preserved in two Nepalese manuscripts, the oldest of which belongs to the mid eleventh-century,[77] the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* describes it-

[76] Note, for instance, that the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* of the Kaula Trika describes *yoginīmelaka* as either an external encounter with goddesses, who assemble to bestow power upon the *sādhaka*, or as the manifestation of yoginīs within the yogic body. See *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 19, especially 18cd–27ab.

[77] The *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* was published in 1934 by Prabodh Candra Bagchi, in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha*. His edition is based upon a single eleventh-century manuscript from the collection of the erstwhile Darbar Library in Kathmandu: *'Mahākaulajñānanirṇaya'*, NAK 3-362 (NGMPP reel A48/13). This manuscript has been described by Haraprasād Śāstrī in the *Catalogue of the Palf-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. Belonging to the Darbar LIbrary, Nepal*, vol. II, 32; and by Bagchi, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Some Minor Texts*, 1. Although undated, its writing bears to my eye a strong affinity to a Nepalese *Svacchandatantra* manuscript dated to 1068/9 C.E.: NAK 1-224 (NGMPP reel

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self as the *Yoginīkaula*, "Kaula scripture of the Yoginīs."[78] Revealed by Matsyendra at the mythic "Moon Island" (*candradvīpa*), the text also associates itself with the sacred site (*pīṭha*) of Kāmarūpa or Kāmākhyā, in modern Assam; indeed, the powers of the yoginīs of Kāmākhyā are attributed to the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*.[79] As with many Kaula scriptures, its constellation of divinities features "perfected ones" (*siddha*) and lineages of past gurus—figures of little cultic status in early Vidyāpīṭha texts.[80] Its primary pantheon of mantra-deities is however the *krama* ("sequence") or *cakra* ("circle") of sixty-four yoginīs explicated in chapter eight.

Although the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* lacks an exposition on the typical Vidyāpīṭha topic of *chommā*, "secret signs" used for communication with yoginīs, it contains abundant yoginī material, including a vivid exposition on their "movement/manifes-

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B28/18). Bagchi's paleographical assessment would also place the manuscript towards the mid-eleventh century. Ibid., 5. Moreover, a second, more recent palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* has come to my attention that was unavailable to Bagchi: *Mahākaulajñānanirṇayasāra*, NGMPP reel H333/14 (undated, private collection). This has particular value, for it contains the text of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*'s first chapter, which is missing from the older codex. I expect to publish a notice concerning this manuscript in the near future.

[78] See the introduction of this thesis, section 1.

[79] The *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*'s chapter colophons connect the scripture with Matsyendra and Candradvīpa, an association explicated in the revelation narrative of chapter sixteen. The connection with Kāmarūpa/Kāmākhyā is made in verses 22.10c and 12c, while 22.12 mentions both Candradvīpa as well Kāmākhyā:

> *kāmarūpe imaṃ śāstraṃ yoginīnāṃ gṛhe gṛhe* || 10 ||
> *nigrahānugrahañ caiva siddhimelāpakaṃ tathā* |
> *kurvanti satataṃ devi asya jñānaprasādataḥ* || 11 ||
> *candradvīpe mahāśāstraṃ avatīrṇaṃ sulocane* |
> *kāmākhye gīyate nāthe mahāmatsyodarasthitam* || 12 ||
>
> 12a °dvīpe] *conj.*; °dvīpam KJN^{cod}; °dvīpaṃ KJN^{ed} 12b avatīrṇaṃ] KJN^{ed}; a[+va]tīṇṇaṃ KJN^{cod} 12d °sthitam] KJN^{cod}; °sthitiḥ KJN^{ed}
>
> "In Kāmarūpa, this scripture is present in the home of every yoginī. By its grace do they ever [have power to] punish and favor, and [grant] *siddhi* [bestowing?] encounters (*melāpa*). The Great Scripture was brought down at Moon Island, O woman of fair eyes. It is [then?] proclaimed in Kāmākhyā, O Mistress—[the scripture that was previously] located in the belly of the great fish."

[80] Yoginīs, *siddhas*, and gurus form a trinity of sacred figures in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, being mentioned together numerous times. Cf., e.g., 18.4cd (*pārśve tu pūjayet siddhā[n] yoginīṃ gurum eva ca*; singular for plural?). In some ways the *siddhas*, "perfected ones," appear to function as male counterparts of the yoginīs. Note for instance that the "secondary sacred mounds" (*upapīṭha*) are said to be "places of the goddesses and *siddhas*" (*devīnāṃ siddha-ālayam*, 8.20d); see also 11.32, quoted below. Chapter nine expounds the "series" (*paṅkti*) of *siddhas*, *gurus*, and *yoginīs*; this include an enumeration of several "past great *siddhas*," who are described as "revealers of the Kula and Kaula [scriptures]" (*kulakaulāvatārakāḥ*, 9b). This role of revealing scriptural teachings is one shared with yoginīs; see, for instance, my discussion of the term *sampradāya* in the annotation on *BraYā* LXXIII.74.

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tation" (*yoginīsañcāra*) on the earth in various guises.[81] In this text, characteristic Vidyāpīṭha classifications of yoginīs based on clans of the Mother goddesses lose significance; instead, chapter eight presents an expanded taxonomy of manifestations of divine women encompassing both ritual consorts (*śakti*) and goddesses. Consorts are threefold—*sahajā*, *kulajā*, and *antyajā*—manifesting in both external and internal forms (*bahisthā* and *dehasthā*). Externally, the "innate" (*sahajā*) consort is one's wife, while the internal "innate" consort traverses the body, producing intoxication and bliss. The external "clan-born" (*kulajā*) consort is a courtesan, her internal counterpart being the Sanskrit alphabet. Finally, the "outcaste woman" (*antyajā*) exists internally as the great shining *śakti* called Vyomamālinī.[82] Absent from the *BraYā* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, such internalized conceptions of ritual consorts do have precedent in the *Tantrasadbhāva*, a subsequent Vidyāpīṭha scripture.[83] The *Kaula-*

[81] Passages from *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 23 have been quoted and discussed in chapter 2, section 4.

[82] *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8.6–12ab:

śaktiyukto mahātmānaḥ sahajā kulajāpi vā |
antyajā vā mahādevi pṛthagbhedaṃ vadāmy aham || 6 ||
vivāhaṃ tu kṛtaṃ yasya sahajā sā tu ucyate |
kulajā veśyam ity āhur antyajāvarṇa antyajā || 7 ||
bahisthā kathitā devi ādhyātmyāṃ śṛṇu sāmpratam |
gamāgamaprayogeṇa madanānandalakṣaṇam || 8 ||
kurute dehamadhye tu sā śaktiḥ sahajā priye |
kulajā kiṃ na vijñātā varṇarāśikulātmikā || 9 ||
dehasthā trividhā proktā bahisthā trividhā priye |
antyajāṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi śṛṇu devi yathāsthitam || 10 ||
śuddhasphaṭikasaṅkāśā muktāmālā khageśvarī |
ūrdhvatīryaksamā śuddhā mahāśaktiḥ sutejasā || 11 ||
eṣā śaktir mahātmānā antyajā vyomamālinī |

6c mahādevi] KJN^{ed}; mahādevī KJN^{cod} 7b sā] *em.*; sa KJN^{cod} 7d antyajā] KJN^{ed}; antajā KJN^{cod} 8c gamāgama°] KJN^{cod}; gamyāgamya° KJN^{ed} 9d °kulātmikā] KJN^{cod}; °kulātmikām KJN^{ed} 10c antyajāṃ] *em.*; antyajā KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} saṃpravakṣyāmi] KJN^{codpc}KJN^{ed}; saṃpravakṣyami KJN^{codac} 10d yathāsthitam] KJN^{ed}; yathāsthitiṃ] KJN^{codpc}; yathā viyathā sthitiṃ KJN^{codac} 11c °samā śuddhā] KJN^{cod}; °saṃśuddhā (*unmetrical*) KJN^{ed} 11d mahāśaktiḥ] *corr.*; mahāśakti KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} 12a mahātmānā] *conj.*; mahātmāna KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed}

Text provisionally edited from the oldest codex (NAK 3/362; reported as KJN^{cod}), taking into account the *editio princeps* of P. C. Bagchi (KJN^{ed}). Here and in the other passages quoted below from *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8, translation and discussion of the interpretation are deferred; a new edition and translation of the text is under preparation by the present author.

[83] *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.125cd–148 posits internal or "spiritual" (*ādhyātmikā*) homologues for a taxonomy of consorts, encompassing a variety of cosmic and internal manifestations of the *śakti*. The context of the chapter is "observance of the *vidyā*-mantra" (*vidyāvrata*). In this schema, consorts (*dūtī*) are ninefold, on the basis of kinship or caste:

mātā duhitā bhaginī sahajā ca tathāntyajā || 127 ||
rajakī carmakārī ca mātaṅgī cāgrajātmikā |

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jñānanirṇaya's schema features several varieties of yoginī: *kṣetrajā* ("born in sacred fields") and *pīṭhajā* ("born in sacred mounds"), whose powers are rooted in the sacred places they arise from;[84] *yogajā* ("born from yoga") and *mantrajā* ("born from mantra-[propitiation]"), attained to divinity by dint of mastery of yoga and mantra, respectively;[85] *sahajā* ("innate, natural") Mother goddesses, apparently born from the

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Characteristic of this material is its privileging of the internal, but not in manner that precludes actual performance of rites with a partner. *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.25cd–26ab, 144:

> *dūtīhīnā na siddhyanti tasmād dūtīṃ samāśrayet* ‖ *125* ‖
> *sabāhyābhyantarā sā tu jñātavyā kaulikānvaye* |
> ...
> *ajñātvā dehajāṃ śaktiṃ bahiḥsthānagatāṃ priye* |
> *ācaranti ca ye mūḍhāḥ paśavas te durātmanaḥ* ‖ *144* ‖
>
> 125 dūtiṃ] *em.*; dūtī MSS 144b bahiḥ°] *corr.*; bahi° MSS
>
> "Without consorts, they do not obtain *siddhi*; therefore one should resort to a consort. She should be known as both external and internal in the lineage (*anvaya*) of the Clans. ...
>
> "And without understanding the feminine power (*śakti*) arising in the body, my dear, those fools who resort to a 'feminine power' in an external place are wicked-natured, bound souls."

[84] *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8.16–17, 19cd–22:

> *pūjitavyā mahādevyaḥ kṣetrajās tu vyavasthitāḥ* |
> *karavīraṃ mahākālaṃ devikoṭyaṃ varānane* ‖ *16* ‖
> *vārāṇasyāṃ prayāgaṃ tu caritraikāmrakaṃ tathā* |
> *aṭṭhahāsaṃ jayantī ca ebhiḥ kṣetraiś ca kṣetrajāḥ* |
> *teṣāṃ madhye pradhānās tu ye jātāḥ kṣetrajāḥ priye* ‖ *17* ‖
> ...
> *kṣetrajāḥ kathitā devi pīṭhajāḥ kathayāmi te* ‖ *19* ‖
> *prathamaṃ pīṭham utpannaṃ kāmākhyā nāma suvrate* |
> *upapīṭhasthitā sapta devīnāṃ siddha-ālayam* ‖ *20* ‖
> *punaḥ pīṭhaṃ dvitīyaṃ tu saṃjñā pūrṇagiriḥ priye* |
> *oḍiyānaṃ mahāpīṭham upapīṭhasamanvitam* ‖ *21* ‖
> *arbudam ardhapīṭhaṃ tu upapīṭhasamanvitam* |
> *pīṭhopapīṭhasandohaṃ kṣetropakṣetram eva ca* |
> *pīṭhādyā devatānāṃ ca śṛṇu pūjāvidhiṃ priye* ‖ *22* ‖
>
> 16a mahādevyaḥ] *em.*; mahādevyā KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} 16b kṣetrajās] *em.*; kṣetrajā KJN^{cod}; kṣatrajā KJN^{ed} 16c karavīraṃ] KJN^{ed}; kanavīram KJN^{cod} 16d devikoṭyaṃ] KJN^{ed}; deviko(- ?)ṃ KJN^{cod} 17d kṣetraiś ca kṣetrajāḥ] KJN^{cod}; kṣatraiś ca kṣatrajāḥ KJN^{ed} 17e pradhānās] KJN^{codpc}; pradhānas KJN^{codac}; pradhānan KJN^{ed} 17f jātāḥ] KJN^{ed}; jātā KJN^{cod} kṣetrajāḥ] *corr.*; kṣetrajā KJN^{cod}; kṣatrajā KJN^{ed} 19c kṣetrajāḥ] *corr.*; kṣetrajā KJN^{cod}; kṣatrajā KJN^{ed} 19d pīṭhajāḥ] KJN^{ed}; pīṭhajā KJN^{cod} 20b kāmākhyā] KJN^{ed}; kāmākhyaṃ KJN^{cod} 21b pūrṇagiriḥ] KJN^{codpc}; pūrṇagiri KJN^{codac}KJN^{ed} 21c oḍiyānaṃ] KJN^{cod}; oḍiyāna KJN^{ed} 22a ardhapīṭhaṃ] KJN^{cod}; arddhaṃ pīṭhan KJN^{ed} 22d kṣetropakṣetram] KJN^{cod}; kṣatropakṣatram KJN^{ed}

[85] *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8.24:

> *yogābhyāsena ye siddhā mantrāṇām ārādhanena tu* |
> *yogena yogajā mātā mantreṇa mantrajāḥ priye* ‖ *24* ‖
>
> mantrajāḥ] *corr.*; mantrajā KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed}

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wombs of women who consume empowered *caru* in ritual;[86] and the Sixty-Four goddesses comprising the core pantheon of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, whose mantras are inflected forms of the eight syllables of its *vidyā*-mantra.[87]

Gaining visionary encounters with yoginīs and assuming their powers remains a significant aim of ritual practice in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*,[88] alongside this text's more characteristic emphasis on attaining bodily immortality. Yogic practices take on far greater importance than in the *BraYā* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, sources which place comparable emphasis on e.g. worship of the deities (*yāga*) and fire sacrifice (*homa*). Thus while the *BraYā* devotes a chapter to the "secret nectars" (*guhyāmṛta*)—'impure' liquids, especially sexual fluids and menstrual discharge—the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* is more concerned with internal, yogic nectars.[89] Nonetheless, the Vidyāpīṭha concern with impure substances registers a continued presence, especially in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11, a chapter devoted to "nondual" ritual cuisine (*caru*).[90] Perhaps the most

[86] *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8.25–26:

sahajā mātarā devyo ruruyuddhe mahābalāḥ |
bhakṣitaṃ tu caruṃ divyaṃ saptajanmāntikaṃ paśum || 25 ||
teṣāṃ garbhe prasūtānāṃ niryāsaprāśitena ca |
garbhe jātena deveśi garbhe jānanti ātmanaḥ || 26 ||

25a devyo] *em.*; devyā KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} 25b ruruyuddhe] KJN^{cod}; rūrūyuddhair KJN^{ed} 26d garbhe] *conj.*; garbha KJN^{cod}; garbhaṃ KJN^{ed}

[87] *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 8.31–33ab:

aṣṭadhā tu likhed vidyāṃ prathamāṣṭakabheditam |
yathā ekaṃ tathā sarve jñātavyā yoginīkramam || 31 ||
aṣṭāṣṭakavidhānena catuḥṣaṣṭi yathākramam |
yoginīmelakaṃ cakraṃ aṇimādiguṇāṣṭakam || 32 ||
bhavaty eva na sandeho dhyānapūjāratasya ca |

31a vidyāṃ] *em.*; vidyā KJN^{cod}KJN^{ed} 31c ekaṃ] KJN^{cod}; etat KJN^{ed} 32a aṣṭāṣṭakavidhānena] KJN^{codpc}; aṣṭāṣṭavidhānena KJN^{codac}; aṣṭāṣṭakaṃ vidhānena KJN^{ed} 32d aṇimādi°] KJN^{ed}; animādi° KJN^{cod} 33a eva] KJN^{ed}; evaṃ KJN^{cod}

[88] References to attaining the "state/status" (*pada*) of or "equality" (*sāmānya*) with yoginīs occur throughout the text. Additionally, several references are made to "union/encounter" (*melaka*) with the goddesses; see for instance *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.7cd–10, quoted later in this chapter (n. 165).

[89] Both *BraYā* XXII and XXIV have the title *guhyāmṛtapaṭala* ("Chapter on the Secret Nectars") provided in their colophons; the former, however, is concerned with such fluids only in its final section. The imagery of fluids is prominent in the yogic visualizations of the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya*. Note, for instance, the yoga of the short fifth chapter, having "conquest of death" (*mṛtyuñjaya*) as its aim, while chapter fourteen speaks of churning nectar from a *cakra* of goddesses through yoga, effecting immortality (*devyo bhūtvā ca yoginyo mātṛcakrāvaśānugā[ḥ] | līyante khecarīcakre kṣobhayet paramāmṛtam || amṛtena vinā devi amaratvaṃ kathaṃ priye*, 14.93–94ab).

[90] See especially *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.32:

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dramatic shift is the occlusion of the cremation ground and mortuary ritual—a significant departure, considering the pronounced mortuary and exorcistic dimensions of the Vidyāpīṭha.[91]

The prominence of the cult of yoginīs in the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* appears unexceptional in the Kaula scriptural corpus. Such is true, for instance, of the Kubjikā texts of the "Western" Kaula (*paścimāmnāya*), some examples from which were cited in connection to temples of the yoginīs in chapter two. More comprehensive analysis of the relevant sources—as yet poorly surveyed and largely unpublished—is unfortunately beyond the present study, although eminently worthwhile.

3.4 YOGINĪS IN EARLY BUDDHIST TANTRIC LITERATURE

Parallel to the Śaiva *tantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha and Kaula emerged a corpus of Tantric Buddhist scripture devoted to a cult of yoginīs, deities whose significance the tradition makes explicit by classifying this literature, according to one of the most common schemas, as *yoginītantra*s: "Tantras of the Yoginīs."[92] This corpus of scripture and its exegetical traditions represent the last major wave of Buddhist literary production in India, and the liturgies, deities, and meditational systems of the *yoginītantra*s dominate the latter centuries of Indian Buddhism—the form in which the religion was transmitted to Tibet. Much as the literature of the Śaiva yoginī cult is marked by a shift from Sadāśiva to Bhairava as supreme deity, the maṇḍalas of the Buddhist

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yasmin niṣpadyate piṇḍaṃ raktaśukraṃ pibet sadā |
siddhānāṃ yoginīnāñ ca imañ caruṃ priyaṃ sadā || 32 ||
"One should always drink [menstrual] blood and semen, in [i.e. from] which the body (*piṇḍa*) is produced; this *caru* is dear to the *siddha*s and yoginīs."

The same chapter refers to two types of *caru* consisting of five substances: for the daily and occasional rites (*nitya* and *naimittika*), *caru* consists of the "five nectars" of feces, urine, semen, [menstrual] blood, and marrow (*viṣṭhaṃ dhārāmṛtaṃ śukraṃ raktamajjāvimiśritam, Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.11ab). For the rites for special aims (*kāmya*), the *caru* consists of five cow products: beef, ghee, blood, milk, and yogurt (*gomāṃsaṃ goghṛtaṃ raktaṃ gokṣīrañ ca dadhiṃ tathā, Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.12cd). The same chapter mentions numerous other powerful substances used as offerings, or consumed.

[91] Although apparently optional, skulls do retain a place in ritual: after listing a number of alternatives, chapter twelve describes the "Skull of Viśvāmitra" (i.e. a brahmin) as the best of ritual vessels (*pātra; Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 12.13).

[92] On the complex subject of the classification of the Buddhist tantric canon, see Anthony Tribe, "Mantranaya/Vajrayāna: tantric Buddhism in India," 202–17.

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*yoginītantra*s center not upon Mahāvairocana, supreme Buddha of the earlier *yoga-tantra*s, but upon divinities of the "*vajra* family" (*kula*) presided over by the Buddha Akṣobhya. The iconography of these deities is frequently *kāpālika*, while their maṇḍalas attest increasing emphasis on goddesses, including consorts of the Buddhas. It is within the scriptures and practice systems centered upon Akṣobhya's subsidiary deities, especially erotic, *kāpālika* Buddhas such as Cakraśaṃvara, that a Buddhist cult of yoginīs comes into evidence—modelled in significant ways, Sanderson argues, on that of contemporaneous Śaivism.[93]

A distinctive aspect of the Buddhist yoginī cult is terminological: while in Śaiva and earlier Buddhist literature the term *ḍākinī* generally describes a vile, often vampiric variety of female being, the Buddhist *yoginītantra*s by and large treat this word as a synonym of "yoginī." This elevation of the *ḍākinī* is consonant with Buddhist precedents for "conversion" and incorporation of hostile deities, noteworthy examples of which include the early tradition's assimilation of *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s, and the Mother goddess Hāritī. Within tantric Buddhist literature, transformations in conceptions of *ḍākinī*s and related female deities, especially the Seven Mothers, appear to provide key indicators for the emergence of a Buddhist cult of yoginīs. Not a specialist in this material, in the following pages I nonetheless attempt a provisional mapping of aspects of this process, limited by my reliance upon the scholarship of others and lack of competence in Tibetan and Chinese.

Significant uncertainties surround the chronology of Buddhist tantric literature, though attenuated by the assistance Chinese and Tibetan sources offer in dating specific works. Of particular value, we know the periods of early learned authors such as Buddhaguhya and Vilāsavajra, active in the mid and late eighth century, respectively, who quote or comment upon tantric scriptural sources; for extant, datable Śaiva commentaries, we must on the other hand wait until the tenth century, although Sadyo-

[93] Sanderson, "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function," passim. Some of the textual evidence for his thesis is discussed in the subsequent section.

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jyotis probably lived considerably earlier.[94] As is well known, proto-tantric Buddhist literature of the variety later classified as *kriyātantra*s survives from the early centuries of the common era, often only in Chinese translation. Concerned largely with accomplishing worldly aims, this literature contains much that is characteristic of later tantric ritual, yet without articulating mantra-practice within a Mahāyāna soteriological framework.[95] Evidence for a developed tantric literature and eye-witness reports concerning the prevalence of tantric Buddhist traditions in India emerge only in the middle or latter half of the seventh century.[96]

No cult of yoginīs is yet evident in the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhisūtra*, one of the few extant Buddhist texts of the transitional variety classified as *caryātantra*s, similar in many respects to the subsequent *yogatantra*s but appearing to lack a developed soteriological vision of tantric ritual.[97] Composed, according to Stephen Hodge, around 640 C.E. or somewhat earlier, this survives only in Chinese and Tibetan translations.[98] Prominent in the maṇḍala of the supreme Buddha Mahāvairocana, as delineated in

[94] On the dating of Buddhaguhya, see Stephen Hodge, *The Mahā-vairocana-abhisaṃbodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya's Commentary*, "Introduction," 22–23. Concerning Vilāsavajra, I follow Ronald Davidson, "The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī: Text and Translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*," 6–7. Although almost certainly a pre tenth-century author, little concerning the dating of the prolific, influential, and perhaps quite early Śaivasiddhānta exegete Sadyojyotis can be said with certainty. He was known to Somānanda (early tenth-century), and his commentary on the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṃgraha* appears to be paraphrased in the *Haravijaya* (circa 830 C.E.), while in his critique of the Advaitavedānta, he displays no awareness of the *vivartavāda* or "illusionism" associated with Śaṅkara (fl. c. 800 C.E.?) that came to dominate this school. On this and other issues pertaining to the dating of Sadyojyotis, see Alex Watson, *The Self's Awareness of Itself: Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Arguments Against the Buddhist Doctrine of No-self*, 111–14. Watson's conclusion is that "a seventh or early eighth century date is more likely than a late eighth or early ninth." Ibid., 114.

[95] Hodge provides a valuable account of the chronology of the Chinese translations of early tantric literature. *Mahā-vairocana-abhisaṃbodhi Tantra*, "Introduction," 5–8. The Buddhist *kriyātantra*s in all likelihood drew upon ancient and perhaps nonsectarian magical traditions, such as the *vidyā* practices discussed in the previous chapter in the section on the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*.

[96] Hodge points out that a Chinese traveller, Xuan-zang, gives no indication that tantric traditions were prevalent in India in the period up to 645 C.E. On the other hand, there are first-hand reports concerning tantric practices and scripture from the latter half of the century. Ibid., 9–11.

[97] See Tribe, "Mantranaya/Vajrayāna," 207–10. Hodge, offering a different assessment of the soteriological dimension of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, considers this text "likely to have been one of the first, if not actually the first *fully* developed tantra to be compiled, that has survived in some form to the present day." *Mahā-vairocana-abhisaṃbodhi Tantra*, "Introduction," 29 (quotation), 33–39. In my discussion of this text, I rely entirely upon Hodge's English translation from the Chinese and Tibetan.

[98] Concerning the dating, see Hodge, ibid., 14–17. Translated into Chinese in 724 C.E., it appears that a copy of the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* was among the manuscripts collected by Wu-xing in India at some point during the eight years prior to his death in 674.

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the second chapter, are goddesses such as Tārā. More significant to the present study are references to the Mother goddesses: in the same maṇḍala appear "wrathful Mothers" headed by the goddess Kālarātri, who form the retinue of Yama, lord of Death and guardian of the southern direction. This set is elsewhere identified as Kālarātri, Raudrī, Brahmī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Cāmuṇḍā, and Kauberī—an unusual heptad of Mother goddesses.[99] That they are tantric divinities, however minor, is evidenced by occurence within the maṇḍala and their invocation by mantra.[100] Kālarātri and seven unspecified Mothers also figure in the entourage of Śākyamuni,[101] while elsewhere Mothers are included in an enumeration of potentially dangerous spirits.[102] Chapter six links them to mantras for causing illness, bridging the goddesses' roots in the mythology of Skanda's *graha*s with tantric "magical" practices.[103] Furthermore, as do the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and a variety of other tantric sources, the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* lists Mother shrines—as well as temples of Śiva—among the places appropriate for performing solitary *sādhana*, but without cultic emphasis on these deities.[104]

Besides Mother goddesses, the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* contains several references to *ḍākinī*s and female divinities such as the *yakṣiṇī*, while the text's "supplement *tantra*" (*uttaratantra*) describes rites for bringing the latter and female denizens of the

[99] *Mahāvairocanasūtra* II.50 mentions "wrathful Mothers" in the retinue of Yama; these deities are named in XIII.89. Even without consulting the Tibetan or Chinese, I would assume that "wrathful Mothers" translates the Sanskrit *rudramātaraḥ*. That this refers specifically to the Seven Mothers is suggested by Kṣemarāja's explanation of the term as it occurs in *Netratantra* 2.13c (he glosses *rudramātaraḥ* with *brahmyādyās*—"Brahmī, etc."). The present heptad is unusual insofar as Cāmuṇḍā's preeminent position is usurped by Kālarātri, who appears to be identified with Yāmī, the female counterpart of Yama. The identification of Yāmī with Kālarātri is suggested in the Chinese translation of I.19; see Hodge's note thereon (p. 63). Yāmī and Vārāhī alternate in textual accounts of the Seven Mothers, while sculpted sets appear as a rule to depict Vārāhī; see chapter 2, n. 9. Also unusual is that Kauberī replaces Indrāṇī/Aindrī in the present heptad.

[100] Note also their association with a series of drawn insignia (*mudrā*), as with the other maṇḍala deities (XIII.89). While Kālarātri is invoked with her own mantra, the others are paid reverence with the generic NAMAḤ SAMANTABUDDHĀNĀṂ MĀTṚBHYAḤ SVĀHĀ (IV.11).

[101] See *Mahāvairocanasūtra* IV.11.

[102] *Mahāvairocanasūtra* XVII.13; also mentioned are, e.g., *piśāca*s and *rākṣasa*s.

[103] Cf. VI.15: "Then, for example, the Asuras manifest illusions with mantras. Or, for example, there are [mundane] mantras which counteract poison and fevers. Or else there are the mantras with which the Mothers send sickness upon people...".

[104] Lists of suitable locations are present in V.9 and VI.30. In *Mahāvairocanasūtra, Uttaratantra* III.2, Mother shrines are listed among the places appropriate for fire sacrifice having as its goal "subduing" (Sanskrit *vaśīkaraṇa*, presumably).

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netherworlds under one's power.[105] While in *yoginītantra*s of the subsequent period *ḍākinī*s would become prominent deities, identical with yoginīs, the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* groups them with minor, potentially pernicious beings such as the *rākṣasa*, *yakṣa*, and *piśāca*. This appears consistent with early non-Buddhist conceptions of the *ḍākinī*. No evidence for the figure of the yoginī is present, although the vocative-case epithets *yogini* and *yogeśvari* appear in a mantra; the deity is not named.[106] In the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* we hence find evidence for interest in some of the divinities prominent in the cult of yoginīs, particularly a limited appropriation of the Mothers as tantric deities. This accords with roughly contemporaneous sculptural evidence for Buddhist interest in these goddesses, for a shrine of the Mothers is present in the Buddhist cave temple complex at Aurangabad.[107]

The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* attests a similar, yet broader range of female deities and spirits. Classified within the tradition as a *kriyātantra*, a portion of this heterogeneous text has been shown to herald from the middle of the eighth century, the period in which some sections appear in Chinese translation.[108] In its opening chapter, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* enumerates a vast pantheon of divine, semi-divine, and human beings who assemble to hear the Dharma, among whom are an array of female divinities that include *pūtanā*s, *bhaginī*s, *ḍākinī*s, *rūpiṇī*s, *yakṣiṇī*s, and *ākāśamātṛ*s, "Sky Mothers."[109] This list is highly suggestive of the range of female divinities described in literature of the yoginī cult. Although they are not prominent in the ritual of this text, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, like the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, positions the Seven Mothers

[105] A short series of mantras for minor divinities and spirits such as *rākṣasa*s, *ḍākinī*s, and *asura*s is provided in IV.16, while *mudrā*s and mantras for a larger series, including *ḍākinī*s, are listed in XI.98–99. A list of dangerous beings in the *uttaratantra* includes both *ḍākinī*s and what Hodge translates as "witches" (IV.1). As described in III.9 of the *uttaratantra*, through fire sacrifice one may "draw to himself yakṣiṇīs and likewise girls of the subterranean realm with the male and female assistants."

[106] XV.10; the mantra for the "Mudrā of Upholding the Bhagavat's Yoga" is given as NAMAḤ SAMANTA-BUDDHĀNĀṂ MAHĀYOGAYOGINI YOGEŚVARI KHĀÑJALIKA SVĀHĀ.

[107] See the discussion of post Gupta-era Mother temples in chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[108] Yūkei Matsunaga, "On the Date of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa," in Michel Strickmann, ed., *Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein*, 22 (1985): 882–94.

[109] Each of these beings is said to have ordinary and "great" (*mahā-*) varieties, and many of the latter are listed by name; the "Great [Sky] Mothers" include the standard Seven augmented by Yāmyā, Vāruṇī, Pūtanā, and others, with retinues of innumerable nameless Mothers. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 1, vol. 1, p. 20–21 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series edition).

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in the retinue of Yama among the non-Buddhist deities in the outer layers of the maṇḍala.[110] The effort to give them a Buddhist identity is suggested by the addition of "Vajracāmuṇḍi" to their ranks.[111] In general, however, the depiction of the Mothers is more consonant with the ancient cult of Skanda's countless *graha*s, with whom their connection is made explicit.[112] As for *ḍākinī*s, their characterization is entirely that of pernicious, possessing female spirits, against whom one requires mantras for protection; no indications are present of the positive associations and prominence assigned to them in *yoginītantra*s. One *vidyā*-mantra, for instance, is said to have the power to conjure a *yakṣiṇī*, or else to destroy *ḍākinī*s.[113] Of additional interest in this *tantra* is its incorporation, as tantric deities, of Tumburu and the Four Sisters—Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā, Aparājitā—the core pantheon of the early yet largely lost Śaiva *vāmatantra*s. Chapters forty-seven to forty-nine are devoted to practices connected with these deities, and include the tale of their conversion to Buddhism.[114]

Further developments towards a cult of yoginīs are evident in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, among the earliest extant scriptures classified as *yogatantra*s and representative of a developed Buddhist soteriological vision of tantric ritual. Its composition had apparently commenced by the last quarter of the seventh century, while

[110] The Seven Mothers (precise identities unspecified) occupy a position in the southeastern direction, adjacent to Yama in the south, and are also among the deities around the perimeter of that layer of the maṇḍala; their company includes major brahmanical gods, *gaṇa*-lords such as Mahākāla, sages, Tumburu and the Four Sisters, the Planets, and so forth. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 2, vol. 1, p. 44–45.

[111] *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 45 provides *mudrā*s connected to and named after the Mothers, and includes both Cāmuṇḍi (45.229cd–30ab) and Vajracāmuṇḍi (45.228cd–229ab). Vol. 2, p. 510.

[112] Most of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*'s copious references to the Mothers point toward their identity as dangerous female spirits, and only rarely the seven brahmanical goddesses. The Mothers are mentioned among the spirits by whom one may become possessed, alongside beings such as the *piśāca* and *ḍākinī*; see for example *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 3, vol. 1, p. 53, and chapter 9, vol. 1, p. 82. Cf., e.g., 22.229, in a vivid description of the activities of Mother goddesses (verse numbers here and elsewhere as per the reprint edited by P. L. Vaidya; vol. 1, p. 249 in the TSS edition). "The Mothers of Skanda" (*skandamātṛ*) are mentioned in 22.24b (TSS edition vol. 1, p. 233)—a chapter rich in its accounts of beings fabulous and dangerous.

[113] *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 2.4–5, vol. 1, p. 30. Among the many other references to *ḍākinī*s, note for instance a curious rite to remove the breasts and genitalia of proud, wicked *ḍākinī*s and women. Used on a man, it removes the penis and facial hair, and causes breasts to appear. Chapter 52, vol. 3, p. 563–64.

[114] The *vidyā*-mantras of these deities are first given in 2.15–17, where they are said to be "attendants of the Bodhisattva" (*bodhisattvānucārikā[ḥ]*, 2.16b). Vol. 1, p. 32. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 47 presents a brief narrative of their taking refuge in the Dharma, after which begin instructions on their worship.

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the text as we have it was translated into Chinese in 753.[115] Although the *Tattvasaṃgraha* thus does not necessarily postdate the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, it takes the "conversion" of goddesses considerably further, and its range of female deities even more clearly intimates that of the *yoginītantra*s. Here, for instance, we find reference to Mother goddesses classified under the categories *antarīkṣacāri* ("aetherial"), *khecarī* ("aerial"), *bhūcarī* ("terrestrial"), and *pātālavāsinī* ("denizens of the netherworlds")—closely related to categories applied in later classifications of yoginīs. Along with a host of other erstwhile hostile deities, headed by Śiva, Vajrapāṇi confers upon them tantric initiation and initiatory names; thus Jātahāriṇī becomes Vajramekhalā, Māraṇī becomes Vajravilayā, Kauberī becomes Vajravikaṭā, and Cāmuṇḍā becomes Vajrakālī, to name one from each respective class.[116] The latter *kāpālika* goddess is once addressed as Vajraḍākinī.[117] Leaving behind their identities as *graha*s of Skanda or as maternal, brahmanical goddesses, the Mothers here take on identities as goddesses of the "Adamantine Vehicle," the Vajrayāna.

In the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, we are presented with perhaps the earliest narrative of the conversion and accommodation of *ḍākinī*s. Charged with quelling wicked beings, Vajrapāṇi utters the "Heart Mantra for Drawing Down All Ḍākinīs and other Wicked Possessing Spirits," upon which the *ḍākinī*s and other *graha*s assemble in a circle and supplicate. Undoubtedly concerned by the dietary restrictions their new allegiance will entail, they beseech, "we eat meat; hence order [us] how [this matter] should be understood."[118] Advised by Vajrasattva, the supreme Buddha, the compassionate

[115] Elements of this text were introduced in China by an Indian, Vajrabodhi, who would have learnt the teachings around 700 C.E.; Amoghavajra translated the text in 753. See the discussion of Hodge, *Mahā-vairocana-abhisaṃbodhi Tantra*, "Introduction," 11–12.

[116] *Tattvasaṃgraha* 6, p. 173 (lines 3–21). I cite the text from the edition of Isshi Yamada: *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha. A critical edition based on a Sanskrit manuscript and Chinese and Tibetan translations* (New Delhi: Śatapiṭaka Series, vol. 262, 1981). On the classification of yoginīs into aerial, terrestrial, and so forth, cf., e.g., the Śaiva *Kulasāra*, as discussed in the entry *'dikcarī, etc.'* by Judit Törzsök, in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. III (forthcoming).

[117] *Tattvasaṃgraha* 14, pp. 306–7 (lines 10–14, 1–4); Cāmuṇḍā/Vajrakālī is also addressed as e.g. *kapālamālālaṅkṛtā* ("adorned with a garland of skulls") and *vajrakhaṭvāṅgadhāriṇī* ("bearer of a *vajra* and skull-staff").

[118] *Tattvasaṃhgraha* 6, p. 180–81 (lines 8–17, 1–3):

> *atha vajrapāṇir mahābodhisattvaḥ punar api sarvaḍākinyādiduṣṭagrahākarṣaṇahṛdayam abhāṣat* | OṂ VAJRĀKARṢAYA ŚĪGHRAṂ SARVADUṢṬAGRAHĀN VAJRADHARASATYENA HUṂ JAḤ ||

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Vajrapāṇi provides appropriate means, saying thus: "through this *mudrā*, you may extract hearts from all living beings and eat them."[119] The episode, a conversion story of sorts, suggests growing concern with the figure of the *ḍākinī*, and perhaps also the entry of mantra techniques associated with them into the battery of those available to practitioners. An early eighth-century Chinese commentary on the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* provides a closely related narrative, wherein the association of *ḍākinī*s and their practices with Śiva and Śaivism is made explicit.[120] While this signals a process of providing Buddhist identities to *ḍākinī*s and connected practices—presumably

athāsmin bhāṣitamātre ḍākinyādayaḥ sarvaduṣṭagrahāḥ sumerugirimūrdhni bāhyato maṇḍalībhūtvāvasthitā iti || atha vajrapāṇir mahābodhisattvaḥ tāṃ ḍākinyādīn sarvaduṣṭagrahān āhūyaivam āha | pratipadyata mārṣāḥ prāṇātipātavairamaṇyaśikṣāsamayasaṃvare mā vo vajreṇādīptena pradīptenaikajvālībhūtena kulāni nirdaheyam | atha te ḍākinyādayaḥ sarvaduṣṭagrahā yena bhagavān tenāñjaliṃ baddhvā bhagavantaṃ vijñāpayām āsuḥ | vayaṃ bhagavan māṃsāśinas tad ājñāpayasva kathaṃ pratipattavyam iti

"Then Vajrapāṇi, the great Bodhisattva, again spoke the Heart Mantra for Drawing Down All Ḍākinīs and other Wicked Possessing Spirits: 'OṂ VAJRA quickly draw down all wicked possessing spirits by the word of Vajradhara HUṂ JAḤ'! Then, as soon as this had been uttered, all the *ḍākinī*s and other wicked possessing spirits formed an outer circle on the summit of Mt. Meru and remained there. Then Vajrapāṇi, the great Bodhisattva, summoned the *ḍākinī*s and other wicked possessing spirits, and said, 'Resort, O friends, to the assembly of the pledge of teaching abstention from slaughter, lest I should incinerate your clans with my burning *vajra*, [when it has] become a single, blazing flame'. Then the *ḍākinī*s and other wicked possessing spirits, folding their hands to where the Lord was, entreated the Lord: 'O lord, we eat meat; hence order [us] how [this matter] should be understood'."

Concerning *vairamaṇya*, see its lexical entry in Edgerton, *Buddhist-Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 2.

[119] *Tattvasaṃgraha* 6, p. 181 (lines 4–12, 15–18):

atha bhagavān vajrapāṇim evam āha | pratipadyasva vajrapāṇe eṣāṃ sattvānāṃ mahākaruṇām utpādyopāyaṃ dātum iti | atha vajrapāṇir mahākāruṇika idaṃ sarvasattvamaraṇanimittajñānamudrāhṛdayam abhāṣat | 'OṂ VAJRA PRATIGṚHṆA HṚDAYAM ĀKARṢAYA YADY AYAṂ SATTVO MĀSĀD ARDHENA MRIYATE TAD ASYA HṚDAYAN NIṢKRAMATU SAMAYA HŪṂ JJAḤ || athāsya mudrābandho bhavati | ...anayā mudrayā bhavadbhiḥ sarvasattvahṛdayāny apakṛṣya bhoktavyānīti | atha te ḍākinyādayaḥ sarvaduṣṭagrahā hulu hulu prakṣveḍitāni kṛtvā svabhavanam gatā iti ||

"Next, the Lord spoke to Vajrapāṇi thus: 'O Vajrapāṇi, after generating great compassion for these beings, assent to give them a means'. Then Vajrapāṇi, possessing great compassion, spoke this, the Heart Mantra of the Mudrā for Knowing the Deaths of All Living Beings: OṂ VAJRA seize extract the heart if this being dies within a fortnight then let its heart emerge SAMAYA HŪṂ JJAḤ'. Now this is the binding of the *mudrā*: ...Through this *mudrā*, you may extract hearts from all living beings and eat them'. Then the *ḍākinī*s and other wicked possessing spirits made clamorous *hulu hulu* sounds and returned home."

[120] This passage from the commentary of Śubhakarasiṃha and his disciple Yixing is translated and discussed by Gray, "Eating the Heart," 47–49. The commentators' remarks concern *Mahāvairocanasūtra* IV.16, mentioned above (n. 105).

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similar in nature to those described in the lost Śaiva *ḍākinītantra*s referred to by Dharmakīrti—there is as yet little indication in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of their transformation into the wild and ambivalent, yet supremely powerful and potentially beneficent sky-wanderers of the *yoginītantra*s.

A scripture composed perhaps in the latter half of the eighth century, the *Guhyasamājatantra* evidences a marked increase in engagement with the erotic and the impure, intimating developments carried even further in the *yoginītantra*s. Its ritual has a significant *kāpālika* dimension and incorporates both coitus and ingestion of impure substances, while erotic imagery distinguishes the iconography of its deities.[121] Focused upon the Buddha Akṣobhya, patriarch of the *vajra*-clan deities, the transitional status of this and closely related literature is reflected in its classification, frequently, as neither *yoga-* nor *yoginī-*, but *mahāyogatantra*s.[122] In chapter seventeen of the *Guhyasamāja* occurs an important early reference to *vajraḍākinī*s—transformations of these hostile beings into wielders of the *vajra* sceptre, marking their entry into the Vajrayāna pantheon. Vajrapāṇi discloses a series of initiatory pledges (*samaya*) connected with specific deities, among whom are female beings: *yakṣiṇī*s, queens of the snake women (*bhujagendrarājñī*), *asura* maidens, *rākṣasī*s, and *vajraḍākinī*s.[123] The "Pledge of All Adamantine Ḍākinīs" binds one ever to the consumption of urine, feces, blood, and alcohol, and to magical slaying;[124] this suggests as yet little fundamental trans-

[121] On the dating of the *Guhyasamāja*, I follow Isaacson, who cites the discussion of Yūkei Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamāja Tantra*, "Introduction," xxiii–xxvi; this edition has not been available to me. Isaacson points out that the iconography of the *Guhyasamāja* is not yet *kāpālika*, although erotic. "Tantric Buddhism in India (from c. AD 800 to c. AD 1200)" (unpublished lecture transcript, Hamburg 1997), 4.

[122] See Tribe, "Mantranaya/Vajrayāna," 210–13.

[123] *Guhyasamāja* XVII, p. 130 (Gaekwad Oriental Series no. 53, Benoytosh Bhattacharya, ed.).

[124] *Guhyasamāja* XVII, p. 130:

> *atha vajrapāṇiḥ sarvatathāgatādhipatiḥ sarvavajraḍākinīsamayaṃ svakāyavākcittavajrebhyo niścārayām āsa |*
>
> *viṇmūtrarudhiraṃ bhakṣed madyādīṃś ca pibet sadā |*
> *vajraḍākinīyogena mārayet padalakṣaṇaiḥ ||*
> *svabhāvenaiva sambhūtā vicaranti tridhātuke |*
> *ācaret samayaṃ kṛtsnaṃ sarvasattvahitaiṣiṇā ||*
>
> *sarvatraidhātukasamayasamavasaraṇo nāma samādhiḥ |*
>
> "Next, Vajrapāṇi, lord of all Buddhas, sent forth from the *vajra*s of his body, speech, and mind the Pledge of All Vajraḍākinīs:

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formation in conceptions of *ḍākinī*s, despite their conversion.

Some evidence points toward the emergence of actual *yoginītantra* material in the eighth century, separated little in time from the *yogatantra*s. Amoghavajra wrote a description of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara*, probably the earliest of this genre, after his return to China in 746 C.E.[125] But this transitional text, referred to in some scholarship as a "proto-*yoginītantra*," was only retrospectively grouped with the *yoginītantra* corpus;[126] it seems likely that most of the *yoginītantra* literature dates to the ninth century and beyond. David Gray, however, suggests that the late eighth-century commentator Vilāsavajra quotes one verse and paraphrases another from the *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra* or *Herukābhidhāna*, probably the earliest and most authoritative scripture in the cycle of *yoginītantra*s focused upon Cakraśaṃvara. While this is not implausible, the evidence awaits publication; Vilāsavajra does not apparently name the source for the verses in question.[127] This issue is of considerable importance, not only for the history of Tantric Buddhism, but because the *terminus ante quem* of the *BraYā* might depend upon the dating of the *Laghuśaṃvara*, as discussed subsequently.

The Buddhist *yoginītantra*s and their exegetical literature constitute a vast corpus,

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> 'One should always eat urine, feces, and blood, and drink wine and so forth. One should slay (¿) through the *vajraḍākinī* yoga, through *padalakṣaṇa*s. Arisen by their very nature, they [*ḍākinī*s?] roam the triple universe (?). One should observe this pledge wholly, desiring the good of all beings'.
>
> "[Then Vajrapāṇi entered?] the meditative trance called 'The Assembly of the Entire Triple Universe'."

Aspects of this seem puzzling; *vajraḍākinīyoga* might refer to the invasive yogic processes by which *ḍākinī*s prey upon victims. See the discussion of the *Mālatīmādhava* in chapter 2. *padalakṣaṇaiḥ* suggests no plausible interpretation to me, while the interpretation of the next verse-quarter is unclear as well. Candrakīrti, commenting on this verse, glosses *vajraḍākinīyogena* with "the yoga of Gaurī, etc." (*gauryādiyogena*). His remarks on *padalakṣaṇaiḥ* are unfortunately corrupt, but include clear reference to the parasitic practices of *ḍākinī*s (***padalakṣaṇaiḥ*** *duṣṭānām uḍyaraktāk[r]ṣṭyādiprayogaiḥ* ***mārayet***, "One should slay with *padalakṣaṇa*s, i.e. the application of ...extraction of blood from the wicked"). *Pradīpodyotana*, p. 206.

[125] Rolf Giebel, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chih-kuei*: An Annotated Translation," *Journal of the Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies* 18 (1995): 179–82.

[126] English, *Vajrayoginī*, 5.

[127] Gray, "Eating the Heart," 54 (n. 38). He refers to his forthcoming study and translation of the *Laghuśaṃvara* for a detailed discussion, remarking that most of the *Laghuśaṃvara* quotations Ronald Davidson had identified in Vilāsavajra's work come, in fact, from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasaṃvara*. See Davidson, "The *Litany of the Names of Mañjuśrī*," 6–7.

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much of which survives only in Tibetan translation and relatively little of which has been published, in cases where the Sanskrit original is preserved. Among the most important *yoginītantra*s are the *Laghuśaṃvara* and *Śrīhevajraḍākinījālaśaṃvara* (i.e. the *Hevajratantra*), texts considered foundational to the systems of practice and cycles of scripture focused upon the Buddhas Cakraśaṃvara and Hevajra, respectively. Other important texts of this genre include, for instance, the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* and *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*—although the latter is technically considered a *mahāyogatantra*[128]—texts teaching the cults of their namesake Buddhas. While the dating of the major *yoginītantra*s is problematic, they undoubtedly belong to the period prior to the *Laghukālacakra* and its important commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*, which date between 1025 and circa 1040 C.E., as John Newman shows convincingly.[129] Perhaps one of the earliest of all, the *Laghuśaṃvara* might have existed in the latter eighth century, as Gray suggests, while its earliest commentator, Jayabhadra, probably wrote in the mid-ninth century.[130]

The cult of yoginīs thoroughly permeates the literature and ritual of the Cakraśaṃvara tradition. By way of illustration, I shall take the *Laghuśaṃvara* as an example of the content of the *yoginītantra*s, for this happens to be a text with a significant relationship with the *BraYā*—a relationship addressed in the subsequent section. In the *Laghuśaṃvara*, the cult deities comprise a *kāpālika* Buddha, Cakraśaṃvara or Heruka, and his sow-faced consort, Vajravārāhī or Vajrayoginī, who preside over a maṇḍala primarily of twenty-four goddesses referred to as *ḍākinī*s, *vajraḍākinī*s, or *dūtī*s ("consorts").[131] While the maṇḍala *ḍākinī*s have male counterparts in the twenty-four "heroes" (*vīra*), the latter have only secondary significance.[132] The *Laghuśaṃvara*'s *ḍākinī*s are fully representative of the yoginī typology described in chapter

[128] Isaacson, personal communication (May, 2007).

[129] Newman, "The Epoch of the Kālacakra Tantra," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 41 (1998): 319–49.

[130] David Gray presents evidence suggesting that Jayabhadra, the third abbot of Vikramaśīla, was active in the mid-ninth century. "Eating the Heart," 62 (n. 65).

[131] The primary maṇḍala is described in chapter 2 of the *Laghuśaṃvara*, while the twenty-four *ḍākinī*s are listed in chapter 4.

[132] Mentioned first in 2.19cd, the *vīra*s are not named until chapter forty-eight.

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1 of this thesis, combining in their *kāpālika*, theriomorphic iconography images of power and eroticism. They "pervade the universe,"[133] a wild horde with names such as Khagānanā ("Bird-face"), Surābhakṣī ("Drunkard"), Cakravegā ("Wheel-speed"), Vāyuvegā ("Wind-speed"), Mahābalā ("Mighty"), Mahānāsā ("Big-nose"), and Caṇḍākṣī ("Grim-eyes"). All but the first two of these names are held in common with goddesses mentioned in the *BraYā*, indicative of the shared Śaiva-Buddhist image of the yoginī or *ḍākinī*.[134]

As goddesses of the clan of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhī, the *Laghuśaṃvara*'s twenty-four maṇḍala *ḍākinī*s represent a single class from a broad spectrum of female beings with which the cult is concerned—deities whose principle varieties are the *yoginī*, *ḍākinī*, *rūpiṇī*, *lāmā*, and *khaṇḍarohā*.[135] Collectively, they comprise the "web" or "matrix" (*jāla*) of *ḍākinī*s that pervades the universe. This has its reflection in the "great maṇḍala" of deities (*mahācakra*) described in chapter forty-eight, the "abode of all *ḍākinī*s" (*sarvaḍākinyālaya*); based upon the "heart mantra of all yoginīs," this incorporates goddesses of the five classes together with the twenty-four male "heroes." The whole constitutes the "Assembly of the Matrix of Ḍākinīs" (*ḍākinījālasaṃvara*),[136] and the supreme Buddha himself, Vajrasattva—the highest Bliss—"consists of all - *ḍākinī*s."[137] The nature of the goddesses' manifestation and movement (*sañcāra*) on the earth forms a central focus, reflected in the several chapters the *Laghuśaṃvara* devotes to typologies of the clans (*kula*) of goddesses: chapters sixteen to nineteen, and twenty-three. While in the *yogatantra*s deities were organized according to clans

[133] *Laghuśaṃvara* 4.1ab, *...ḍākinyo bhuvanāni vijṛmbhayanti*. Cf. 41.16ab, *caturviṃśatiḍākinyā vyāptaṃ trailokyaṃ sacarācaram*.

[134] The names of the twenty-four are given in *Laghuśaṃvara* 4.1–4. While Khagānanā has no precise counterpart in the *BraYā*, for avian imagery, note Lohatuṇḍī, "Iron-beak." Surābhakṣī too does not figure in the *BraYā*; however, the principal Six Yoginīs are said to be fond of alcohol (*madirāsavapriyā nityaṃ yoginyaḥ ṣaṭ prakīrtitāḥ*, LIII.15ab).

[135] Lists of the five goddess classes occur in e.g. 13.3 and 14.2. Additional subcategories of *ḍākinī*s are described in chapters 16–19 and 23. The twenty-four maṇḍala *ḍākinī*s are said to belong to the *vārāhīkula* in 2.18cd (*ḍākinyaś ca [ca]turviṃśā vārāhyāḥ kulasambhavāḥ*).

[136] The description of the *sarvaḍākinyālaya* ("abode of all *ḍākinī*s") begins in 48.8, and is based upon the pantheon of the *hṛdaya* mantra stated in 48.3. The "great cakra" is described as the *ḍākinījālasaṃvara* in 49.16 (*pūrvoktena vidhānena yajeḍ ḍākinījālasaṃvaram | mahācakra[ṃ] sarvasiddhyālayaṃ tathā*; here I read as per the Baroda codex, f. 35v).

[137] *Laghuśaṃvara* 1.3ab: *sarvaḍākinīmayaḥ sattvo vajrasattvaḥ paraṃ sukham*.

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(*kula*) of the five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, the *Laghuśaṃvara* and similar systems introduce new, matriarchal deity clans, much as Śaiva yoginīs were classified according to clans and subclans of the Seven Mothers. The *Laghuśaṃvara* devotes several chapters to the subject of *chommā* as well, the secret verbal and nonverbal codes for communication between practitioners and the deities, or between initiates mutually.[138] Sacred geography forms a concern as well, a mapping of the powerful places where the goddesses are said to manifest.[139]

As with the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha, the yoginī cult of the *Laghuśaṃvara* is thoroughly *kāpālika* in character,[140] and this text's rites of fire sacrifice utilize a battery of meats and other things impure, largely with aggressive magical aims.[141] Prominent among the goals of ritual is attainment of encounters with *ḍākinīs*; to the heroic *sādhaka*, they may bestow the power of flight and freedom from old age and death.[142] Enabled by the *ḍākinīs*, the *sādhaka* comes to traverse the entire world as their master.[143] Significant attention is devoted, furthermore, to rites of bodily transformation, a domain of magic characteristic of the shapeshifting, theriomorphic yoginī.[144]

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[138] Chapters on *chommā* include *Laghuśaṃvara* 15 (single-syllable *chommās*), 20 (communication through pointing at parts of the body), 21 (similar gestures plus their correct responses), 22 (gestures made only with the fingers), and 24 (single-syllable and other verbal codes).

[139] Lists of *pīṭhas* occur in *Laghuśaṃvara* 41, which associates specific sets of goddesses with these; and *Laghuśaṃvara* 50.20–27.

[140] Note, for instance, that the initiatory maṇḍala described in chapter 2 is constructed with mortuary materials such as cremation ashes.

[141] Particularly noteworthy are the *homa* rites described in *Laghuśaṃvara* 50.

[142] See for instance the brief chapter thirty-nine; the heroic *sādhaka* is promised attainment of the state of a Sky-wanderer (*nīyate khecarīpadam*, 4b), and freedom from old age and death (*na jarāmṛtyuḥ sarvatra sādhako mantravigrahaḥ*, 5ab).

[143] *Laghuśaṃvara* 3.16:

> *ḍākinyo lāmayaś caiva khaṇḍarohā tu rūpiṇī |*
> *etair vicared jagat sarvaṃ ḍākinyaiḥ saha sādhakaḥ || 16 ||*
> *sarvāḥ kiṅkarīs tasya sādhakasya na saṃśayaḥ |*

Highly irregular grammatical forms such as *etaiḥ* (masculine, for the feminine *etābhiḥ*) and *ḍākinyaiḥ* (for *ḍākinībhiḥ*) are none too rare in this text, while the metrical irregularities of 16c and 17a are even more typical.

[144] Note in particular the rituals of *Laghuśaṃvara* 49, which promise the yogin the power to transform himself at will (*kāmarūpo mahāvīrya yogī syān nātra saṃśaya*, 49.14ab).

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3.5 BUDDHIST AND ŚAIVA "YOGINĪTANTRAS": THE CASE OF THE BRAHMAYĀMALA AND LAGHUCAKRAŚAṂVARATANTRA

In a pioneering article of 2001, Alexis Sanderson identified extensive parallel passages in tantric literature, within and across sectarian boundaries, and argued that substantial portions of important Buddhist *yoginītantras* were redacted from Śaiva sources, largely unpublished.[145] This constitutes some of the most important evidence marshalled in support of his thesis concerning the historical relationship between Śaivism and the esoteric Buddhism of the *yoginītantras*, first argued in an article of 1994 asserting that "almost everything concrete in the system is non-Buddhist in origin even though the whole is entirely Buddhist in its function."[146] While Sanderson's examples concern several Buddhist texts, the most remarkable case is that of the *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra* or *Herukābhidhāna*, nearly half the contents of which he holds "can be seen to have been redacted from Śaiva originals found in texts of the Vidyāpīṭha division" of the *bhairavatantras*—the *BraYā*, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, and the *Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*.[147] The implications are considerable, for this would mean that one of the most fundamental scriptures of the latter phase of Indian Tantric Buddhism took shape, in large measure, through appropriation of material from *tantras* of the Śaiva yoginī cult.

Undoubtedly some of the most significant historiographic questions concerning the cult of yoginīs lie in the dynamics of Śaiva-Buddhist interaction, and the formation of parallel tantric ritual systems across sectarian boundaries focused, to a large degree, upon the figure of the yoginī. For while there is much that is similar in older forms of Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism, it is with the cult of yoginīs that parallels in ritual, text, and iconography reach their most remarkable level. Assessment of the enormous body of evidence relevant to these questions and its interpretation in light of the social and historical contexts of early medieval India shall require sustained

[145] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras," especially 41–47.

[146] "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function," 92.

[147] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism;" 41–47 (quotation on 42).

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scholarly engagement, admirably begun in the works of Sanderson, to whose work Ronald Davidson has offered a significant rejoinder.[148]

In the present discussion I shall confine myself to aspects of textual history, primarily as concern the *BraYā*, rather than attempt to address the larger picture of Śaiva-Buddhist interactions. The passages Sanderson identifies as shared by the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara* belong to the first portion of *BraYā* LXXXV, a chapter entitled "The Section on the Pledges,"[149] and the greater part of chapters twenty-six to twenty-nine of the *Laghuśaṃvara*. He notes that chapter forty-three of the *Abhidhānottara*—a text of the Cakraśaṃvara cycle, to which the *Laghuśaṃvara* is fundamental—has parallels in *BraYā* LXXXV as well, while the Buddhist *Saṃvarodayatantra* has a section concerning the classification of skull-bowls parallel to a section in *BraYā* IV.[150] To the passages identified by Sanderson I can add the final five verses of *BraYā* LXXXIV, which correspond to the opening verses of *Laghuśaṃvara* 26 (TABLE 3.1).[151]

[148] Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 202–18.

[149] The colophon reads, in By^{a}, *samayādhikāro nāma cāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ*.

[150] Sanderson, "Vajrayāna: Origin and Function," 95. In the case of chapter fifteen of the *Saṃvarodaya*, the *pātralakṣaṇanirdeśapaṭala* that Sanderson describes as "closely related" to a section in *BraYā* IV, the content indeed overlaps considerably. The verses in question are 747–87 of *BraYā* IV, which concern the specifications for ritual vessels (*pātra*s) and more specifically skull-bowls. For the *Saṃvarodaya*, I have consulted Tokyo University Library manuscript no. 404.

[151] Sanderson notes that in the period between penning the article "History through Textual Criticism" and its publication in 2001, he identified additional passages from Śaiva scriptures redacted into the *Laghuśaṃvara*; the parallel I identify above might belong to this category. "History through Textual Criticism," 42 (n. 52).

Note also that *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.13cd (*aprakāśyam idaṃ guhyaṃ gopanīyaṃ prayatnataḥ*), which occurs again as 31.14, is parallel to *BraYā* 87.2cd (*aprakāśyam idaṃ devi gopanīyaṃ prayatnataḥ*); variants upon this phrase appear in chapters XXI, XXII, XLV, and XLVI of the *BraYā* as well. Note the absence of the (contextually inappropriate) vocative *devi* in the *Laghuśaṃvara* version. There are other similarities of idiom too: another phrase shared by the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara*, and not with other Buddhist sources I am aware of, is *nātaḥ parataraṃ kiñcit triṣu lokeṣu vidyate*. This occurs as *Laghuśaṃvara* 5.25cd, 38.7ab, 49.14ab, and 50.14ab (cf. also 26.1ab and 49.16), and *BraYā* XIV.262ab and LXXXIV.222ab. Other idiomatic expressions shared by the *BraYā* and the *Laghuśaṃvara* include variations upon the following (*Laghuśaṃvara* 3.20cd–21ab):

> *adṛṣṭamaṇḍalo yogī yogitvaṃ yaḥ samīhate* ‖
> *hanyate muṣṭināśāṃ pibate mṛgatṛṣṇikām* |
>
> pibate] *Baroda codex*; pibati Ed. (*unmetrical*)

Striking the sky and drinking from a mirage are proverbial expressions of futile endeavor. My attention was first drawn to this verse by Isaacson in a Sanskrit seminar in the autumn of 2003. Compare e.g. *BraYā* LXXXVIII.44:

> *aviditvā -d- imaṃ sarvaṃ yaḥ pūjāṃ kartum arhati* |
> *hanate muṣṭināśāṃ īhate mṛgatṛṣṇikām* ‖

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Hence, *Laghuśaṃvara* 26–29 corresponds, more or less in sequence, to the last several verses of *BraYā* LXXXIX and first fifty-odd verses of LXXXV, although individual verses and several short sections in both have no parallels in the other. Unfortunately, the only codex in which the original Sanskrit of the *Laghuśaṃvara* appears to survive is lacunose from the third verse of chapter twenty-two up to the colophon of twenty-nine.[152] Janardan Shastri Pandey has however made what appears to be a creditable reconstruction of the Sanskrit, utilizing the Sanskrit commentary of Bhavabhaṭṭa, the Tibetan translation, and parallels in the *Saṃputatantra* and *Abhidhānottara*.[153] TABLE 3.1 places the previously unidentified parallel passage from *Brahmayāmala* LXXXIV alongside the corresponding verses of *Laghuśaṃvara* 26, the latter from Pandey's edition (reporting variants he notes are suggested by the Tibetan).

In the *BraYā*, this passage concludes the first chapter of the *Uttaratantra*, an "addendum *tantra*" to the *BraYā* possibly belonging to a later stratum of the text.[154] This chapter comprises, primarily, a long and comparatively sophisticated description of yoga for which the passage in question forms the concluding statement. Parallels for the some of the obscure terminology occur earlier in the chapter and elsewhere in the text. In the received *Laghuśaṃvara*, this passage instead opens chapter twenty-six, giving the appearance of having been awkwardly rewritten as an introduction; in verse six, it then shifts to the subject of the Eight Pledges, with a passage parallel to *BraYā* LXXXV.1–42.[155] The product, or so it seems to me, is a tract of decontextualized text cobbled together with scant regard for meter and still less for grammar, the interpretation of which challenges the imagination.

There are multiple and clear indications of the dependence of *Laghuśaṃvara* 26–29

Verses with remarkable similarities occur as *BraYā* III.5, XI.44cd–45ab, XXII.106, LXXII.212, LXXXII.50, and LXXXVII.56. These parallels are not however unique to the *BraYā*; note also *Tantrasadbhāva* 28.88ab and *Niśvāsakārikā* 241cd (*hanate muṣṭināśāṃ pibate mṛgatṛṣṇikām*).

[152] Oriental Institute of Baroda manuscript no. 13290.

[153] Janardan Shastri Pandey, ed., *Śrīherukābhidhānam Cakrasaṃvaratantram with the Commentary of Bhavabhaṭṭa* (2 vols.). See the editor's note on *Laghuśaṃvara* 22.3d, vol. 2, p. 121.

[154] On the structure and possible stratification of the *BraYā*, see the next chapter.

[155] Preceding *BraYā* LXXXV.1 is a short series of mantras, the text of which is badly damaged. These have no precise counterpart in the *Laghuśaṃvara*. There may however be a loose structural parallel, for the short chapter preceding *Laghuśaṃvara* 26 consists of a single long mantra, introduced by a verse.

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TABLE 3.1: A parallel passage in *Brahmayāmala* LXXXIV and *Laghuśaṃvara* 26

Brahmayāmala LXXXIV.222–28:	*Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 26.1–5:
nātaḥ parataraṃ kiñcit triṣu lokeṣu vidyate | jñātvā picumataṃ tantraṃ sarvatantrān parityajet || 222 || carvāhāravibhāge 'pi tālakārādhake tathā | sarvātmake ca yogo 'yaṃ sarvataḥ svānurūpataḥ || 223 || dūtīyogātmayogāc ca prakriyāyogayojanāt | sarvatra ca caturṇāṃ tu yogo 'yam parikīrtitaḥ || 224 ||	ataḥ paraṃ mantrapadaṃ triṣu lokeṣu na vidyate | śrīherukamantraṃ jñātvā sarvān mantrān parityajet || 1 ||
anulomavilomena dūtayaḥ saṃvyavasthitāḥ | adhordhvasiddhidā devi ātmadūtī tu sarvadā || 225 || taddravyaṃ sarvadā siddhaṃ darśanāt sparśabhakṣaṇāt | cumbanād gūhanāc caiva śivapīṭhe viśeṣataḥ || 226 || yāvanto dravyasaṃghātāḥ sarvasiddhikarāḥ param | dātavyaṃ mantrasadbhāvaṃ nānyathā tu kadācana || 227 || mātā ca bhaginī putrī bhāryā vai dūtayaḥ smṛtāḥ | yasyā mantraṃ daden nityaṃ tasyaiṣo hi vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ || 228 ||	anulomavilomena yoginyaḥ[1] saṃvyavasthitāḥ | adhordhvaṃ siddhidā nityam ātmadūtīṃ tu sarvagāḥ || 2 || taṃ dūtī tu sattvārthasiddhidaṃ darśanaṃ sparśanaṃ tathā | cumbanaṃ gūhanaṃ nityaṃ yogapīṭhaṃ viśeṣataḥ || 3 || yāvanto yogasaṅghātāḥ sarvasiddhikaraṃ smṛtam | sarvasadbhāvaṃ deyaṃ ca nānyathā tu kadācana || 4 || mātā bhaginī putrī vā bhāryā vai dūtayaḥ sthitāḥ[2] | yasya mantraṃ daden nityaṃ tasya so hi vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ || 5 ||

222b triṣu] *corr.*; tṛṣu By^{a}
223a carvāhāravibhāge] *em.*; carvāhārāvibhāgo By^{a}
223b °ārādhake] *em.*; °ārādhane By^{a}
226a siddhaṃ] *em.*; siddha By^{a}
226c cumbanād] *em.*; cumbanā By^{a}
gūhanāc] *em.*; gūhanañ By^{a}
227a yāvanto] *em.*; yāvato By^{a}
saṃghātāḥ] *em.*; saṅghātaḥ By^{a}
227b °siddhikarāḥ] *em.*; °siddhikaraḥ By^{a}
param] *conj.*; paraḥ By^{a}
227d cana] *em.*; canaḥ By^{a}

[1] *The Tibetan supports reading* dūtayaḥ
[2] *The Tibetan supports reading* smṛtāḥ

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upon *BraYā* LXXXIV–LXXXV, for the redactors appear to have been less than successful in removing traces of technical terminology distinctive to their source text. Sanderson has discussed one case in detail: a reference to the *smaraṇa*, a word in ordinary parlance meaning "recollection," but in the *BraYā*, a technical term for the seed-mantra of Kapālīśabhairava (HŪṂ). An ostensibly neutral word, the Buddhist redactors allowed this to remain, perhaps unaware of its significance in the source text.[156] In addition to the *smaraṇa*, I would single out another case in which characteristic jargon from the *BraYā* has not been redacted out of the *Laghuśaṃvara*: 26.14cd–15ab, which corresponds to *BraYā* LXXXIV.9. This verse concerns a typology of the *sādhaka* that is as far as I can determine distinctive to the *BraYā*—and certainly alien to the *Laghuśaṃvara*. The text of the *Laghuśaṃvara* version of the verse is as follows, in Pandey's reconstruction:

> *śuddhāśuddhātha miśraṃ vai sādhakas trividhā*[157] *sthitiḥ* || *14* ||
> *ārādhako viśuddhaś ca dīpako guṇavān naraḥ* |

Jayabhadra, the earliest commentator on the *Laghuśaṃvara*, recognized that this verse should concern a classification of practitioners, and offers the following interpretation:

> The "man of virtue" (*guṇavān naraḥ*)—the yogin—has a threefold division. *Ārādhaka* means "one in whom understanding has not arisen"; *viśuddha* means "one in whom capacity has arisen"; *dīpaka* ("light") means the *madhyadīpaka* ("middle light"): one in whom some understanding has arisen, and who enlightens himself and others. Or else, *ārādhaka* means "worshipper of the deity through practice of mantra and yoga," *guṇavān* means "one who understands the meaning of scripture," [while] *dīpaka* means "capable of fulfilling the goals of all living beings," like a lamp (*pradīpa*).[158]

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[156] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 44–47. The term *smaraṇa* occurs in *Laghuśaṃvara* 29.3c in the critical edition. See also, in the present dissertation, the section in chapter 5 on the *BraYā*'s titular epithet *"navākṣaravidhāna."*

[157] The commentator Bhavabhaṭṭa instead reads *sādhakās trividhāḥ*.

[158] Jayabhadra, *Cakraśaṃvarapañjikā*: ***ārādhako viśuddhaś ca dīpako guṇavān nara*** *iti* ***guṇavān naro*** *yogī* ***tridhā*** *bhidyate* [em. Isaacson; *vidyate* Ed.] ***ārādhaka*** *ity anutpannapratibhaḥ* ***viśuddha*** *ity utpannasāmarthyaḥ* ***dīpaka*** *iti madhyadīpakaḥ kiṃcidutpannapratibhaḥ svaparārthabodhakaś ca* || *athav-* ***ārādhako*** *mantrayogābhyāsena devātāradhakaḥ* ***guṇavān*** *śāstrārthavettā* ***dīpakaḥ*** *pradīpavat sarvasattvārthakriyāsamarthaḥ* ||

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Jayabhadra's creative yet incongruent attempts to find three *sādhaka*s in the second line testify to the fact that this verse lacks context; a threefold classification of this nature is otherwise absent from the *Laghuśaṃvara*.

In contrast, the triad of 'pure', 'impure', and 'mixed' comprises a key conceptual framework in the *BraYā*: practitioners, ritual, scripture, and the Three Śaktis are patterned accordingly.[159] *'Ārādhaka'* too has a specific, contextually germane meaning. In the *BraYā*, the verse in question occurs as LXXXV.8, in a passage which follows an enumeration of the initiatory Pledges (*samaya*):

> *.....ity aṣṭau samayāḥ parāḥ* || 7 ||
> *jñātavyāḥ sādhakair nityaṃ sādhanārādhanasthitau* |
> *sāmānyāḥ sarvatantrāṇāṃ na hantavyās tu hetubhiḥ* || 8 ||
> *śuddhāśuddhavimiśras tu sādhakas trividhaḥ smṛtaḥ* |
> *ārādhako viśuddhas tu dīpakādiguṇair vinā* || 9 ||
> *grāme grāme vrataṃ tasya devatārūpalakṣaṇam* |
> *unmattam asidhāraṃ ca pavitrakṣetravarjitaḥ* || 10 ||
> *sādhakas tu dvidhā proktaś carumārgo 'tha tālakaḥ* |
> *tālamārgaratānāṃ tu na carur naiva saṃyamaḥ* || 11 ||
> *vidyāvrataviśuddhis tu triṣaṣṭivratam eva ca* |
> *abhedyatvaṃ tatas tasya tālādau sādhane vidhau* || 12 ||
> *carumārgaikadeśo hi tālaḥ sarvātmako bhavet* |
> *kṣetrasthānāni siddhāni yoginyo yatra saṃgatāḥ* || 13 ||
> *teṣu sthitvā japaṃ kuryāc carum ālabhate dvijaḥ* |
>
> 7d samayāḥ] *corr.*; samayā BY^{a} 8a jñātavyāḥ] *corr.*; jñātvyā BY^{a} sādhakair nityaṃ] *em.*; sādhakai nnityaṃ BY^{a}(*tops damaged*) 9a °vimiśras tu] *em.*; °vimuktas tu BY^{a} 9b trividhaḥ] *corr.*; tṛvidhaḥ BY^{a} 12b triṣaṣṭi°] *em.*; ttriṣaṣṭhi° BY^{a}
>
> "...these are the supreme eight Pledges. [7d] They should always be known by *sādhaka*s when in the state of [mantra-]*sādhana* or [deity] worship (*ārādhana*). They are common to all the *tantra*s, and should not be assailed with reasoned arguments. [8] The *sādhaka* is threefold—pure, impure, and mixed[160]—while the *ārādhaka* is very pure, free from the qualities (¿) 'light' and so forth (?).[161] [9] From village to village, his observance (*vrata*) is [that of taking on] the form and characteristics of the deities, and

[159] On the classification of scripture in relation to the *śakti*s, see chapter 5; see below concerning the *sādhaka*.

[160] There are strong grounds for emending *śuddhāśuddhavimuktas* to °*vimiśras*, as I have done, for this threefold classification of *sādhaka*s based upon degrees of 'purity' pervades the *BraYā* and fits the present context. Cf., e.g., XXXII.331c, *śuddhāśuddhavimiśreṣu*. Furthermore, the *Laghuśaṃvara* offers some confirmation for the emendation, reading *śuddhāśuddhātha miśraṃ*, as reconstructed by Pandey.

While the sense of 9b is certain, one could consider emending to *sādhakaḥ trividhā smṛtaḥ*, or to *sādhakās trividhā sthitāḥ*; the latter is supported by Bhavabhaṭṭa's reading of the *Laghuśaṃvara* parallel.

[161] I am unfortunately unable to determine the probable intended sense of 9d, *dīpakādiguṇair vinā*,

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> the 'madman' and 'razor's edge' [observances],[162] avoiding the locations of sacred fields. [10] But the *sādhaka* is [actually] twofold: the one following the path of *caru* ('food offerings'), and the *tālaka*. For those on the *tālaka* path, there is neither *caru* nor self-restraint. [11] [After engaging in] purification by the *vidyā*-mantra observance and the 'sixty-three observance',[163] he then [reaches] the state of [making] no distinction between the ritual procedures of the *tālaka*, etc. [12] Following the way of the *caru*, having a single location, the *tālaka* would become a *sarvātman* ("universal") [*sādhaka*].[164] Remaining in the sacred, empowered places where the yoginīs assemble, he should perform his mantra recitation in those; the twice-born one obtains *caru* [from the yoginīs]."[165] [13–14ab]

Here *ārādhaka*, "worshipper," refers to a specific category of practitioner. Typically, the *BraYā* describes a threefold typology of the *sādhaka*: pure, impure, and impure-

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as transmitted in BY[a]. The parallel text in *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.15b provides no assistance obvious to me. Jayabhadra's interpretation of the latter, quoted above, might invoke the rhetorical figure of the *dīpaka*.

[162] The *unmattakavrata* is fourth of the Nine Observances described in *BraYā* XXI, involving feigned insanity, as the name implies. The *asidhāravrata* ('observance of the sword's edge') for its part comprises the subject of *BraYā* XXXIX.

[163] While the various observances taught in *BraYā* XXI are referred to collectively as *vidyāvrata*s, "observances of the [nine-syllable] *vidyā*," this term is primarily used for the final and most important of these, a *kāpālika* observance also called the *mahāvrata* (108a) or *bhairavavrata* (109ab). As for the *triṣaṣṭivrata*, this appears to be connected with a mantra-deity pantheon (*yāga*) of the same name; yet while the "*yāga* of the sixty-three" and its *vrata* are mentioned in several chapters, I have not identified a detailed description.

[164] The implication is that the *sarvātman sādhaka* is bound by no single discipline and may engage at will in practices associated with the lower grades of initiate. This is consistent with the description of the *sarvātman* found in *BraYā* XCIV.

[165] The notion that one may attain *siddhi* through consuming food offerings (*caru*) given directly by the yoginīs is mentioned in *BraYā* CI 29, and is in all likelihood alluded to here in 14b. For a more explicit description, note *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 11.7cd–10:

> *yad icchet kaulavī siddhiḥ prāśya paṃcāmṛtaṃ param* ‖ 7 ‖
> *tadā sidhyati yoginyāṃ siddhimelāpakaṃ bhavet* |
> *dadante ca tadā devi carukaṃ pañcabhir yutam* ‖ 8 ‖
> *yoginībhiḥ sakṛd dattaṃ tatkṣaṇāt tatsamo bhavet* |
> *atha vā prāśayej jñātvā yogayuktas tu kaulavit* ‖ 9 ‖
> *sidhyate nātra sandeho vighnajālavivarjitaḥ* |
> *yoginīgaṇasāmānyo manasā cintitaṃ labhet* ‖ 10 ‖
>
> 7d prāśya] *em.*; prāṣya KJN[cod]; prāpya KJN[ed] 9a yoginībhiḥ] KJN[ed]; y[e?]ginībhiḥ KJN[cod] 10 sandeho] KJN[ed]; sandoho KJN[cod] 10b vivarjitaḥ] *em.*; °vivarjitaṃḥ KJN[cod]; °vivarjitam KJN[ed] 10c °sāmānyo] KJN[cod]; °sāmānyā° KJN[ed] 10d manasā cintitaṃ labhet] KJN[cod]; °manaḥsu cintitaṃ bhavet KJN[ed]
>
> "One who desires Kaula *siddhi* then obtains *siddhi* after consuming the ultimate five nectars. There would transpire a *siddhi*-[bestowing] encounter with the yoginī[s]. And they then give [him] the food offering (*caru*), mixed with the five [nectars], O goddess. [If he consumes the *caru*] immediately when first given by the yoginīs, he becomes equal to them. Otherwise, if he would consume it after thinking [first], the knower of the Kaula, disciplined in yoga, will undoubtedly attain *siddhi*, free from the web of obstacles. Equal to the horde of yoginīs, he would obtain whatever he thinks about."

One should perhaps emend to *sidhyanti yoginyaḥ* in 8a.

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cum-pure, for which the designations are *tālaka*,[166] *carubhojin* ("one who consumes ritual offerings"), and *miśra* ("mixed"), respectively.[167] This classification receives detailed elaboration in the text's massive forty-fourth chapter, "the section on the *sādhaka*" (*sādhakādhikāra*). However, the latter chapters of the *BraYā*—LXXXIV–CI, comprising the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*[168]—introduce a new fourfold taxonomy of initiates: the *ārādhaka*, *carubhojin*, *tālaka*, and *sarvātman* ("universal"), whose activities and subdivisions comprise the respective subjects of *BraYā* XCI–XCIV. This typology differs from the threefold insofar as the category of *miśraka*, the practitioner of "mixed" purity, appears to be reconfigured as the highest grade, the *sarvātman*—above the *tālaka*.[169] On the other hand, the *ārādhaka* represents a variety of householder practitioner.[170]

That the redactors of the *Laghuśaṃvara* had intended to remove references to a Śaiva typology of practitioners is suggested by comparison; in TABLE 3.1, note that *BraYā* LXXXIV.223–24, which makes specific reference to the classification of *sādhaka*s

[166] The word *tālaka* appears non Indo-Āryan, and Sanderson (personal communication, May 2004) suggests a connection with the Tamil *tāḷ*, "energy, effort, perseverance, application." *The University of Madras Tamil Lexicon*, 1885. Accessed online (April 2007) through the Digital Dictionaries of South Asia project (http://dsal.uchicago.edu/dictionaries/).

[167] The terms for the threefold *sādhaka* are provided in *BraYā* XLIV.10cd–11ab:

> *śuddhas tu tālakaḥ proktaś carubhojī tv aśuddhakaḥ* || 10 ||
> *śuddhāśuddho bhaven miśraḥ sādhakas tu na saṃśayaḥ* |
>
> proktaś] *em.*; proktaṃś BY^{a} miśraḥ] *em.*; misraṃ BY^{a}

[168] The structure and possible stratification of the text are discussed in the subsequent chapter.

[169] It is evident from the descriptions in *BraYā* XLIV that the *miśraka*, as one might expect, constitutes the middle grade of *sādhaka*. Hence in XLIV.472, it is said that a *miśraka* purified through constant practice may become a *tālaka* (*kadācin miśrako devi karmayogena nityaśaḥ | tālamārga[ṃ] samāpnoti yadā śuddhaḥ prajāyate*). However, the *sarvātman sādhaka* is "mixed" in an entirely different sense: he is free from all regulations, engaging at will in the disciplines associated with lower practitioners, including consumption of the impurest of substances—the domain of the *carubhojin*.

[170] It appears that the *ārādhaka* might not be considered a *sādhaka*, per se; their characteristic modes of ritual, *ārādhana* ("worship") and *sādhana*, are placed in contrast. See e.g. LXXXV.8b above. Nonetheless, the term *ārādhaka* figures in later Śaiva typologies of the *sādhaka*. In the *Kulasāra*, the *ārādhaka* features as fourth of the five grades of *sādhaka*, above the *tālaka*, *cumbaka*, and *cārvāka* (=*carubhojin*, presumably); transcending the *ārādhaka* is the *śivodbhūta*:

> *tālako cuṃbakaś caiva cārvākārādhakas tathā* |
> *śivodbhūta -m- ataḥ proktaḥ pāṃcabhedo 'pi sādhakaḥ* |
>
> cārvākārādhakas] *em.*; cārvākorādhakas MS śivodbhūtam] *em.* Vasudeva; śivobhūtam MS

I am grateful to Vasudeva for providing me with his transcription of this material. Given the terminological continuities, it seems possible that this fivefold typology develops out of the threefold classification present in the *BraYā*, the addition of the *ārādhaka* reflecting an intermediate stage.

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in question, is absent from the *Laghuśaṃvara*. Yet *Laghuśaṃvara* 14cd–15ab refers nonetheless to what is, in the *BraYā*, the same typology expressed with different terminology.[171]

In the case of the *Laghuśaṃvara*, I believe there can thus be little doubt concerning Sanderson's proposal: that this text has incorporated material from the *BraYā*, whether directly or through another derivative source, seems the only plausible explanation for the relationship between the passages in question. Derrivation from an unknown common source is perhaps not impossible, but this would in all likelihood have been a text intimately related to the *BraYā*, to the extent of sharing unusual terminological similarities. The case is similar with chapter forty-three of the *Abhidhānottara*, another text of the Cakraśaṃvara tradition;[172] as Sanderson points out, this corresponds to the same material shared by the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara*. This begins with text corresponding to *Laghuśaṃvara* 26.6 and *BraYā* LXXXV.9, omitting the five verses parallel to 26.1–5 and LXXXIV.222–28 of these respective works. Though the text of *Abhidhānottara* 43 closely parallels *Laghuśaṃvara* 26–29—fortuitously so, given that this section of the *Laghuśaṃvara* does not survive in Sanskrit—the former contains none of the latter's divisions in chapters, being hence closer to the *BraYā*. This in fact appears true of the early *Laghuśaṃvara* as well, for the commentator Jayabhadra shows no awareness of the chapter divisions known to the later commentator Bhavabhaṭṭa.[173] Sanderson contends that several other sections of the *Abhidhānottara* derive from Śaiva sources as well, for which Judit Törzsök has provided convincing evidence in the case of its relationship to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.[174]

[171] A reference to the fourfold typology of practitioners is clearly present in *BraYā* LXXXIV.223, although out of sequence: *carvāhāra* (=*aśuddha* or *carubhojin*), *tālaka* (=*śuddha*), *ārādhaka* (by emendation of °*ārādhane*; =*viśuddha*), and *sarvātmaka* (=*miśra*). While the interpretation of 224ab remains unclear to me, the point of 224cd is that the yoga expounded in this chapter is applicable to all four (*caturṇām*) types of practitioner.

[172] I have consulted two manuscripts of the *Abhidhānottara*: Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts film-strip no. MBB-1971-100 (Nepalese script, dated to the equivalent of 1138 C.E.); and a late Devanāgarī manuscript that has been published in facsimile: Lokesh Chandra, ed., *Abhidhānaottara-tantra: a Sanskrit Manuscript from Nepal*.

[173] This has been pointed out to me by Isaacson, personal communication (April, 2007).

[174] Törzsök discusses parallels between *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29 and *Abhidhānottara* 38, identifying indications of the direction of redaction from the former to the latter. Her examples include "changes of

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Ronald Davidson has voiced skepticism concerning a number of Sanderson's claims pertaining to the relationship between Tantric Śaivism and Tantric Buddhism. Of particular relevance to the present discussion, he questions the plausibility of extant Śaiva texts being significant sources of material found in the Buddhist *yoginī-tantra*s. One of his principal objections is chronological: he considers problematic the evidence attesting specific, extant works of tantric Śaiva literature prior to the ninth and tenth centuries. He questions, for instance, whether the mid eleventh-century Cambodian Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription should be taken as an accurate record for the existence in the ninth century of the Śaiva texts it mentions—four *vāmatantra*s—which the inscription associates with a brahmin in the court of that period. While such caution is laudable in principle, here it appears excessive: the existence of Śaiva *vāmatantra*s prior to the ninth century is suggested in multiple manners, and the texts mentioned in the inscription are known to have been fundamental scriptures of this genre.[175] In fact, Davidson's objection appears somewhat imbalanced considering that he draws upon a single reference in the late medieval *Kālikāpurāṇa* for reconstructing the alleged pre-Buddhist origins of the deity Heruka, relying heavily on a mythological text for reconstructing history at a remove of well more than half a millenium.[176]

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non-Buddhist references to Buddhist ones," alterations which render a metrical verse in the Śaiva text unmetrical in the Buddhist, and "Śaiva iconographic features left unchanged in the Buddhist version." See "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," appendix 3 and its supplement, "Parallels of *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29 in the *Abhidhānottara* Paṭala 38," 192–95 (quotations on 194–95).

[175] Davidson addresses Sanderson's remarks on this inscription as they were presented in "History through Textual Criticism," 7–8 (n. 5). Sanderson has discussed this material in greater detail more recently, in "Śaiva Religion among the Khmers (Part I)," 355–57. On other early evidence for the *vāmatantra*s, see the discussion of these in section 2.

[176] Davidson's attempts to show that Bhairava and "his Buddhist counterpart, Heruka," have (independent) roots in tribal or local divinities seem unconvincing. The *Kālikāpurāṇa*, a text that in its current form is unlikely to predate the sixteenth century, associates a cremation ground called Heruka with Kāmākhyā, and Davidson identifies this (plausibly) as the modern site called Masānbhairo (*śmaśāna-bhairava*). He postulates that "Buddhists apparently appropriated a local term for a specific Assamese ghost or cemetery divinity and reconfigured it into the mythic enemy of evil beings in general"—Heruka. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 211–16 (quotations on 211, 214). On the dating of the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, see Sylvia Stapelfeldt, *Kāmākhyā–Satī–Mahāmāyā: Konzeptionen der Großen Göttin im Kālikāpurāṇa*, 35–40. Assuming that the *Kālikāpurāṇa*'s Heruka cremation ground is indeed the site Masānbhairo, this in fact tells us no more than that Heruka and Bhairava were at some point prior to the sixteenth century considered cognate, to the point that their names could be interchanged. To argue that the Buddhist Heruka was originally an Assamese cremation-spirit deity on this basis calls to mind what David-

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Critiquing Sanderson's thesis of the Buddhist *yoginītantras'* indebtedness to Śaivism, Davidson counters that "a more fruitful model would appear to be that both heavily influenced the final formations of the agonistic other and that each had alternative sources as well."[177] A model of mutual influence certainly has appeal when considering Buddhist-Śaiva interactions broadly over the course of the first millienium,[178] yet such cannot be assumed *a priori* in any particular case; indeed, most of the texts Davidson cites as examples of Tantric Śaivism's syncretic sources appear to be post twelfth-century works, and accordingly have little bearing upon the relation between the Śaiva Vidyāpīṭha and Buddhist *yoginītantras*. An exception is the *Jayadrathayāmala*, which as Davidson points out mentions Buddhist *tantras* in its account of the scriptural canon, apparently naming the *Guhyasamāja*.[179] The *Jayadrathayāmala*, Sanderson suggests, is an historically layered composition that took its final form in Kashmir prior to the period of Kṣemarāja (fl. *circa* 1000–50).[180] That

son elsewhere describes as "sustained special pleading about single reference citations, a questionable method of arguing history." *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 206.

As for Bhairava, Davidson asserts that he "seems to have been little more than a local ferocious divinity at one time...eventually appropriated by Śaivas, much as they aggressively appropriated so much other tribal and outcaste lore for their own ends." The only evidence he cites for this assertion are origin myths in the *Kālikāpurāṇa* for a *liṅga* called "Bhairava" near Guwahati, and tantric Buddhist lore associating a series of twenty-four *pīṭhas* with the same number of *bhairavas* as guardians. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 211–13 (quotation on 211). While the roots of Bhairava remain obscure, it is worth noting that Mahābhairava is named as a Śaiva place of pilgrimage in the *Niśvāsa* (*Mukhāgama* 3.21d and *Guhyasūtra* 7.115d) as well as the old *Skandapurāṇa* (chapter 167); the latter source makes clear that the site is named after the form of Śiva enshrined there (cf. Mahākāla of Ujjayinī). A fourth-century Vākāṭaka king is described as a devotee of "Mahābhairava" in an inscription of the fifth century, on which see Sanderson, "Śaivism among the Khmers," 443–44; and Peter Bisschop, *Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa*, 192–93. The emergence of Bhairava in the tantric Śaiva pantheon, whatever his roots may be, appears to have involved some degree of identification with Aghora, the southern, fierce face of Sadāśiva who is said to reveal the *bhairavatantras*.

[177] Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 217.

[178] Note for instance Davidson's plausible suggestion that Pāśupata monasticism is a response to the *śramaṇa* ascetic orders. Ibid., 183–86. One might also mention the possible influence of the Buddhist Yogācāra school upon nondualist "Kashmiri" Śaiva thought, although this requires further investigation.

[179] *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 217, citing Mark Dyczkowski, *The Canon of Śaivism*, 102.

[180] Sanderson, "The Visualization of the Deities of the Trika," 32 (n. 6); and "Remarks on the Text of the Kubjikāmatatantra," 2. The *Jayadrathayāmala* is a heterogenous, layered work; Sanderson sees within it multiple texts that might originally have been independent: the *Śiraścheda*, an early *vāmatantra*; and the *Mādhavakula*, a text cited by Abhinavagupta and incorporated into the fourth book (*ṣaṭka*) of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. On the *Śiraścheda*, see "History through Textual Criticism," 31–32 (n. 33), and "Remarks on the Text of the Kubjikāmatatantra," 1–2. On the *Mādhavakula*, see the latter. His claim, to which Davidson responds and for which the evidence has not yet been published, is that the ninth chapter of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s third book, the *Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa*, was a source for Buddhist *yoginītantra*

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sections of the text show awareness of Tantric Buddhism is hence neither surprising nor unusual, and Davidson's assertion that this suggests "dependence on Buddhist tantras" should require demonstration of the nature of such dependence.[181] Among the other Śaiva texts Davidson singles out is "the *Brahmayāmala*;" but what he refers to is in fact a late medieval east Indian composition by this title, rather than the early Vidyāpīṭha scripture.[182] It would indeed appear that the later *śākta* tradition of Śaivism, particularly in east India, appropriated much from Tantric Buddhism during the centuries of the latter's decline. This is dramatized, for instance, in tales of the brahmanical sage Vaśiṣṭha's sojourn to Mahācīna ("Greater China") in order to learn worship of Tārā from the inebriated Buddha, and evidenced by the emergence of syncretic pantheons such as the "Ten Great *Vidyā*-mantra Goddesses" (*daśa mahāvidyāḥ*), who include Tārā. The old *BraYā*, in contrast, mentions in its account of the scriptural canon works of "agonistic others" such as the Vaiṣṇavas and Vaidikas, yet shows no awareness I can discern of Tantric Buddhism. The same may be said of the *Niśvāsa*, an even earlier composition which otherwise shows enormous interest in hierarchically ordering rival systems.

Regrettably, Davidson goes so far as to suggest that Sanderson's model of the Vidyāpīṭha is informed by a "curious theology of scripture," contending that "while it is seldom that a received body of texts reflects no influence at all, this seems to be Sanderson's ultimate position on the Vidyāpīṭha Śaiva scriptures."[183] This assertion appears entirely unsustainable in light of Sanderson's research into the layered gene-

material. "History through Textual Criticism," 41–43.

[181] Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 217.

[182] Davidson refers to the *Rudrayāmala*, *Tārātantra*, and *Brahmayāmala* as texts transmitting the legend of Vaśiṣṭha learning "*cīnācāra*" ("the Chinese method") from the Buddha. *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 216, citing Benoytosh Bhattacharya's introduction to *Sādhanamālā*, vol. 2, cxi–ii (in fact cxli–ii); and Bhattacharya, "Buddhist Deities in Hindu Garb," in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Indian Oriental Conference*, vol. 2, 1277–98. In this matter Bhattacharya drew upon Sanskrit textual materials published in a particular volume, edited from Bengali manuscripts: Girīśacandra Vedāntatīrtha (ed.), *Tārātantram. Śrīgirīścandravedāntatīrthasaṅkalitam. With an Introduction by A. K. Maitra*. As I discuss in chapter 1, section 1, this publication includes excerpts from the first two chapters of a certain "*Brahmayāmala*" preserved in a manuscript of the Varendra Research Society. There is no indication that the text is related to the Vidyāpīṭha scripture of the same name.

[183] Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 386 (n. 105).

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ologies of Śaiva scriptures, including those of the Vidyāpīṭha. Concerning the *Tantrasadbhāva*, a Trika text of the Vidyāpīṭha, he demonstrates that it has incorporated and expanded upon cosmological material from the *Svacchandatantra*—an extensive tract of text which the latter, in turn, drew in part from the *Niśvāsaguhya*, transforming this in the process within its own cultic system.[184] He argues, moreover, that the *Niśvāsa* itself—perhaps the earliest extant tantric Śaiva scripture—is heavily indebted to pre- and proto-tantric Śaiva sects of the Atimārga.[185] Particularly noteworthy is Sanderson's more recent investigation into the formation of the *Netratantra*, a Śaiva text he argues was produced in the milieu of an eighth- or early ninth-century Kashmiri court.[186] Note also his demonstration that the *Bṛhatkālottara*, a Kashmiri-provenance *tantra* of the *Śaivasiddhānta*, has incorporated material from a Vaiṣṇava scripture of the Pāñcarātra.[187] In light of this obvious commitment to identifying agents, circumstances, and sources involved in the formation of Śaiva scriptural literature, it hardly seems defensible to attribute bias to Sanderson for failing to unearth examples of the indebtedness of early texts of the Vidyāpīṭha to tantric Buddhist sources. I am aware of none; yet given the current state of research, it is entirely possible that examples will surface.

3.6 Conclusions

The present chapter has attempted to trace the early development of the yoginī cult in Śaiva and Buddhist tantric literatures. It was shown that significant elements of the Śaiva cult of yoginīs have roots in earlier Śaiva scriptural genres. In particular, aspects of the *kāpālika* cult of Bhairava—in association with which the Śaiva cult of yoginīs comes into evidence—have discernable precedents in the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*.

[184] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 23–32.

[185] The windows afforded by the *Niśvāsa* into early Śaiva systems and its own dependence upon these comprise the subject of Sanderson's recent essay, "The Lākulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism." See also Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 29.

[186] Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Śaiva Officiants in the Territory of the King's Brahmanical Chaplain," passim.

[187] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 38–41.

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This archaic scripture of the cult of Sadāśiva appears to predate clear differentiation between *siddhāntatantra*s and other tantric Śaiva scriptural traditions. More direct precedents for the cult of yoginīs appear to lie, however, in scriptural traditions for which the record is fragmentary: *ḍākinītantra*s, *bhūtatantra*s, and the *bhaginītantra*s of the cult of the Sisters of Tumburu. The latter, attested by the seventh century, were shown to figure in the background of the *BraYā*, one of four extant, early *bhairavatantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha ("Seat of Female Mantra-deities"). These scriptural authorities for the Śaiva cult of yoginīs distinguish themselves from *bhairavatantra*s of the Mantrapīṭha ("Seat of Male Mantra-deities") through their emphasis upon goddesses (*vidyā*). It was argued that the Vidyāpīṭha yoginī cult might have developed within a cultic context of the variety represented by the *Svacchandatantra*—a text sometimes assigned to the Mantrapīṭha in which goddesses have a secondary cultic status, and in which the cult of yoginīs registers a presence in only the final chapter, probably a late addition to the text. While Vidyāpīṭha literature represents the yoginī cult in its earliest accessible form, the vast majority of Śaiva sources connected with yoginīs belong, however, to subsequent Kaula traditions. As discussed in chapter two, it is Kaula conceptions of yoginīs that appear to inform the post ninth-century temple tradition connected with these goddesses.

A Buddhist cult of yoginīs is attested by the late eighth or early ninth century with the appearance of *yoginītantra*s, "Tantras of the Yoginīs." While heralding a remarkable shift in the character of Tantric Buddhism, the prominence of goddesses in the *yoginītantra*s is the culmination of developments observable in earlier literature. The Brahmanical Mother goddesses feature in Buddhist maṇḍalas as early as the mid-seventh century, in the *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, while the range and prominence of goddesses and female spirits given Buddhist identities grows considerably in subsequent literature, such as the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. It was shown that the emergence of the Buddhist cult of yoginīs is linked closely to transformation of the *ḍākinī*—from the pernicious female spirit represented in early Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources

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to the powerful, potentially benign *vajraḍākinī*s of the *yoginītantra*s. Evidence for the conversion and elevation of the *ḍākinī* appears in eighth-century sources—the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and *Guhyasamāja*—a process completed in the early *yoginītantra*s, such as the *Laghuśaṃvara*.

In general character, the Śaiva and Buddhist cults of yoginīs possess remarkable similarities, and the relations between these religious systems in their historical contexts merits comprehensive inquiry. In the final section of this chapter, I offered evidence in support of Alexis Sanderson's proposal that the Buddhist *yoginītantra*s in several cases depended heavily upon Vidyāpīṭha scriptures. It was shown that the *BraYā* is indeed the source of a substantial tract of text redacted into the *Laghuśaṃvara* and *Abhidhānottara*, texts of the Cakraśaṃvara scriptural cycle. This is significant, moreover, not only for the history of tantric Buddhist literature, but also for locating the *BraYā* in time, as discussed in the subsequent chapter. While this case of textual borrowing undoubtedly provides a limited window into complex historical processes, it nonetheless illustrates that despite Ronald Davidson's objections, Sanderson's thesis concerning the dependence of the Buddhist *yoginītantra*s on Śaiva models remains compelling.

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Chapter 4

The Content, Structure, and Provenance of the Brahmayāmala

4.1 Introduction: Select Topics in the Brahmayāmala

This chapter and the next shift focus more directly to the *BraYā*, beginning in the present chapter with discussion of its content, structure, and provenance. The first section provides an overview of the *BraYā*'s material on several major topics, including mantra, initiation and consecration, and religious images. This is complemented by appendix A, a transcription of the text's chapter colophons as found in By^{a}, which provides some indication of the range of the text's subject matters. Section two of the present chapter analyses the *BraYā*'s structure. It is shown that the text has multiple divisions, the nature of and disparities between which suggest the existence of at least two textual strata. In section three, I address the question of the *BraYā*'s dating, both in absolute terms and in chronological relation to some of the extant literature. This section also explores the geographic and social horizons of the text on the basis of places and individuals named therein.

The *BraYā* consists of one-hundred and one chapters of considerable variety in length, containing a total of more than twelve-thousand verses.[1] It takes the form of a conversation between Kapālīśabhairava and "the Great Goddess" (*mahādevī*) or "Supreme (*parā*) Śakti," designated in this text by the names Bhairavī, Aghorī, and Caṇḍā Kāpālinī. The Goddess poses questions, and Bhairava answers, his didactic

[1] At one extreme, chapter seven contains only eleven verses, while *BraYā* IV extends almost nine-hundred and fifty in length. On the length of the *BraYā*, see chapter 5, section 5.

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responses constituting most of the text. Ordinarily, a chapter begins with a new question, although there are numerous exceptions; within a chapter, further questions might inaugurate new subjects. The primary departures from the dialog mode are occasional third-person asides, such as the common "thus did speak Bhairava" (*evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt*). Aside from several mantras given in prose, and a smattering of verse in the *sragdharā* meter,[2] the text consists entirely of the thirty-two syllable *anuṣṭubh* verses typical of *tantra*s, *purāṇa*s, and much other religious literature.

The *BraYā* commences with the narrative of its revelation. Following this, chapters two and three introduce key topics: the Nine-Syllable Vidyā-mantra (*navākṣarā vidyā*) of the Goddess and the pantheon of mantra-deities this embodies, in *BraYā* II; and in chapter three, the fully elaborated form of the deity maṇḍala, associated particularly with initiation. While the text is not systematic in its organization, there are several clusters of chapters concerned with particular topics, especially the cycle on initiation and consecration (*BraYā* XXXI–XXXVII). Other important chapter clusters include the those on mantra (reviewed below) and the *sādhaka*,[3] while a number of chapters, clustered especially between fifty-three and eighty-two, are devoted to the propitiation of particular mantra-deities, primarily forms of Bhairava (TABLE 4.1).[4] Chapters devoted to yoginīs are scattered throughout the second half of the text, several of which are critically edited in part II.[5] A compendium of rituals, by and large, the cohesion of this sprawling text lies primarily in the leitmotiv of the *navākṣarā vidyā*

[2] The verses in the *sragdharā* meter (the four quarters of which contain twenty-one syllables, with caesuras after the seventh and fourteenth) are the opening benediction, and two verses and a stray quarter in the closing section of *BraYā* LXV.

[3] The principal exposition on the nature and practices of the *sādhaka* is *BraYā* XLIV, a chapter of just over seven-hundred verses. Chapters XCI–XCIV expound a fourfold typology of *sādhaka*s, which as mentioned in the previous chapter (section 5), differs from the threefold classification advanced in XLIV.

[4] A number of the treatises are specifically called *kalpa*s or *mantrakalpa*s, which "[set] out the procedure for the propitiation of a Mantra." Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 13. Many of these mantra-deities are connected with *sādhana*s of a radical nature. Besides the male deities delineated in TABLE 4.1, the *BraYā* has chapters concerned with the goddess Aghoreśvarī (*BraYā* LVII), the Six Yoginīs (LXXVIII), and "*sādhana* on an individual yoginī" (*pṛthakyoginīsādhana*) (LXXIX).

[5] *BraYā* LV concerns the classification of the clans (*kula*) of yoginīs, as well as secret signs; these topic are also treated in LXXIII. *BraYā* XCVIII too concerns the divisions of yoginī clans, while XCIX provides a brief account of *yoginīmelāpa*—transactional encounters with the goddesses. Several chapters delineate ritual concerned with particular yoginī sets: *BraYā* LVI with a configuration of twenty-four yoginīs, and LXXVIII with the Six Yoginīs of the primary maṇḍala.

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and its mantra-deities, which suffuse and pattern the basic rites and their countless inflections.

TABLE 4.1: Forms of Bhairava in the *Brahmayāmala*

DEITY	CHAPTER
Kapālīśabhairava	*passim*
Vijayabhairava	XXVIII
Manthānabhairava	XLV
Rurubhairava	LIII
Mahākāla	LIV
Kaṅkālabhairava	LXII
Phetkārabhairava	LXVII
Picubhairava	LXVIII
Garttābhairava	LXIX
Yāmalabhairava	LXXI
Hairambhabhairava	LXXVI
Mahāmardakabhairava	LXXVII
Utphullakabhairava	LXXXII
Jhaṅkāra-/Ekapādabhairava	XC

In both bulk and emphasis, the *BraYā* is a prescriptive text overwhelmingly concerned with ritual. Within this amorphous category must be made numerous distinctions: *dīkṣā* ("initiation"), *abhiṣeka* ("consecration"), *yāga* ("deity worship"), *vrata* ("observance"), yoga, and *sādhana* (special practices of the *sādhaka*), to name some of the major categories. Actual practices of these ritual types often overlap, for ubiquitous are the *nyāsa* ("installation") of the mantra-deities upon a substrate (e.g. the body), *japa* or mantra-incantation, *dhyāna* or meditative visualization, *mudrā* or ritual signs, and to a lesser degree fire-sacrifice (*homa*). A number of chapters are devoted specifically to these techniques.[6]

[6] On the subject of *nyāsa*, note in particular *BraYā* XLI, the *nyāsapaṭala* ("Chapter on Mantra-installation"), which provides general instructions, and *BraYā* XII, which elaborates upon the *nyāsa* of the extended mantra-deity pantheon taught in the preceding chapters (X and XI). General procedures for mantra-recitation, *japavidhāna*, are expounded in detail in a chapter bearing this title, *BraYā* XVIII. This provides, for instance, a threefold classification of *japa* and technical terms for mantras when inflected in particular ways. *Mudrā* forms the exclusive subject of chapter XLII; a transcription of this from the oldest manuscript has been made available by Somadeva Vasudeva (see chapter 1, n. 88). Several *mudrās* and their mantras are elaborated upon in the last section of *BraYā* XXIII, such as the Ocean of Milk (*kṣīroda*) and Defeat of Death (*mṛtyuñjaya*). Chapter LIV—called the *Mahākālamata* and the *Mudrāpīṭhādhikāra* ("The Seat of Mudrās Section")—describes *mudrās* associated with the Eight Mothers. *BraYā* LV also outlines a number of *mudrās*. Several chapters and sections focus specifically upon *dhyāna*, meditation on the visual forms of the deities; note e.g. *BraYā* VIII, which is concerned with yogic visualization on the goddesses, with magical aims. Similarly, *BraYā* VII (only eleven verses) describes iconographic inflections of the goddesses as mounted upon *yantras* (*yantrārūḍhāḥ*). Chapters focusing in more detail upon aspects of yoga include *BraYā* IX, which concerns *lakṣ[y]abheda* ("the types of desiderata"). This entails meditation upon goddesses—perhaps the Four Goddesses of the core maṇḍala, although this is not specified—as connected in turn with an hierarchy of cosmological levels (*tattva*) and cosmic creative powers (*kalā*). (On the subject of *lakṣyabheda*, see Somadeva Vasudeva, *The Yoga of the Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, 253–92.) Fire ritual, *homa* or *agnikārya*, forms the subject of chapter

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A number of chapters are specifically concerned with *mantroddhāra*, "the extraction/derivation of mantras." The core mantra system of the *BraYā*, based on the nine-syllable *vidyā*-mantra of Aghoreśvarī, is explicated beginning in *BraYā* II, which outlines the *vidyā*-mantra itself (on which see chapter 5, section 5). *BraYā* X delineates the extended mantras of the principal maṇḍala goddesses, while XI concerns those of Bhairava, Bhairavī, the Three Śaktis, etc. *BraYā* XXIII elaborates upon numerous inflections of the *vidyā*, and in its final section teaches the Defeat of Death (*mṛtyuñjaya*) *mudrā* and mantra.

Parallel mantra-systems are taught in several other chapters. Two seem particularly important: the *khecarīcakra* of *BraYā* XIV, from which are extracted the *kulavidyā* and *samayavidyā* (the "Clan Vidyā-mantra" and "Pledge Vidyā-mantra," respectively), as well as the *pāśupatāstra* (the "Weapon Mantra of Paśupati"); and the *kūrmaprastāra* (the "Tortoise Chart") of *BraYā* LXXXVIII. Several chapters in the latter portion of the *BraYā* teach deities and ritual based upon mantras derived from this *kūrmaprastāra*. *BraYā* LXI, the *Tilakatantra*, contains a new *mantroddhāra*, although based upon the root pantheon.[7] A number of other chapters throughout the text teach additional mantras, many of which are connected to specific forms of Bhairava. *Mudrā*s too have association with particular mantras; thus for instance *BraYā* XXVI teaches *mudrāmantroddhāra*, "extraction of the mantras of the *mudrā*s," while LIV, called the *Mudrāpīṭhādhikāra* or *Mahākālamata*, delineates the mantras of *mudrā*s associated with the Eight Mothers.

Several sections of the text teach the basic *yāga*s or mantra-deity pantheons of the *BraYā* and their associated rites (*yāgavidhi/vidhāna*). The Nine Yāgas, pantheons centered upon each deity, in turn, of the core maṇḍala—Bhairava(-Bhairavī), the Four Devīs, and Four Dūtīs—are listed by name in the opening of *BraYā* III. These have

xx. Note also *BraYā* LI, a brief chapter explaining the meats which should be offered in fire sacrifice for particular purposes.

[7] As discussed later, this chapter appears remarkably self-contained, containing its own descriptions of, for instance, initiation, *mantroddhāra*, construction of the maṇḍala, *pūrvasevā* or prelimary propitiation of the mantra-deity, the Nine Yāgas, *puraścaraṇa*, and the topic from which it appears to draw its name: substances used for applying a magical bindi upon the forehead.

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their configurations specified in *BraYā* XIII, the "chapter on the Nine Pantheons" (*navayāgapaṭalaḥ*). *Gṛhayāga*, or the worship performed in a shrine utilizing the Nine Pantheons, appears to be the normative form of daily worship (*nityakarman*). This subject is taught in *BraYā* XXIX (from verse 193), which explains installation of the pantheons in the context of shrine worship.[8] *BraYā* XXIX's primary subject is however the *mūlayāgavidhi*, "ritual procedure of the root pantheon," for which it teaches an elaborate maṇḍala distinct from that of the *mahāyāga* of *BraYā* III.

Many occasional rites (*naimittika*) and those with special aims (*kāmya*) utilize the "Great Yāga" (*mahāyāga*), the extended pantheon as installed in an elaborate maṇḍala. The subject of *BraYā* III, the *mahāyāga* is explicitly contrasted with with the ninefold *yāga* used in a shrine context. According to a definition in *BraYā* XV, the *mahāyāga* is distinguished by its construction in a cremation ground with a maṇḍala containing eight directional cremation grounds, as delineated in *BraYā* III.[9] *BraYā* XXV, called the *yāganirṇayapaṭala* ("the chapter of definitive judgment on *yāga*"), offers a detailed explication of the mantra-installation (*nyāsa*) and ritual procedures connected with several of the system's important *yāga*s. This chapter claims that there are in total sixty-five *yāga*s to which all *sādhaka*s are entitled; for another fourteen, only *sādhaka*s of the upper two of three grades, the *tālaka* and "mixed," have entitlement. The *yāga* of the Three Śaktis, Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī, comprises the subject of *BraYā* LXXXIII, while chapter twenty-seven describes the *yāga* of a more unusual triad: the Vāmā ("left"), Madhyamā ("middle"), and Dakṣiṇā ("right") Śaktis, who in *BraYā* XXXVIII are said to preside over the three primary streams of scriptural rev-

[8] A passage in *BraYā* XVII teaches the procedures for *nityakarman*, which in this (possibly incomplete) account consist of installation and worship of the maṇḍala of the *vidyā*-mantra, i.e. the *vidyācakra*, and binding of the Skull and Skull-staff *mudrā*s, or else the Pledge-*mudrā*. Just prior to this are taught the *naimittika* and *kāmya* worship based upon the *vidyāyāga*. These descriptions appear incomplete, omitting for example mantra-installation on the body of the practitioner; some of the expected material appears instead in chapter XXV.

[9] *BraYā* XV.11:

> *śmasāne tu mahāghore yo yāgo kṛyate prye |*
> *śmasānair aṣṭabhir yukto mahāyāga sa ucyate || 11 ||*
> "That *yāga* which is performed in a terrible cremation ground, my dear, possessing the Eight Cremation grounds, is called 'the Great Yāga'."

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elation and their practitioners. Chapter thirty, the "chapter on the different Śivas and *rudra*s," teaches a *yāga* called *navanābhamaṇḍala*, the "maṇḍala of nine naves." Exceptionally, this is a configuration entirely of male deities.

Elaborate alphabetical *cakra*s and their associated rites form the subject of chapters XIV, XVII, and XIX. *BraYā* XIV, mentioned above, describes the *khecarīcakra* or *kulacakra*, which forms the locus of powerful rituals performed in a cremation ground, crossroads, a shrine of the Mother goddesses, etc., or is ritually etched upon cloth, metal, or another substrate. *BraYā* XVII teaches an elaborate *cakra* based upon the nine-syllable *vidyā*. This vast chapter also describes a variety of connected magical rites (*karma*), involving etching the *cakra* upon a moveable surface or the ground. The mantra-deity configuration called the *bhautikacakra* comprises the first subject of *BraYā* XIX, a chapter that delineates a *cakra* based upon the nine-syllable *vidyā* as well.

INITIATION AND CONSECRATION

Much material pertaining to the important topics of initiation and consecration is clustered in chapters XXXI–XXXVII. Together, these comprise more than ten percent of the *BraYā*. Chapter thirty-two purportedly covers *dīkṣā*, initiation proper, but in fact focuses almost exclusively upon one important dimension: the initiations of the sixfold "courses" or "ways" (*ṣaḍadhvan*) of ascent to Śiva: *bhuvanadīkṣā* (28?–158ab), *padadīkṣā* (158cd–245), *bīja-* or *varṇadīkṣā* (246–67), *kalādīkṣā* (268–88), *mantradīkṣā* (289–95ab), and *tattvadīkṣā* (295cd–307ab). The universe contains six *adhvan*, which the six initiations purify in relation to the initiand: the ways of the hierarchy of worlds (*bhuvanādhvan*), words (*padādhvan*), phonemes (*varṇa-/bījādhvan*), the primordial creative powers (*kalādhvan*), mantras (*mantrādhvan*), and reality principles (*tattvādhvan*).[10] This cosmological system is explained in some detail in the preceding chapter, *BraYā* XXXI.[11] It appears that the *BraYā* viewed the initiation of the Six Ways

[10] The sequence of presentation of the six *adhvan* differs within the tradition, and does so even within the text of the *BraYā*. On this notion of six *adhvan*, see the entry in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I, 110–11. See also the entries for *kalādhvan* and *kalādīkṣā* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. II, 74–76.

[11] That the cosmological systems explicated in *BraYā* XXXI bear upon initiation is stated explicitly:

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as central to destroying the impurity binding the initiand.[12] The subject of *tattvadīkṣā* is taught in more detail in *BraYā* XXXVI, which bears this as its title.

BraYā XXXII hence does not give a full account of initiation. Indeed, it even lacks mention of "showing the maṇḍala" to the disciple (*maṇḍaladarśana*), an act so central that it is sometimes equated with initiation. This disjunct presentation of initation makes it difficult to determine precisely what ritual sequence was envisioned. The initiation maṇḍala itself is described in *BraYā* III, , the elaborate maṇḍala of "the great rite" (*mahāyāga*) mentioned above. In its closing section, this chapter also provides a brief description of aspects of initiation ritual, including preliminary worship and *maṇḍaladarśana*. In the latter sequence, the blindfolded disciple is made to cast a flower into the maṇḍala, the point on which it alights establishing his or her initiatory clan. A section of *BraYā* IV provides a concordance indicating which Mother-goddess clan an initiate belongs to depending upon where in the maṇḍala his or her flower lands.[13] This probably pertains to the initiands known as the *samayin* and *putraka;* a different concordance is provided in *BraYā* XXXIII, which applies to the *ācārya* and perhaps

---

evaṃ yo vetti deveśi sadāśivapade sthitam |
adhvānaṃ tu mahādevi sa dīkṣāṃ kartum arhati || 47 ||

deveśi] *corr.*; devesi $B_Y{}^a$ adhvānaṃ] *em.*; ādhvānan $B_Y{}^a$ dīkṣāṃ] *em.*; dīkṣā $B_Y{}^a$ arhati] *em.*; arhasi $B_Y{}^a$

"One who thus understands the *adhvan* situated at the level of Sadāśiva is fit to perform initiation."

BraYā XXXI.47.

[12] Note the initial instruction to the *ācārya*, *BraYā* XXXII.3cd–5:

paśuṃ pārsveṣu saṃsthāpya dakṣiṇenātmano budhaḥ || 3 ||
sahajāgantukānāṃ tu saṃsargīkānāṃ tathaiva hi |
paśos tu grahaṇaṃ kuryān nāḍiyojanapūrvakam || 4 ||

"An intelligent [*ācārya*] should situate the bound soul at his own side, to the right. He should then perform seizure of the innate, adventitious (*āgantuka*), and natural (*saṃsargika*) [karma], preceded by fusion of the [*ācārya*'s and initiand's] *nāḍī*s."

It seems *pārśveṣu* in 3c must be singular in meaning although plural in form. Compare for example the *Svāyambhusūtrasaṃgraha*, which describes the sixfold *dīkṣā* as accomplishing a series of transformations of *māyā*, primal matter, probably in the sense of *māyīyamala*, the impurity associated with *māyā*. This finds support in *Svacchandatantra* 4.80, according to which *adhvaśuddhi* accomplishes *pāśaccheda*, "severing of the fetters [of *mala*, impurity]," fetters elsewhere specified as *māyīya*, "belonging to *māyā*" (*Svacchandatantra* 4.129).

[13] *BraYā* IV.888–898, quoted in part in the introduction to chapter 2. Occurence of this material in *BraYā* IV seems curious given the chapter's focus upon ritual icons, and given that the immediate context is description of ritual bells (*ghaṇṭā*).

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sādhaka.[14]

A separate chapter, *BraYā* XXXVII, treats what it calls *samayīkaraṇa*, "the making of a Pledge-holder," suggestive of what other sources call *samayadīkṣā*.[15] Confusing matters, this is said to be a "procedure for *sādhaka*s,"[16] suggesting that it is instead *sādhakābhiṣeka*, the consecration which makes one a *sādhaka*. Included in this ritual is the initial initiatory "sprinkling" (*prokṣaṇa*) of the candidate, and the rite of the officiand placing his mantra-empowered hand upon him—here a *śaktihasta*, "*śakti*-hand," rather than the *śivahasta*, "Śiva-hand" mentioned in other layers of the tradition. These two acts normatively precede and follow *maṇḍaladarśana*, respectively.[17] It is possible that this chapter provides a brief outline of the combined *samayadīkṣā* and *sādhakābhiṣeka*, for the *sādhaka* is after all the primary practitioner to which the *BraYā* addresses itself. Neither this chapter nor *BraYā* XXXII provides an account of the initiatory Pledges (*samaya*s), which are not ennumerated until *BraYā* LXI and LXXXV. The lists of the latter two chapters are moreover discrepant. *BraYā* LXI, a long and remarkably self-contained chapter called the *sūtrādhikārapaṭala* ("chapter on who has entitlement to the teaching") or the *Tilaka*, opens with the "menstruating Great Goddess, Bhairavī," asking for a synopsis of "everything which has been said and not said."[18] In this chapter's eclectic discussion of food offerings (*caru*), magical pills (*guṭikā*), mantra, skulls, and much else, there occurs a list of Pledges (119cd–127). Entitled *samayādhikāra*, "the chapter on the Pledges," *BraYā* LXXXV also ennumerates Eight Pledges, and, furthermore, teaches *mantramayī dīkṣā*, the "initiation consisting of mantras." *Mantramayī dīkṣā* appears primarily to involve destroying the fetters

[14] The passage from *BraYā* IV is quoted in chapter 2 (n. 14), while an excerpt from the passage in *BraYā* XXXIII is quoted in chapter 4 (n. 82).

[15] This chapter calls its second subject *brahmāṇḍotkarṣaṇa*, "drawing down the cosmos." What this has to do with initiation is presently unclear to me. Curiously, in the colophon this chapter calls itself *tattvadīkṣāpaṭala*—the subject and title of *BraYā* XXXVIII—probably in error.

[16] Viz. 18ab, *sādhakasya samākhyāto vidhir esa mayā tava* ("this procedure I have taught you is for the *sādhaka*."

[17] Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Initiating the Monarch in Śaivism and the Buddhist Way of Mantras" (*forthcoming*).

[18] The opening half-*śloka* reads, *ṛtumatī mahādevī bhairavī vākyam abravīt*, while the final half-*śloka* of the goddess's question is, *uktānuktam aśeṣaṃ tu saṃgrahasthaṃ bravīhi me* (6ab).

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of impurity associated with the Course of Mantras (*mantrādhvan*), and ends with bestowal of the *sādhaka*-consecration.

Consecration (*abhiṣeka*) forms the subject of *BraYā* XXXIII's approximately four-hundred verses. In contrast to the preceding chapter on initiation, here the description of the ritual appears complete and self-contained. The ritual is structured along the lines of Śaiva initiation and involves *maṇḍaladarśana* ("viewing the maṇḍala"), in which the initiand is led blindfolded to the maṇḍala, made to cast a flower thereupon, and given a clan name accordingly; and the rite of "incubation,"[19] involving prognostication using a tooth-pick (*dantakāṣṭha*), and afterwards based upon the candidate's dreams. That the ritual described concerns the consecration of the officiant, *ācārya*, is made explicit through the nature of the Pledges taken, which include giving initiation and explaininng the scriptures.[20] The chapter ends with a description of ritual worship of the guru and bestowal of the sacredotal fee.

Mantrasaṃkalanavidhi, "the procedure for preparing the mantras," comprises the subject and title of *BraYā* XXXIV. This massive chapter outlines the tedious syllable-by-syllable sequence of mantra-incantation and fire-offerings by which an *ācārya* prepares or empowers the full pantheon of basic mantras.[21] *BraYā* XXXI, having the generic title *prakriyāpaṭala*, is connected to *dīkṣā* insofar as it describes the cosmological systems necessary for performance of the sixfold *adhva*-initiation.[22] It provides a detailed exposition of the hierarchy of worlds, *tattva*s, etc., including their presiding mantra-deities. These collectively comprise the *brahmāṇḍa* or universe. The chapter also describes the hierarchy of *rudra*s who lie beyond the *brahmāṇḍa*, bearing it (114–).

BraYā XXXV's stated title is *nāḍīsañcārapaṭala*, the "chapter on the movement of the

[19] This term has been adopted by Sanderson from scholarship on Greco-Roman religion, where it refers to "ritual sleep in a sanctuary in order to obtain a dream." Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Initiating the Monarch in Śaivism and the Buddhist Way of Mantras" (*forthcoming*), quoting Hornblower and Spawforth.

[20] *BraYā* XXXIII.350–363.

[21] That this material is directed toward the *ācārya* is clarified in the opening verse, which describes the *mantrasaṃkalanavidhi* as something "by the mere learning of which one is fit to perform initiation" (*yena vijñātamātreṇa dīkṣām vai karttum arhati, BraYā* XXXIV.1cd).

[22] See above (n. 11).

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nāḍīs," and it describes the movement of the supreme deity within the channels of the body. This chapter gives an exposition on the bodily channels and the principal goddesses which they embody, these forming a ninefold *cakra*. Its occurrence within the cluster of chapters pertaining to initiation perhaps has its basis in this knowledge being necessary for the *ācārya* to accomplish yogic fusion of the disciple's channels (*nāḍīsandhāna*), as well as the final act of linking the disciple to the supreme deity (*śivayojanikā*) after completing the initiation which purifies the *adhvan*s.[23]

CULT IMAGES (PRATIMĀ, LIṄGA)

Iconography, iconometry, and rituals involving images (*pratimākarma*) form the subjects of the *BraYā*'s massive fourth chapter. One of the most significant sections of the text, *BraYā* IV contains about a thousand verses on the subject of religious images (*pratimā*) and other ritual objects, including their rites of empowerment and worship. This unique iconometric and iconographic treatise merits extensive study in its own right. Characteristic of chapter four is its hierarchical classification of deities and their images as semi-divine (*divyādivya*), divine (*divya*), and supra-divine (*divyādhika*). In the semi-divine are included the Hundred Rudras, female spirits called *lāmā*s, and the demonic *rākṣasa*s. 'Divine' images comprise the sets of goddesses included in the *BraYā*'s maṇḍala—yoginīs, *guhyakā*s/*devī*s, *kiṅkarī*s/*dūtī*s, and the Mothers—as well as their male counterparts (*pati*, *vīra*), *rudra*s and *yoginī*s of the sacred fields, and *lokapāla*s. Also 'divine' are the *gaṇa*-lords Nandin and Mahākāla, and the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, deities who typically serve as guardians (*dvārapāla*) of a temple's sactum. In the category of supra-divine come the high deities: the supreme Śakti, Sadāśiva, the Three Śaktis (Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī), Śrīkaṇṭha, and Umāpati. The text contains detailed instructions concerning image measurement and iconography, rituals of image empowerment (*pratiṣṭhā*), the specifications and empowerment rituals for skull-bowls, skull-staves, rosaries, etc., and much else.

[23] On the processes of *nāḍīsandhāna* and *śivayojanikā*, see Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Royal Initiation" (*forthcoming*).

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Several other chapters contain material relevant to images and their ritual (*pratimākarma*). In particular, *BraYā* VI, a chapter of twenty-two verses, describes the icononography of the maṇḍala goddesses sculpted from "mud of the cremation ground" and inflected in various ways according to each of the nine pantheon configurations (*navayāga*) and the magical results sought. Specifications and empowerment rites for *liṅga*s and their pedestals (*pīṭha*) are taught in *BraYā* LXXXVI, the *liṅgalakṣaṇādhikāra*, "chapter on the characteristics of *liṅga*s." These are threefold: manifest (*vyakta*) *liṅga*s, hidden/unmanifest (*avyakta*), and manifest-cum-unmanifest (*vyaktāvyakta*), the latter being comprised of *liṅga*s with sculpted faces (*mukhaliṅga*s). Somewhat detailed iconometric and iconographic details are provided. This chapter, moreover, seems to be the only one expressedly concerned with temples, although the Goddess's request to learn the characteristics of temples (*prāsādalakṣaṇa*) meets with disappointingly little detail. *BraYā* XCIII discusses moveable *liṅga*s for private use in the context of *sādhakacaryā*, "ritual conduct of the *sādhaka*."

4.2 STRUCTURE AND TEXTUAL STRATA

In the form transmitted, the *BraYā* contains several sectional divisions, but their demarcation is in part problematic. The opening verses of chapter fifty announce a new section of the text. This passage recapitulates the subjects of several earlier chapters, after which the Goddess poses a new set of questions; these new questions in turn presage the subjects of many subsequent chapters, up to and including *BraYā* LXXXII. Chapter fifty's introduction also appears to refer to the *BraYā* as twofold, although not unambiguously, and it might use the term *ṣaṭka* ("sextet") to refer to its two halves—presumably designated thus because of consisting of six-thousand verses, in principle.[24] In this respect, the *BraYā* might have served as model for the

[24] *BraYā* L.1–6ab:

devy uvāca ||
śrutaṃ dvādaśasāhasram evaṃ tu dviguṇaṃ vibho |
yantramantrasamopetaṃ karmaiś ca bahubhiś citam || 1 ||
sādhanārādhanair yuktaṃ mudrāmantrasamanvitam |

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Jayadrathayāmala, a text organized into four *ṣaṭka*s.

The second major section of the *BraYā* therefore commences with chapter fifty. This marks the halfway-point chapter-wise, yet in verse count is approximately two-thirds into the text. Virtually all integral facets of the *BraYā* and its ritual systems are taught within the first forty-nine chapters, from the primary mantra systems to initiation and consecration. On the other hand, the section beginning with chapter fifty—the second *ṣaṭka*?—has a miscellaneous character, containing a large number of short, often untitled chapters, as well as quasi-independent texts of the *kalpa* genre devoted to deities often marginal to the *BraYā*'s basic mantra system. It nonetheless contains some material of significance to the whole, whether or not belonging to the text in its earliest form, such as discussions of the meanings of the titles *"Brahmayāmala"* and *"Picumata."*[25] Adding to the impression of its second half having disparate content, the *BraYā* contains two further sections, the contents of which are not intimated in the introduction to *BraYā* L: with chapter eighty-four, apparently, begins the *Uttarādhikāra* ("Addendum Section") or *Uttaratantra* ("Addendum Tantra"), and this is followed, from chapter eighty-eight, by the *Uttarottaratantra* ("Latter Adden-

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karmaiś ca vividhākāraiḥ sadyapratyayakārakaiḥ || 2 ||
śrutaṃ bhagavatā pūrvaṃ mantraṃ mataprakāśakam |
navātmakavidhānañ ca navayāgasamanvitam || 3 ||
mudrāmaṇḍalamantraiś ca vratacaryāsamanvitam |
sādhanārādhanair yuktaṃ nānāguṇa-m-alaṃkṛtam || 4 ||
nikhilañ ca śrutaṃ śambho tatra karmāṇy anekaśaḥ |
idānīṃ daśasāhasre dvibhiś caraṇasaṃyutaiḥ || 5 ||
ṣaṭke tu prathame deva khyātaṃ karmasahasrakam |
khecarīṇāñ ca sarvāsāṃ bhūcarīṇāñ ca sādhanam || 6 ||
pratimālakṣaṇaṃ nātha pratiṣṭhā tadanantaram |
kalpasādhanakarmañ ca nānāvastusamanvitam || 7 ||

1a °sāhasram] *corr.*; °sāhasraṃm Bʏ^{a} 2a °rādhanair] *corr.*; °rādhanaiḥ Bʏ^{a} yuktaṃ] *em.*; yukta Bʏ^{a} 4c yuktaṃ] *em.*; yuktā Bʏ^{a} 5a idānīṃ] *em.*; idānī Bʏ^{a} 5b karmāṇy] *em.*; karmāny Bʏ^{a} anekaśaḥ] *conj.*; ake[tama?] Bʏ^{a} 6a prathame] *conj.*; prathamaṃ Bʏ^{a} 6c sarvāsāṃ] *em.*; sarvvāsā Bʏ^{a}

1ab refers to the *Dvādaśasāhasra* (a titular epithet of the *BraYā* meaning "The Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses"—on which see chapter 5) as being *dviguṇa*, presumably in the sense of "twofold." The possibility of this passage using the term *ṣaṭka* to refer to these two divisions depends upon the emendation of *prathamaṃ* to *prathame* in 6a; but an adverbial *prathamam* ("first") might be possible. What follows this is an index of subjects that appear already to have been covered, such as *pratimālakṣaṇa* (*BraYā* IV) and worship of the *khecarīcakra* (*BraYā* XIV).

[25] See the first two sections of chapter 5 of the present thesis.

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dum Tantra"). Of all the material in the *BraYā*, this arouses the greatest suspicion of being a subsequent addition. In the opening of *BraYā* LXXXIV, the Goddess restates the subjects of several preceding chapters of the second *ṣaṭka*. She then poses questions that seem to intimate content from a number of remaining chapters, including material from both the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantra*s.[26] This suggests that the latter two sections were composed as a single unit.

The basic structure of the *BraYā* thus appears threefold or fourfold: 1) the first forty-nine chapters; 2) the section from chapter fifty to eighty-three, which includes, for instance, *kalpa*-texts of particular deities, chapters closely connected with the cult of yoginīs, and discussions of the text's titles; 3) the *Uttaratantra* of chapters LXXXIV–LXXXVI; and 4), the *Uttarottaratantra*, chapters LXXXVII–CI, these latter two sections being closely connected. It is possible that the first section was considered to constitute the first *ṣaṭka*, the second *ṣaṭka* comprising section two, or else the final three sections together. However, complicating the question of the *BraYā*'s structure, the closing verses of its final chapter make the additional claim that the text consists of five "*sūtra*s."[27] One might expect these to be sections of the text, for the division into books called *sūtra*s has precedent in the ancient *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, which consists of a *Mūlasūtra*, *Uttarasūtra*, *Nayasūtra*, and *Guhyasūtra*, prefaced by a fifth section, the *Mukhāgama*. Each of these contains multiple chapters. In addition, the *Niśvāsakārikā*,

[26] In particular, note the reference to "the conduct of *sādhaka*s" (*sādhakānāṃ vṛttaṃ*, in 7a) in the list of future topics, which appears to intimate chapters XCI–XCIV. This passage is quoted below (n. 32).

[27] *BraYā* CI.31–32:

> *brahmayāmalatantredaṃ lakṣapādādhikāgatam |*
> *śatakoṭyujjvalāt tantrāt sārāt sāratarottaram || 31 ||*
> *sthitaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃ pañcasūtrojjvalaṃ matam |*
> *mayā te kathitam bhadre bhadrasiddhipradāyakam || 32 ||*
>
> 31b °pādādhikāgatam] *em.*; °pādādhikāṃ gataṃ BY^{a}; °pādādhikāṃśataḥ *conj.* Sanderson 31c °koṭyujjvalāt] *em.* Sanderson; °koṭyajvalā BY^{a}
>
> "O good woman, I have taught you the *Brahmayāmalatantra*, which grants felicitous *siddhi*s, and emerged from the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-Thousand*. The *Tantra of Twelve-Thousand* exists (*sthita*) as the highest essence of essences from the Tantra endowed with a billion [verses]. It is held to be endowed with five *sūtra*s."

The emendation *lakṣapādādhikāgatam* is supported by the colophon of the *Matasāra* quoted in chapter 5 (n. 140). Alexis Sanderson's edition of these verses has been published in Dominic Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra. Vol. 1: Chapters 1–6*, lxxiii–iv.

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which appears to belong to a somewhat later period, posits itself as the fifth *sūtra* of the *Niśvāsa*.[28]

How precisely the hundred and one chapters of the *BraYā* could be divided into five sections called *sūtra*s is never explicated. The text nonetheless contains several other nebulous references to containing or consisting of *sūtra*s,[29] and even refers to specific sections of the text as such. For instance, the terms *mūlasūtra* and *pūrvasūtra* occur throughout the *BraYā*; yet it is not entirely clear what either refers to. The latter occurs particularly in the fixed expression *pūrvasūtreṇa coditam*, which appears simply to mean "stated previously."[30] On the other hand, *mūlasūtra* might refer to a specific section of the text—presumably at least the first forty-nine chapters—but nothing in the *BraYā* identifies itself as such explicitly.[31] In *BraYā* LXXXIV, the beginning of the *Uttaratantra*, the Goddess asks to hear the "definitive judgment on the Root *Tantra*" (*mūlatantravinirṇaya*); recapitulating the subjects of much of what precedes, this passage appears to contrast a "*mūlasūtra* section" (=*mūlatantra*?), *uttara[sūtra]*, *vinaya[sūtra]*, and *saṅgrahasūtra*—although the *uttara* and *vinaya* sections might be identical.[32] It seems possible that the *vinayasūtra* is *BraYā* LXII, for this chapter once

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[28] See Sanderson, "The Lākulas: New Evidence of a System Intermediate between Pāñcārthika Pāśupatism and Āgamic Śaivism," 152–53.

[29] Note e.g. *BraYā* LIX.77:

> *ucchuṣmasambhavaṃ tantraṃ devyaś cocchuṣmasambhavāḥ |*
> *tvayoktaṃ tu mahādeva sūtrādibhi maheśvara || 77 ||*
>
> devyaś] *conj.*; devyā BY^a
>
> "O Mahādeva, through *sūtra*s and so forth, you have taught the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava, and the goddesses arising from Ucchuṣmabhairava, O Maheśvara."

Neither *sūtra* nor *ādi* ("etc.") is clear in meaning here.

[30] Note for instance the opening verse of *BraYā* XIII:

> *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi pūrvasūtreṇa coditāḥ |*
> *navayāgā mahādevi tan me nigadataḥ śṛṇu || 1 ||*
>
> coditāḥ] *em.*; coditā BY^a nigadataḥ] *em.*; nigaditaḥ BY^a
>
> "Hereafter, I shall teach the Nine Pantheons indicated previously [lit. 'revealed with/by a previous thread' (*pūrvasūtreṇa coditāḥ*)], O Great Goddess; listen while I explain this."

The Nine Pantheons—the subject of the chapter quoted—were listed without elaboration in *BraYā* III.2–4, to which the present verse probably refers.

[31] Problematizing the possibility that *mūlasūtra* refers to the first fifty-odd chapters, the phrase *mūlasūtreṇa coditaṃ* also occurs in *BraYā* XXXIII (77b); though unclear, this might mean "taught [previously] in/with the root (*mūla*) section/thread."

[32] *BraYā* LXXXIV.1–11:

> *devy uvāca ||*

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appears to call itself "the *vinaya.*"[33] As for the *saṅgrahasūtra,* this is undoubtedly *BraYā* LXI, a remarkably self-contained treatise called the *Tilaka* (discussed below). By *Uttarasūtra,* in contrast, the redactors presumably had in mind the *Uttara-* and perhaps *Uttarottaratantra*s.

While the *BraYā* certainly contains multiple sections, the notion that it consists of *sūtra*s appears contrived, and perhaps belongs to a late phase of its redaction. Indeed, the principal references to the *BraYā* consisting of *sūtra*s belong to the concluding sections of the text, probably its final textual stratum: *BraYā* LXXXIV, of the *Uttaratantra;* and CI of the *Uttarottaratantra.* Two factors might have contributed to this conception: a smattering of vague references in the text to *sūtra*s, and the *sūtra* model of the *Niśvāsa* corpus. The latter could have stimulated some redactors to an unlikely interpretation of the former. In turn, the statement in *BraYā* CI that the text consists of five *sūtra*s appears to have stimulated further speculation within the tradition, for such is evident in the *Jayadrathayāmala.* As Sanderson notes, chapter forty-four of the latter's first *ṣaṭka,* called the *Brahmayāmalanirṇaya* ("A Definitive Judgment on

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mūlasūtravibhāgan tu uttaraṃ vinayātmakam |
kalpaskandhavidhānan tu śāsanan tu yathā sthitam || 1 ||
kathitaṃ saṅgrahaṃ sūtraṃ kulakālaṛtūjvalam |
mahāmaṇḍalayāgan tu tantre smiṅ kathitaṃ tvayā || 2 ||
vaśuyogavi[vikt] ˉ ˘ / ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˉ ˉ ˘ ˘|
˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˘ ˉ ˉ (hi?) tantre ['ṃ]smiṅ cottare vibho || 3 ||
viśvacakrasuśobhāḍhyañ cārodayasamanvitam |
yogimātṛgaṇopetaṃ yāgañ ca picusambhavam || 4 ||
mantroddhāraṅ ca deveśa sarvvāvaraṇasaṃyutam |
saṃkṣiptatarayogena yogasadbhāvalakṣaṇam || 5 ||
saṅgrahārthavibhāgena samayā ye viśeṣagā |
caravas tu yathā proktā ṛtujaṃ kusumāmṛtam || 6 ||
sādhakānān tathā vṛttañ ca(ṣ - ā?)sthā ṣaṭkasādhanam |
dīkṣāśeṣavidhānan tu sarvvatomukham eva ca || 7 ||
yāgakṣettreśvarāṇāṅ ca navayāgarasādhanam |
samastaikatra yogena mūlatantravinirṇṇayam || 8 ||
kathayasva prasādena uktānuktañ ca me prabho |
bhairava uvāca ||
mūlasūtrādikānān tu kramaṃ sādhanalakṣaṇam || 9 ||
durlabhaṃ ttriṣu +lokeṣu+ samayācārapālanam |
yāgaṃ vidhis tathā jñānañ cakraṃ yogañ ca sobhanam || 10 ||
kathayāmi mahādevi yat tvayā coditaṃ balam |

The text and interpretation of this passage—presented "as is" in Bʏ[a], the oldest codex—are doubtful in several instances.

[33] *BraYā* LXII 64d, *vinaye 'smiṃ mahātmane.*

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the *Brahmayāmala*"), claims that texts of the *Brahmayāmala* cycle contain five *sūtra*s: a *mūla-*, *guhya-*, *naya-*, *uttara-*, and *uttarottarasūtra*.[34] This appears to be an attempt to reconcile several things: the claim that the *BraYā* consists of five *sūtra*s, the five-*sūtra* model of the *Niśvāsa* corpus, and the actual sectional divisions of the *BraYā*—for unlike the *Niśvāsa*, the *BraYā* possesses both an *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantra/sūtra*. It is possible that the *BraYā*'s *vinaya* section was considered analogous to the *Niśvāsa*'s *Nayasūtra*. The *Jayadrathayāmala* does not, however, speak of the *BraYā*'s *sūtra*s strictly as sections: on the contrary, it describes the *mūlasūtra*, for instance, as the words *"athātaḥ,"* with which begin many of the *BraYā*'s chapters and sections, while the *guhyasūtra* is said to consist of teachings on secret matters, such as the yogic body's channels and the clans of yoginīs.[35]

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[34] Concerning the *BraYā*'s purported division into *sūtra*s, and the elaboration of this in the *Jayadrathayāmala*, Sanderson expresses the following opinion: "in the case of the BY the schema of the five sūtras has nothing to do with the sequence of sections seen in the Niśvāsa. For it has no sequential divisions other than its paṭalas. It seems, therefore, that the JY understands the sūtras to be five classes of teaching within the otherwise unitary Tantra, in the same way that it claims to have four Pādas, though it lacks a corresponding division into a sequence of four parts bearing their names." Quoted in Goodall (Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary), lxxiii–iv. This assessment of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s understanding of the *BraYā*'s *sūtra*s seems convincing; note however that the *BraYā* does contain several divisions, beyond its division into chapters.

[35] *Jayadrathayāmala* 1.44 (folio unnumbered):

> *athātaḥ śabdamūlaṃ tu sarvatantrārthasūcakam |*
> *tat mūlaṃ svalpasūtraṃ ca guhyaṃ guhyavivecakam |*
> *nirācārāvadhūtārthaṃ nāḍīnāḍigatiḥ kramāt |*
> *bindubījakalāyoganavayāgavivecakam |*
> *mantrajīvāmṛtākarṣayoginīkulakīrttitam |*
> *guhyasūtraṃ tad uddiṣṭaṃ bāhyādhyātmārthavācakam |*
>
> °gatiḥ kramāt] *em.*; °gatikramāt *cod.* °navayāga°] *em.*; °vayāga° *cod.*
>
> "*athātaḥ* is the root of speech, indicating the meaning of all *tantra*s; and it is the very pithy *mūlasūtra*. *Guhya* indicates secrets: the meanings of "beyond regulations" (*nirācāra*) and "immaculate" (*avadhūta*), the channels [of the subtle body] and movements of the channels, in sequence; it [also] indicates *bindu*, *bīja*-mantras, the *kalā*s, yoga, and the Nine Pantheons; [it is that] by which are proclaimed mantra, extraction of the nectar of living beings, and the clans of yoginīs. This is called *'Guhyasūtra,'* expressing [both] external and internal meanings."

This chapter of the *Jayadrathayāmala* makes the additional claim that the *BraYā* contains seven *sūtra*s, from which derive eight *Matatantra*s:

> *brahmayāmalam etad dhi sūtrair bhinnaṃ tu saptabhiḥ |*
> *saptamaṃ ca dvidhā bhinnaṃ ato jñeyaṃ matāṣṭakam |*
>
> "For the *Brahmayāmala* is divided according to seven *sūtra*s, and the seventh is divided in two; because of this the *Matatantra*s are known as an octad."

Codex of Viśvabhāratī University (Manuscript Division, Department of Sanskrit). This is a Devanāgarī-script paper manuscript of Nepalese provenance, written on twenty-six folios and containing chapters

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The evidence reviewed above concerning the structure of the *BraYā* provides some indications that this heterogenous text incorporated new material over time. In addition, a number of discrepencies in the *BraYā*'s content suggest redactional discontinuity. One of these, mentioned in the discussion of the *BraYā* and *Laghuśaṃvara* in the previous chapter, concerns typologies of the *sādhaka*: while a threefold classification of the *sādhaka* is presupposed in the earlier chapters, especially XXIV–XLV, the *Addendum Tantra*s explicate a fourfold typology that appears to be a subsequent innovation.[36] Less suggestive of historical development, other disparities nonetheless point toward heterogeneity. For instance, the *BraYā* has two chapters treating the subject of *chommā* or secret signs: LV and LXXIII. Striking is the lack of relationship between these chapters, which overlap in context and many particulars, but provide no clear indications of belonging to the same system.[37] This sort of heterogeneity could point toward redactional discontinuity, but it might also reflect the disparate sources drawn upon by the *BraYā*'s redactors.

Significant to the question of the *BraYā*'s stratification is the conception of it containing twelve-thousand verses—hence its epithet, *Dvādaśasāhasra[ka]*, "The Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses." References to this conception of the *BraYā*'s length are absent from chapters II–XLIX, aside from colophons, and it is conceivable that this notion of the text's size does not belong to its earliest textual stratum. The text as we have it consists of upwards of thirteen-thousand verses,[38] fewer than eight-thousand of which belong to the first forty-nine chapters. This suggests that the notion of the text consisting of 12,000 verses is unlikely to predate some or most of the chapters from fifty onwards. On the other hand, the brevity of the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottara-*

35–42 of *Jayadrathayāmala*, *ṣaṭka* I. Cf. the discussion of the Viśvabhāratī codex of the *BraYā*, in the introduction to part II.

[36] The closing verses of *BraYā* LXXIV first intimate the fourfold typology of the *sādhaka* explicated in the *Addendum Tantras*, for here the practitioners called the *ārādhaka* and *sarvātman* are first mentioned (*ārādhakas tu deveśe sarvaiḥ sarvātmaka[ḥ] smṛtaḥ*, 211ab).

[37] In particular, note that LV.101–37 and LXXIII.16–40 overlap considerably; the *chommā*s of these sections often involve similar secret signs made in similar contexts, for which distinct ritual meanings are nonetheless provided.

[38] See chapter 5, section 5.

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*tantra*s—eighteen chapters, but only sixteen-hundred odd verses—in no way rules out the possibility that these were added subsequently.

As mentioned, several chapters of the second half of the *BraYā*, from chapter fifty, appear remarkably self-contained. This is in part because a number belong to the *kalpa* genre: treatises setting out the practices of mantra-propitiation connected with a particular deity. However, at least two chapters arouse the suspicion of being independent *tantra*s subsequently redacted into the *BraYā*—a phenomenon attested, for instance, in the case of the *Jayadrathayāmala*.[39] Two chapters in question are *BraYā* LXI, the *Tilaka[tantra]*; and *BraYā* LXXXII, the *Utphullakamata*, the titles of which match texts quoted by Abhinavagupta. The *Utphullakamata*, *Utphullakatantra*, or *Utphullādhikāra*,[40] a chapter of roughly 195 verses, teaches practices connected with the deity Utphullakabhairava and the nine-syllable *utphullakamantra*. A text by the name *Utphullakamata* is listed in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* as the seventh of eight *matatantra*s.[41] Abhinavagupta unfortunately provides too little information concerning the *Utphullatantra* he cites to link it with *BraYā* LXXXII.[42] Sanderson suggests the intriguing possibility that this chapter has been derived from an independent *tantra* of this name.[43] Indeed, the *Utphullakamata*'s elaborate "Maṇḍala of the Nine-syllable Mantra" (*navātmaka cakra*) contains astrological elements unique in maṇḍalas of the *BraYā*.[44] At the same time, the chapter in the form transmitted clearly identifies itself

[39] See chapter 3, n. 180.

[40] The title *Utphullakamata* is first intimated in *BraYā* L, in its list of subsequent chapter subjects; two references to this title occur within the chapter (11d and 17b). In addition, the chapter calls itself the *Utphullakatantra* in its opening verse (*ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi tantraṃm utphul[lu]kaṃ param*, 1ab), while its colophon gives the name *Utphullādhikāra*.

[41] *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*, as quoted by Jayaratha, commenting on *Tantrāloka* 1.18. The verses listing the eight *matatantra*s appear absent from the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* manuscript transcription provided in Hanneder, *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation*. Incidentally, heading this list is the *Raktāmata*, named after the first of the Four Devīs in the maṇḍala of the *BraYā*'s Kapālīśabhairava.

[42] In *Tantrāloka* 29.166a, Abhinavagupta cites the *Utphulla*, identified by the commentator as the *Utphullakamata*, alongside yoginī cult scriptures such as the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (assuming this is the referrent of *Śrīsiddhā*) and the lost *Nirmaryādatantra* ("The Tantra of No Constraints"). He cites these as sources for the erotic *ādiyāga* ("primordial rite") expounded in this chapter of the *Tantrāloka*. There does not appear to be a link between the *BraYā*'s *Utphullakamata* and a ritual of this type, however.

[43] Sanderson, handout from an unpublished lecture, "Kālīkula: Abhinavagupta and the Krama-system in the Light of a Newly Discovered Corpus" (Hamburg University, 1981).

[44] This elaborate *cakra*, based upon Utphullakabhrairava in a circle of four *devī*s and four *dūtī*s—hence mirroring Kapālīśa's maṇḍala—includes (alphabetical representations of) the signs of the zodiac (*rāśi*),

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as a section of the *BraYā*,[45] suggesting a potentially complex history.

Chapter sixty-one of the *BraYā* possesses several titles: *Tilaka* (perhaps, "[*Tantra*] of the [Magical] Bindi"?),[46] *Sūtrādhikārapaṭala*, *Saṅgrahatantra*, and *Saṅgrahasūtra*.[47] About two-hundred and seventy-five verses long, this chapter claims to be the essence (*sāra*) of the *Picumata/Brahmayāmala*,[48] while nonetheless introducing novel mate-

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calendrical dates (*tithi*), constellations (*nakṣattra*), and planetary conjunctions (*yoga*).

[45] Reference to "the *Brahmayāmala*" occurs, for instance, in 101cd (*lakṣapādādhike khyātaṃ viśeṣād brahmayāmale*).

[46] The contextual significance of this title word is unclear. The application of magical bindis (*tilaka*) is the focus of only one brief section of the chapter (237cd–49), which might nonetheless be the source of its name. Less probable, the title could be connected to the term *tilakā*, used as an epithet of the supreme Śakti in another chapter, *BraYā* LVII.12 (*tilakākhyā mahāśakti jñānarūpā manonmanī | sā śivā śivasaṃyuktā aghorī ghoranāśanī*). *Tilaka* might simply be intended in the sense of "decorative forehead dot" (bindi)—the chapter therefore being a "decorative ornament" to the *BraYā*, which it claims to synthesize. Cf. the title *Śāradātilaka[tantra]*—"The Ornament of Sarasvatī Tantra."

[47] The title "*Sūtrādhikārapaṭala*" is given in the chapter colophon, while "*Saṅgrahatantra*" occurs in 145ab (*tad atra saṃgrahe tantre saṃkṣiptara ucyate*). In a synopsis in the opening verses of *BraYā* LXXXIV, this material is referred to as the "*Saṅgrahasūtra*" (*kathitaṃ saṅgrahaṃ sūtraṃ*, 2a).

[48] See for instance *BraYā* LXI.6–9ab:

> *bhairava uvāca* ||
> *sādhu sādhu mahābhāge jñānavijñānasampadam* |
> *saṃgrahārthaviśeṣaṃ tu kathayāmi tavākhilam* || *6* ||
> *jñāte picumate tantre daśa dve ca sahasrake* |
> *tatra sthitam mahādevi śaktijñānamahodayam* || *7* ||
> *tantrasya sārabhūtaṃ tu tad atra tilakaṃ matam* |
> *ye na jānanti tantrajñās te bhramanti viḍambakāḥ* || *8* ||
> *kāryasiddhiṃ na paśyanti na ca yānti parāṃ gatim* |
>
> 6b °sampadam] *em.*; °sampado BY^a 7c sthitaṃ] *em.*; sthita BY^a
>
> "Bhairava spoke: 'Excellent, O fortunate woman, excellent. I shall teach you ('?) a particular digest treatise (*saṅgrahārtha* ?) in its entirety, replete with wisdom and knowledge. After the *Picumatatantra* has been learnt, the *Tantra of Twelve-Thousand [Verses]*, therein lies a treasure of knowledge of the Śakti, O Great Goddess, the essence of the *tantra*—known here as this *Tilaka*. Those who do not know [this] wander about as impostors, [even if they] know [other] *tantra*s. They do not see the fruition of their rites, nor do they attain to the highest destination'."

(On the possible use of the term *artha* as "treatise" or *tantra*, see the annotation to the translation of *BraYā* 1.65.) Compare also verses 250–51:

> *jñātvā picumataṃ tantraṃ tilakaṃ cāpy apaścimam* |
> *palālam iva dhānyārthī tyajet mantrān aśeṣataḥ* || *250* ||
> *mūlatantrārthasadbhāvaṃ samastīkṛtalakṣaṇam* |
> *saṃkṣepavistaraṃ jñātvā tato mantrī prasidhyati* || *251* ||
>
> 250d mantrān] *em.*; mantrām BY^a 251a °sadbhāvaṃ] *conj.*; °sa - - BY^a
>
> "After learning the *Picumatatantra*, and the *Tilaka* as well, (¿) which has nothing afterwards (*apaścimam*) (?), one should give up [all other] mantras without exception, like a vegetarian [would give up] meat. After learning the essence of the meaning of the Root Tantra, with [all] its characteristics brought together, both in abbreviation and at length, the *mantrin* then attains *siddhi*."

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rial.[49] The Goddess opens her questions asserting that she has already heard the *Yāmalatantra*,[50] while other passages too draw a distinction between the *Tilaka* and the *Picumata* or *BraYā*, clear indications of the independence of this section.[51] Consistant with its self-identification as the "essence" (*sāra*) and "digest" (*saṅgraha*) of the *BraYā*, the *Tilaka* has the appearance of a self-contained treatise, containing concise accounts of topics spanning initiation, the Pledges, a mantra-system (*mantroddhāra*) and its associated maṇḍala and worship, substances and objects used in ritual, yoga, and more. Regardless of whether it was originally written as "part" of the *BraYā*, the *Tilaka* is deeply anchored in this tradition, as is illustrated by its focus upon several characteristic topics, such as the Nine Pantheons and the *smaraṇa*-mantra.[52] It is possible that the *Tilaka* had an independent life; however, there is insufficient evidence for identifying it with the *Śrītilakaśāstra* cited by Abhinavagupta.[53] A *Tilakatantra*

[49] A striking example is the introduction of the *navātmamantra*, a ninefold mantra-pantheon characteristic of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, which *BraYā* LXI appears directly or indirectly to draw upon. See the discussion in section 3 of this chapter.

[50] *BraYā* LXI.1abc: *ṛtumatī mahādevī bhairavī vākyam abravīt | prāk srutvā yāmalaṃ tantraṃ* ("The menstruating Great Goddess, Bhairavī, spoke the following words: 'having earlier heard the *Yāmalatantra*, ...' ").

[51] See verses 7–8 and 250, quoted above (n. 48), and 35:

> *naimittike ca deveśe caravo yāgasaṅgatāḥ |*
> *yāmale tu purā siddhā[s] tilake prakaṭīkṛtāḥ || 35 ||*
> "And the food offerings connected with the [Nine] Pantheons in the occasional rites, established earlier in the *Yāmalatantra*, have been made explicit [here] in the *Tilaka*."

[52] On the Nine Yāgas, see the previous section of this chapter; on the *smaraṇa*-mantra (HŪṂ), see section 3 of chapter 5.

[53] In the *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa*, Abhinavagupta attributes to the *Śrītilakaśāstra* and the *Śrībhargaśikhā* the idea that assiduous practice of the "nondual" rites of heroes causes one's *glāni* ("lassitude, inhibition"?) to vanish suddenly, effecting the merger of individual identity (*āveśa*) into the heart of Bhairava. After quoting the *pratīka* of *Spandakārikā* 3.8 (*glānir vilumpikā dehe*), he remarks, *seyaṃ yadā jhaṭiti vigalitā bhavati tadā nirastapāśavayantraṇākalaṅko bhairavahṛdayānupraviṣṭo bhavatīti sarvathaitadabhyāse yatitavyam | śrītilakaśāstre 'yaṃ bhāvaḥ | śrībhargaśikhāyām api uktam* ("when this very [*glāni*] suddenly dissolves, then, being one who has cast off the blemish that is the bound soul's affliction, he becomes merged into the heart of Bhairava. One must hence in every respect endeavor in this practice [of the *ādiyāga*]. This idea is present in the *Śrītilakaśāstra*; this is also stated in the *Śrībhargaśikhā*"). From the commentary on *Parātriṃśikā* 9cd–18ab (p. 235). *BraYā* LXI enjoins one to perform ritual with a "nondual" mental disposition, but no particular statement correlates closely with the idea and phrasing Abhinavagupta attributes to the *Tilakatantra*. Note for instance *BraYā* LXI.26-27ab:

> *kulasiddhiprasidhyarthaṃ devīnāṃ agrataḥ sthitaḥ |*
> *advaitabhāvasampannaś carukarmaṇy aśaṅkitaḥ || 26 ||*
> *tena prāśitamātreṇa khecarīsiddhim āpnuyāt |*
>
> 26b agrataḥ] *corr.*; agrata $B_Y{}^a$ °sampannaś] *em.*; °sampanna $B_Y{}^a$ 26d karmaṇy] *em.*; karmaṃny $B_Y{}^a$ aśaṅkitaḥ] *corr.*; asaṃkitaḥ $B_Y{}^a$ 27a prāśita°] prāsita° $B_Y{}^a$

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in fact figures in lists of scriptures in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā*, suggesting that there might have existed an ancient scripture by this title distinct from the *BraYā*.[54]

Evidence for the independent existence of the *BraYā*'s *Utphullakamata* and *Tilaka* is hence inconclusive, and it cannot be said with certainty that the *BraYā* incorporated previously independent treatises. Another chapter too—*BraYā* LIV, the *Mahākālamata*—possesses a title matching a scripture early enough to be mentioned by Bāṇa;[55] but in this case as well, the grounds are insufficient for linking the texts. Nevertheless, internal evidence from the *Tilaka* chapter, in particular, suggests that new material was added in the course of the *BraYā*'s transmission, and other chapters from this portion of the *BraYā* merit similar suspicion.

Altogether, the *BraYā* has the appearance of a layered and composite text, the production of which involved multiple individuals potentially separated in time and place. Nonetheless, while its language is utterly non-classical, it appears consistently so, betraying no obvious linguistic or stylistic discrepancies from section to section.[56] This relative stylistic uniformity might point toward production within a single textual community, our understanding of the geographic, social, and chronological parameters of which remains nebulous. Simplistic as it may seem to suggest that its primary sections represent consecutive strata in its development, this possibility appears to have merit, particularly in the case of the *Addendum Tantra*s. As a working hypothesis, I would suggest that the core of the old text consists of much or most of *BraYā* I–XLIX, to which, in the next stage, material from chapters L–LXXXIII

> "For the sake of attaining the clan *siddhi*s, [one should remain] standing before the goddesses, having reached a state of nonduality, without apprehension about the rites with [impure] gruel; by the mere consumption of this, one would obtain the *siddhi* of the flying yoginīs (*khecarī*)."

[54] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.16d, and *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* 223, 245–246 (numbering as per the manuscript transcription in Jürgen Hanneder, *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation: An Edition and Annotated Translation of Mālinīślokavārttika I, 1-399*); the latter two lacunose verses refer to a *Vidyātilaka* and *Bhairavatilaka*, suggesting that *tilakatantra*s comprised a scriptural genre, like the *yāmala*s or *mata*s.

[55] See the discussion of Bāṇa in chapter 2, section 3.

[56] On the language of the text, see the remarks in the next section, and particularly the annotation to the critical edition in part II.

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was incorporated. The final stage of redaction is probably represented by the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*, chapters LXXXIV–CI.

4.3 ON THE PROVENANCE OF THE BRAHMAYĀMALA

DATING

Nothing I am presently aware of makes it possible to date the *BraYā* with precision. A variety of factors, however, points towards the sixth to eighth centuries as the period within it would most plausibly have been composed. Quotations of the *BraYā* in the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta, who flourished in the decades before and after the turn of the eleventh century, establish the existence of the text by this period, at the very latest. The distribution of Abhinavagupta's citations, which are drawn from most sections of the *BraYā*, suggests that he knew the text in a form close to that preserved in the Nepalese manuscripts.[57] The oldest of these was in any case copied not long

[57] Abhinavagupta cites the *BraYā* fifteen times in the *Tantrāloka*; precise references are provided in the next chapter (nn. 1–2). In what follows, several of the passages he makes reference to are identified, instances spanning chapters IV, XXI, XLIV, LV, and (probably) LXXXIV of the *BraYā*:

1. In *Tantrāloka* 27.21–23ab, Abhinavagupta paraphrases *BraYā* IV.308–15; *Tantrāloka* 27.22ab is in fact a direct quotation of IV.308ab. In the KSTS edition, *Tantrāloka* 27.22ab reads, *tūre yogaḥ sadā śastaḥ siddhido doṣavarjite; yogaḥ* is however certainly a corruption of *yāgaḥ*. Codex By^{a} of the *BraYā* reads *tūre yāgaṃ sadā sastaṃ siddhidāṃ doṣavarjitaḥ*. The original text was perhaps *tūre yāgaṃ sadā śastaṃ siddhidam doṣavarjite*, and Abhinavagupta thus appears to have corrected the gender of *yāga* from neuter to masculine. In addition, Abhinavagupta refers in 27.29 to a typology of ritual skulls, for which the source is *BraYā* IV.747–55—from a section on the subject of "the characteristics of skulls" (*kapālalakṣaṇa*).

2. *Tantrāloka* 4.55cd–65 makes reference to both *BraYā* XXI and LV, closely paraphrasing a passage from the latter (see below). The relevant passage from *BraYā* XXI concerns the observance (*vrata*) connected with the goddess Raktā, i.e. the *raktāvrata*. Abhinavagupta draws on this in advancing the idea of "self-consecration" (*ātmābhiṣeka*), closely paraphrasing *BraYā* XXI.69cd–70ab. Note the text of *Tantrāloka* 4.63cd–65:

> *tatraiva ca punaḥ śrīmadraktārādhanakarmaṇi* || 63 ||
> *vidhiṃ proktaṃ sadā kurvan māsenācārya ucyate* |
> *pakṣeṇa sādhako 'rdhārdhāt putrakaḥ samayī tathā* || 64 ||
> *dīkṣayej japayogena raktādevī kramād yataḥ* |
> *guror alābhe proktasya vidhim etaṃ samācaret* || 65 ||
>
> "And furthermore, in that very text, [the *BraYā*,] in the [section on the] ritual procedure for worship of Śrī Raktā, this procedure [of self-consecration] is taught; by practicing constantly, after a month one is called *'ācārya,'* by a fortnight, *'sādhaka'*, from a quarter [month], *'putraka'*, and likewise [in half that time] *'samayin'*. Since the

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This cites *BraYā* XXI.69cd–70:

> *dvibhiḥ karmasamarthas tu māsenācārya ucyate* || *69* ||
> *pakṣeṇa sādhako hy eṣa bhūtale mantravigrahaḥ* |
> *prathaman tu vrataṃ hy etad raktāyāḥ parikīrtitam* || *70* ||
>
> "By two [months of following the observance], he is capable of [any] action. Through one month, he is called *'ācārya'*. By a fortnight, he becomes a *sādhaka*, having a body of mantra on this [very] earth. This is known as the first observance, of Raktā."

3. Note *BraYā* LV.26:

> *evamādi-r-anekaiś ca prakārais tu maheśvaraḥ* |
> *kurute 'nugrahaṃ puṃsāṃ yasmāsau sarvatomukhaḥ* || *26* ||
>
> 26a anekaiś] $B_Y{}^b$; aṇekaiś $B_Y{}^a B_Y{}^d$ 26c kurute] $B_Y{}^a B_Y{}^d$; kuṃrute $B_Y{}^b$ 'nugrahaṃ] *em.*; nugrahāṃ $B_Y{}^a B_Y{}^b B_Y{}^d$ puṃsāṃ] $B_Y{}^b$; punsāṃ $B_Y{}^a B_Y{}^d$ 26d yasmāsau] $B_Y{}^a$; yasyā $B_Y{}^b$; yasmā(ṃ?) sau $B_Y{}^d$
>
> "And in these and many other ways, Maheśvara bestows grace upon souls, since he is all-seeing."

Abhinavagupta rewrites this as *Tantrāloka* 4.56cd-57ab, correcting its irregularities:

> *evamādyair anekaiś ca prakāraiḥ parameśvaraḥ* || *56* ||
> *saṃsāriṇo 'nugṛhṇāti viśvasya jagataḥ patiḥ* |

Note the rewriting of 26a to avoid internal-hiatus breaking *-r-*, the removal of the meaningless *tu* in 26b, and the total avoidance of 26d, with its non-standard *yasmā* for *yasmāt*.

4. *Tantrāloka* 28 makes reference to a passage in *BraYā* XLIV, paraphrased in 28.383cd–84ab:

> *śrīmatpicumate coktam ādau yatnena rakṣayet* || *383* ||
> *praveśam saṃpraviṣṭasya na vicāraṃ tu kārayet* |
>
> "And it is said in the revered *Picumata* that at first, one must guard entry [to the ritual assembly] carefully. However, one should not deliberate over one who has been admitted."

Compare with *BraYā* XLIV.228cd–29ab:

> *ādāv eva na vai dadyāt praveśaṃ kasya cit priye* || *228* ||
> *praviṣṭena sahaikatvaṃ bhakṣitavyan na saṃśayaḥ* |
>
> "At the very first, one should not admit just anyone, my dear. [But] with someone who has been admitted, one should feast together as one, without a doubt."

5. In *Tantrāloka* 15, Abhinavagupta cites the authority of the *BraYā* on the inseperability of internal and external worship, which he links to the dichotomy of gnosis (*jñāna*) and ritual action (*kriyā*). It seems possible that he had in mind a passage from *BraYā* LXXXIV. Note *Tantrāloka* 15.43cd–44:

> *nādhyātmena vinā bāhyaṃ nādhyātmaṃ bāhyavarjitam* || *43* ||
> *siddhyej jñānakriyābhyāṃ tad dvitīyaṃ saṃprakāśate* |
> *śrībrahmayāmale deva iti tena nyarūpayat* || *44* ||
>
> " 'Not without the spiritual (*adhyātma*) would the external succeed, nor the spiritual devoid of the external; (¿) the pair finds expression through gnosis and ritual action' (?)—with this [statement] the Lord has explained in the revered *Brahmayāmala*."

tad dvitīyaṃ ("the second one" [i.e. *adhyātma*?]) or *taddvitīyaṃ* ("having that as its second"?) is problematic; Isaacson suggests, as one possibility, reading *tad dvitayaṃ* ("the/that pair"), which is adopted in the translation above. (Personal communication, autumn 2003.) Compare with *BraYā* LXXXIV.140:

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afterwards, in 1052 C.E.[58] Considerable historical development separates the Śaivism of Abhinavagupta from that of the *BraYā*—most notably the entire corpus of Kaula scripture, which finds no place in the *BraYā*'s account of the Śaiva canon—but this separation is difficult to quantify. Several sources of evidence nonetheless suggest with a high degree of probability that the *BraYā* existed two centuries or more prior to Abhinavagupta.

By the mid-tenth century are attested works of tantric literature that place themselves within the tradition of the *BraYā*, illustrating that it was by this time considered an important authority. A Nepalese manuscript of the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, a scriptural text ascribing itself to the tradition of the *BraYā*, appears on paleographic grounds to date to this period.[59] Furthermore, the *Piṅgalāmata*, a scripture of the *pratiṣṭhā-tantra* genre that places itself in the tradition of the *BraYā*,[60] appears to have been

---

ādhyātmañ cintayed bāhyaṃ bāhyam adhyātmikāṃ tathā |
cakre samānabhāvena tato vinyāsam ārabhet || 140 ||

"One should meditate upon the internal [*cakra*] as external, and the external likewise as internal. Considering [these] to be the same, one should [only] then commence installation [of the deities] on the cakra."

In the *BraYā*, the pair *adhyātma* and *bāhya* simply refer to yogic processes and "external" ritual performance, respectively. In this case the correspondence with the *Tantrāloka* citation is only suggestive, and Abhinavagupta might have had in mind other passages of the *BraYā*. Note for instance LXXXVII.101 (also from the *BraYā*'s *Uttaratantra*). Here too, the text does not link *jñāna* and *kriyā* to the *adhyātma-bāhya* dichotomy in the manner of Abhinavagupta:

anena vidhinā devi japahomādikarmasu |
bāhyādhyātmeva mantrajñaḥ pūjāṃ kurvan prasidhyati || 101 ||

101b karmasu] *corr.*; karmaṣu By^{a} 101d pūjāṃ] *em.*; *pūjyāṃ* By^{a}

"Through this procedure, O goddess, in mantra incantation, fire sacrifice, and other rites, the knower of mantras achieves *siddhi*, practicing both external and internal worship" [*bāhyādhyātmeva=bāhyādhyātmām eva* ?].

In the future, I intend to publish a more comprehensive discussion of Abhinavagupta's citations of the *BraYā*.

[58] See chapter 1, section 1.

[59] *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, NAK 5-687 (NGMPP reel B27/21); regarding the dating of this manuscript, I am grateful for the learned opinion of Diwakar Acharya (personal communication, January, 2007). I quote the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*'s references to the *BraYā* in chapter 5 of this thesis (nn. 68, 103–4). This text is potentially identical to the *Bhairavīmaṅgalā* listed in the *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* as first of the *maṅgalatantras*, described as *picutantrasamudbhavā* ("arising from the *Picumata* [i.e. *Brahmayāmala*]"). *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* 276 (in the numbering of Hanneder, *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation*).

[60] Note for instance the colophon of the (incomplete) Viśvabhāratī codex of the *Piṅgalāmata* (f. 11r): *iti brahmayāmale jayadrathādhikāre piṅgalāmate pratimādhikāro nāma prathamaprakaraṇe* [em.; *prakaraṇaś* cod.] *caturthaḥ* ("Thus ends the fourth [chapter], entitled the 'Section on Images', in Book One of the *Piṅgalāmata*, in the Jayadratha-[yāmala?] Section of the *Brahmayāmala*").

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commented upon by an important mid tenth-century Saiddhāntika exegete, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha.[61] Finally, the first of the *Jayadrathayāmala*'s four books gives much importance to the *BraYā* in its description of the canon of Śaiva scripture, even containing a chapter entitled *brahmayāmalanirṇaya*, "A Definitive Judgment on the *Brahmayāmala*." The dating of this heterogenous work is problematic; portions seem likely to be quite early, while its final form might postdate Abhinavagupta.[62]

It is unclear how much prior to the mid-tenth century these works existed; one or more might belong to the ninth century, or even earlier. In any case, their attestation in the mid-tenth century suggests that the *BraYā* probably existed by the end of the ninth century. Its *terminus ante quem* can be pushed back somewhat further, however. As discussed in the previous chapter, there is strong evidence that the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* incorporates a large tract of text from the *BraYā*. Should it prove correct that Vilāsavajra quotes the *Laghuśaṃvara*, the latter must have existed by the late eighth century; in any case, the *Laghuśaṃvara* appears to have received a commentary in the mid-ninth century.[63] Significantly, the section incorporated into the *Laghuśaṃvara* belongs to the *Uttaratantra*—in all probability a late stratum of the *BraYā*—suggesting that the *BraYā* existed in a redaction close to its extant form by the mid-eighth or early ninth century, depending upon the date of the *Laghuśaṃvara*.

Besides the aforementioned cases, which pertain with little ambiguity to the extant *BraYā*, there are more nebulous early references to a text by this title. As discussed in chapter two, the old *Skandapurāṇa* provides a list of Śaiva *mātṛtantras*, "*Tantras* of the Mother Goddesses," that includes the *BraYā* (*brāhmaṃ yāmalam*). Transmitted in a manuscript dated 810 C.E., it is the working hypothesis of its editors that the *Skandapurāṇa* took shape in the sixth or early seventh century.[64] It remains possible that the *Skandapurāṇa* chapter referring to the *BraYā* is a comparatively late

[61] Alexis Sanderson, "The Śaiva Religion among the Khmers (Part I)," 441.

[62] See section 3 of chapter 3 in the present thesis. The *Jayadrathayāmala*'s *brahmayāmalanirṇaya* chapter, mentioned in the previous section, is fortieth in the first *ṣaṭka*.

[63] See the discussion of the *Laghuśaṃvara* in section 4 of the previous chapter.

[64] See the discussion of the *Skandapurāṇa* in chapter 2, section 2.

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addition to the text, while it is also conceivable that the text it refers differs from the extant *BraYā*. Nonetheless, the probability seems high that this passage intimates the existence of some form of the extant *BraYā* in the eighth century, if not considerably earlier. The passage contains clear reference to the Yoginī cult and is to this minimal extent compatible with the extant *BraYā*. As for other early references to a *"Brahmayāmala,"* a hymn entitled *Bhairavīvardhamānaka*, of which several manuscript folios appear to date to the early ninth century, refers to the Goddess as "Brahmayāmalā," apotheosis of the scripture by this name.[65]

The grounds for establishing the *BraYā*'s *terminus post quem* appear tentative. While it is difficult to imagine that the *BraYā* existed as we have it in the sixth century, this cannot be ruled out entirely: the old *Skandapurāṇa*, the inscription of Gaṅgdhār, Dharmakīrti's reference to *ḍākinītantra*s, and allusion to tantric goddess worship in early seventh-century literary sources leave open the possibility that a tantric Śaiva cult of yoginīs, and perhaps a *"Brahmayāmala,"* existed in this period. It is not until the early eighth-century *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti, however, that a yoginī cult of the type described in Vidyāpīṭha *tantra*s finds detailed attestation in reliably dated sources. Buddhist *yoginītantra*s come into evidence only from around the mid-eighth century, as discussed previously; and the *Laghuśaṃvara*—comparatively early in this corpus—appears to draw not only upon the *BraYā*, but on several Śaiva scriptures of the Vidyāpīṭha.[66] How much earlier the latter sources might have existed is unclear, however.

A vast text, the *BraYā* provides substantial material of potential value for situating it in chronological relation to the extant Śaiva literature. Being an influential early scripture, the *BraYā* is mentioned by name in a variety of sources, while its indirect

[65] Sanderson remarks that "the *Bhairavīvardhamānaka*, the hymn to the Goddess of which some folios are preserved with the *Pārameśvara* codex of A.D. 827/28 ... knows a *Brahmayāmala*, *Viṣṇuyāmala*, and *Rudrayāmala*, since it refers to the Goddess as the embodiment of these (f. 53r1): *tvaṃ brahmayāmalā tvaṃ viṣṇuyāmalā tvaṃ rudrayāmalā*." "History through Textual Criticism," 19 (n. 21).

[66] Sanderson identifies borrowings in the *Laghuśaṃvara* from the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, *BraYā*, *Tantrasadbhāva*, and the *Yoginīsañcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*, which appear to comprise the oldest major extant scriptures of the Vidyāpīṭha. See "History through Textual Criticism," 41–47.

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influence can also be identified in some cases. In addition, early though it may be, the *BraYā* describes a vast and diverse scriptural canon, providing a detailed picture of the forms of Śaivism it claims to transcend. Internal evidence from the domains of ritual, doctrine, cosmology and so forth also provide indications of the text's relative archaism, although considerable work remains to be done in these areas.

BraYā xxxviii—the *srotanirṇayapaṭala*,[67] "Chapter on the Streams [of Revelation"]—maps out the canon of Śaivism, providing a valuable catalog of tantric Śaiva scriptures that it classifies according to three primary "streams" (*srota[s]*): those of the *vāmatantra*s, *siddhāntatantra*s, and *bhairavatantra*s (TABLES 4.2–4). Both of the latter are twofold; the *siddhāntatantra*s include *śiva*-division (*bheda*) and *rudra*-division scriptures, while the *bhairavatantra*s are divided into Mantrapīṭha and Vidyāpīṭha texts.[68] The *BraYā* therefore presupposes varieties of tantric Śaiva literature that appear to have existed by the early seventh century.[69] In addition, reference is made to Vaiṣṇava *tantra*s of the Pāñcarātra, the titles of which appear at least partly spurious (TABLE 4.3).[70] Although the extant literature of the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra does not seem especially ancient, the Pāñcarātra tradition itself is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, presumably in a pre-tantric variety; it does not seem possible at present to determine the antiquity of its earliest tantric literature, making the relevance of its mention in the *BraYā* unclear.[71] Absent from the *BraYā*'s account of the Śaiva canon are Buddhist *tantra*s and Śaiva scriptures likely to belong to Kaula traditions. These absences need not be read in strictly historical terms; yet the latter in particular would

[67] In the vast majority of its occurences, *srotas* ("stream, current") is thematized as an *a*-stem (*srota*) in the *BraYā*; "*srotra*" is also very common, although this is potentially a scribal corruption.

[68] On the *BraYā*'s conception of the Śaiva canon, see chapter 5 of the present thesis, passim. TABLES 4.2–4 provide lists of the texts mentioned in *BraYā* xxxviii.

[69] As reviewed previously, the early seventh-century Buddhist author Dharmakīrti appears to refer to *vāmatantra*s. Early-seventh-century inscriptions make reference to the initiation of kings into maṇḍalas apparently of the Śaivasiddhānta, the tradition for which *siddhāntatantra*s are the scriptural authorities. Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 8–10 (n. 6).

[70] That the titles given for Vaiṣṇava *tantra*s are spurious is suggested by their generic nature—e.g. *Pañcarātravidhāna* ("Tantra of the Pañcarātra Rites") and *Vaikuṇṭhavidhi* ("Tantra of the Rites of Viṣṇu's Heaven")—as well as their apparent lack of attestation.

[71] On some of the problems of dating Pāñcarātrika literature, see Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 35, 38 (n. 50).

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be difficult to reconcile with a ninth- or tenth-century period of composition, when Kaula traditions were prevalent.[72] Additionally, the *BraYā*'s very model of the scriptural canon seems archaic, for it displays no awareness of the five-stream model of Śaiva revelation that became normative.[73]

TABLE 4.2: *Siddhāntatantras* of the Middle Stream (*madhyamasrotas*) according to *BraYā* XXXVIII

ŚIVABHEDA	RUDRABHEDA (list 1)	RUDRABHEDA (list 2)
Sarvakāmika	Vijaya	Vijaya
Yogodbhava	Niśvāsa	Niśvāsa (*em.;* visvāsa *cod.*)
Acintya	Svāyaṃbhuva	Svāyaṃbhuva
Kāraṇa	Vāthula	Vīrabhadra
Ajita	Candrahāsa	Āgneya
Dīptābha	Raurava	Raurava
Sūkṣma	Mākuṭa	Mākoṭya
Sāhasra	Vīreśa	Candrabhāsa
Aṃśumā[n]	Āgneya (*conj.;* tathā cānyaṃ *cod.*)	†*vīramvaund*†
Suprabha	Candrajñāna	Jñāna
	Bimba	Mukhabimba
	Prodgīta	Prodgīta
	Lalita	Lalita
	Siddhi	Siddhi
	Santānaka	Santāna
	Sarvodgīta	Kiraṇa
	Kiraṇa	Sarvodgīta
	Pārameśvara	Pārameśvara

Little of the extant Śaiva literature can be said on strong grounds to predate the *BraYā*. Nonetheless, several *siddhāntatantras* that survive or are quoted in early

[72] Incidentally, while the *BraYā* does not refer to Buddhism, the *Matasāra*—a Kaula text placing itself in the tradition of the *BraYā*—in its fourth chapter makes clear reference to initiation into Buddhist *tantras*:

> *siddhānte dīkṣitā ye ca vaiṣṇave ye ca dīkṣitā |*
> *pañcasrotodbhave tantre saṃmohe caiva dīkṣitā |*
> *saure ca gāruḍe devi bauddhe ye caiva dīkṣitāḥ |*
> *athāpi pāśavaḥ sarve asmin tantre na dīkṣitā |*
>
> asmin] *em.;* yasmin *cod.* tantre na] *em.;* tantreṇa *cod.*
>
> "Those initiated into the *siddhānta-*, and those initiated into the Vaiṣṇava, Saura, Gāruḍa, or Buddhist [*tantras*]—the *tantra*[s] arising from the Five Streams—and those initiated into the [*vāma*] *Saṃmoha*, all of them are still bound souls, [for they are] not initiated into this *tantra*."

NAK 3-379, f. 37, lines 1–2; transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva.

[73] See chapter 5, section 4, and TABLES 4.2–4, 5.2.

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TABLE 4.3: Tantras of the Left Stream (*vāmasrotas*) and Lower Stream (*adhaḥsrotas*)

NORTHERN STREAM	LOWER STREAM	
Saṃmoha	Vibhūti	
†*bhavā*†	Adhyaya	SUBDIVISIONS OF THE
Nayottara	Mākuṭa	MĀKUṬATANTRA:
Śaukra		Nārasiṃhavidhāna
		vidhānaṃ kṣetrakalpanā (?)
		*vivarāntargatakalpa*s
		Varāhavidhi (*em.*; yarāhasya vidhi *cod.*)
		Pañcarātravidhāna
		Vaikuṇṭhavidhi
		Garuḍavidhāna
		bhūtantrādi
		*oṣadhikalpa*s
		rasāyanavidhi[s]

TABLE 4.4: *Bhairavatantra*s of the Right Stream (*dakṣiṇāsrotas*)

	VIDYĀPĪṬHA		MANTRAPĪṬHA
EIGHT BHAIRAVAS:	EIGHT YĀMALAS:	OTHER:	
Svacchanda	Rudrayāmala	Prapañcayoginījāla	Vīrabhairava
Krodha	Skandayāmala	Yoginījāla	Caṇḍabhairava
Unmatta	Brahmayāmala	Yoginīhṛdaya	Guḍikābhairava (*conj.*; guḍakābhairava *cod.*)
Ugra	Viṣṇuyāmala	Siddhā	
Kapālin	Yamayāmala	Mantramālinī	Mahāvīreśabhairava
Jhaṅkāra	Vāyuyāmala	Aghoreśī	
Śekhara	Kuberayāmala	Aghoreśvarī	
Vijaya	Indrayāmala	Krīḍāghoreśī	
		Lākinīkalpa	
		Mārī	
		Mahāmārī	
		Ugravidyāgaṇa	
		Bahurūpa *(twofold)*	
		Aghorāstra	

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sources are listed in *BraYā* xxxviii: the *Niśvāsa, Kiraṇa, Pārameśvara, Rauravа[sūtrasaṅgraha]*, and *Svāyaṃbhuva[sūtrasaṅgraha]*.[74] In only one case thus far identified does a parallel passage shed further light on relative chronology: it would appear that the *BraYā* has incorporated a passage from the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, whether directly or through an intermediary source. The relevant text is *Niśvāsottara* 1.10–13, and

TABLE 4.5: A parallel passage in the *Brahmayāmala* and *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*

NIŚVĀSATANTRA, UTTARASŪTRA 1.10–13	BRAHMAYĀMALA LXI.272cd–75ab
īśvara uvāca |	
ūkāraḥ prakṛtir jñeyā	ūkāraḥ prakṛtir jñeyā
yakāraḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |	yakāraḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ ‖ 272 ‖
vakāro niyatir vidyāl	vakāro niyatiṃ vindyāl
lakāraḥ kāla ucyate ‖ 10 ‖	lakāraḥ kāla ucyate |
māyātattvaṃ makāras tu	māyātattvaṃ makāraṃ tu
kṣakāro vidya eva tu |	kṣakāro vidya eva ca ‖ 273 ‖
rakāra īśvaro jñeyo	repham īśam iti prokto
hakāras tu sadāśivaḥ ‖ 11 ‖	hakāras tu sadāśivaḥ |
dehavyāpī ca navamo	dehavyāpī tu navamaḥ
śaktiś ca daśamā smṛtā |	kāraṇaḥ parameśvaraḥ ‖ 274 ‖
akathyaś ca arūpī ca	etat tattveśvaraṃ devaṃ
kāraṇa sa śivaḥ paraḥ ‖ 12 ‖	tritattvoktaṃ prakalpayet |
ete tattvāḥ samākhyātāḥ	272c ukāraḥ] By$^{a\,pc}$; ukāra By$^{a\,ac}$
sadāśivasamudbhavāḥ |	prakṛtir] *em.*; prakṛti By^{a}
˘ ˘ r eva jagat sarvaṃ	273a vakāro] *em.*; vakāra By^{a}
preśyāpreśyañ carācaram ‖ 13 ‖	vindyāl] *em.*; vindyā By^{a}
	273c °tattvaṃ] *em.*; °tatva By^{a}
	274b hakāras] *em.*; hakāros By^{a}
	274c navamaḥ] *em.*; navamo By^{a}
	275a tattveśvaraṃ*em.*; *conj.*; tatteśvaraṃ By^{a}
	275b °tattvoktaṃ] *em.*; °tattvoktā By^{a}

BraYā LXI.272cd–75 (TABLE 4.5[75]), the latter belonging to the *BraYā*'s *saṅgrahasūtra* chapter referred to earlier. This passage places the nine syllables of a mantra called "The Ninefold" (*navātman*) in correlation to a hierarchy of reality levels (*tattva*)—a nine-*tattva* series that appears characteristic of the *Niśvāsa* corpus (TABLE 4.6a).[76] In

[74] On the evidence for the antiquity of these five *siddhāntatantra*s, see Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary*, xxxvi–xlvii.

[75] The text tabulated from the *Niśvāsottara* is as given in the provisional edition circulated among participants of the "Workshop on Early Śaivism" (Pondicherry, January 2007); see the discussion of the *Niśvāsa* in chapter 3, section 2.

[76] This series of nine *tattva*s is, for instance, presented in relation to the nine constituents of the letter

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the *BraYā*, however, this particular nine-*tattva* series (TABLE 4.7a) is unusual; *īśvara-tattva*, the seventh of the series, figures only rarely in the *BraYā*'s accounts of the "pervasion" (*vyāpti*) or "purification" (*śodhana*) of the *tattva*s. In this position, the *BraYā* normally places the *śaktitattva*, between the *vidyātattva* and *sadāśiva* (TABLES 4.7c–f). The particular nine-*tattva* series correlated with the *navātman* mantra occurs elsewhere only in *BraYā* LV (TABLE 4.7b). More significantly, the *Niśvāsa*'s *navātman* mantra is wholly anomalous in the *BraYā*, despite the latter's affinity for all things ninefold. This combination of factors suggests that the *BraYā* has assimilated material concerning the *navātman* mantra from another source, the obvious candidate being the *Niśvāsa*'s *Uttarasūtra*. The date of the latter could thus provide the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *BraYā*. This reveals relatively little about the period of *BraYā*'s composition, unfortunately, for some sections of the *Niśvāsa* could date even to the fifth century C.E.[77]—a period improbably early for the *BraYā*.

TABLE 4.6: The *Navātman* Mantra in the *Niśvāsottara* and the *Vidyārāja* of the *Svacchandatantra*

(a) The *tattva*s of the *navātman* mantra, according to the *Niśvāsottara*

TATTVA	AKṢARA
paraśiva	
śakti	
'dehavyāpin'	ḤA?
sadāśiva	HA
īśvara	RA
vidyā	KṢA
māyā	MA
kāla	LA
niyati	VA
puruṣa	YA
prakṛti	Ū

(b) Purification of the Thirty-six and Nine *Tattva*s with the syllables of the 'King of Vidyā-mantras' (*vidyārāja*), according to *Svacchanda-tantra* 5.4–11

36 TATTVAS	AKṢARA	9 TATTVAS
śakti	*praṇava*?	*śiva*
sadāśiva	HA	*sadāśiva*
īśvara	RA	*īśvara*
vidyā	KṢA	*vidyā*
māyā	MA	*māyā*
kāla, kalā	LA	*kāla*
niyati, vidyā	VA	*niyati*
puruṣa, rāga	YA	*puruṣa*
kṣiti–prakṛti	Ū	*prakṛti*

While it is hence likely that at least one of the earliest *siddhāntatantra*s predates the

a, and nine parts of the body, in the *Niśvāsa*'s *Nayasūtra* (1.1–20).

[77] See chapter 3, n. 3.

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TABLE 4.7: The Nine *Tattvas* in the *BraYā*

(a) The 'Lord of Nine *Tattvas*' (*navatattveśvara*) according to *BraYā* LXI

TATTVA	AKṢARA
parameśvara	*'dehavyāpin'*
sadāśiva	HA
īśvara	RA
vidyā	KṢA
māyā	MA
kāla	LA
niyati	VA
puruṣa	YA
prakṛti	Ū

(b) Nine goddess clans (*kula*) and corresponding *tattvas* in *BraYā* LV

TATTVA	KULA
śiva	
sadāśiva	*devīs*
īśvara	*bhaginīs*
vidyā	*śivās*
māyā	*rudraḍākinīs?*
kāla	*ḍākinīs?*
vidyā	*dūtīs*
puruṣa	*yoginīs*
prakṛti	*mātṛs*

(c) Pervasion of the *tattvas* by the Nine Śaktis according to *BraYā* XXIX.225–28

TATTVA	MANTRADEVATĀ
paraśiva	Sadāśiva
sadāśiva	Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)
candra	Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ)
āditya	Karālinī (ḌE)
kāla	Raktā (CA)
pṛthvī	Karālā (LI)
āpas	Danturā (NI)
tejas	Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ)
vāyu	Mahābalā (HĀ)

(d) Pervasion of the *tattvas* by the Nine Śaktis according to *BraYā* XXIX.229–34

TATTVA	MANTRADEVATĀ
sadāśiva	Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)
śakti	Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ)
vidyā	Karālinī (ḌE)
māyā	Raktā (CA)
kāla	*astras*
kalā	Karālā (LI)
niyati	Danturā (NI)
puruṣa	Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ)
prakṛti	Mahābalā (HĀ)

(e) Purification of the *tattvas* according to *BraYā* XXXII

TATTVA	MANTRADEVATĀ
śiva	Bhairava
sadāśiva	Mahocchuṣmā
śakti	Caṇḍākṣī
vidyā	Karālā
māyā	Raktā
kāla	*astras*
niyati	Dūtīs
puruṣa	Yoginīs
prakṛti	Mātṛs

(f) Purification of the Nine Pantheons according to *BraYā* XXXVI (*tattvadīkṣā*)

TATTVA	MANTRADEVATĀ
śiva	Śiva
sadāśiva	Bhairava-Bhairavī
śakti	Māheśvarī
īśvara	Brahmāṇī
vidyā	Vaiṣṇavī
māyā	Kaumārī
kāla	Vivasvatī
niyati	Māhendrī
puruṣa	Cāmuṇḍā
prakṛti	Parā Śakti

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BraYā, the chronology of the *BraYā* relative to other early Śaiva literature is elusive. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *BraYā* refers by name to several *vāmatantras*, including the extant *Vīṇāśikha*—a text not among the earliest of its genre, yet nonetheless potentially quite old. There are, furthermore, faint indications of influence from the cult of the Four Sisters upon aspects of the *BraYā*.[78] As for the relationship between the *BraYā* and the *Svacchandatantra*, the evidence I am currently aware of is not especially strong. The former does list the latter in its account of the canon; but the evidence from texts lists must be treated with caution, as the case of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* and *BraYā* illustrates (discussed below). On the other hand, preliminary analysis of cosmological materials suggests that the *BraYā* could be archaic in comparison to the *Svacchandatantra*. For instance, like the *BraYā*, the *Svacchandatantra* draws upon the *Niśvāsa*'s *navātman* mantra, placing a series of nine *tattvas* in relation to the syllables of the *navātman*. However, the *Svacchandatantra* version also correlates the series to the thirty-six *tattva* system normative in later Śaivism (TABLE 4.6b)—a system absent from both the *Niśvāsa* and *BraYā*.[79]

There are possible grounds for considering the *BraYā*'s principal male deity, Kapālīśabhairava, secondary in the historical development of Śaivism to Svacchandabhairava. Kapālīśa is first attested as an important *rudra* in the *Niśvāsaguhya*, heading the Hundred Rudras at the level of the "fire of time" (*kālāgni*), at the base of the hierarchy of world levels (*bhuvana*).[80] Kapālīśa the *rudra* is presumably an early form of the deity who figures as first of the eight *bhairavas* in the maṇḍala of Svacchanda, according to the *Svacchandatantra*.[81] He attains the apex of his cultic status as supreme Bhairava of the *BraYā*, alongside Aghoreśī—who is the goddess consort of

[78] In the previous chapter, see n. 39 in the discussion of *vāmatantras*.

[79] Note that although the *BraYā* does not attest the thirty-six *tattva* series that becomes standard in Śaiva exegetical literature, all of the *tattvas* included in this schema do find mention at one point or another in the text, in its various non-standardized *tattva* series.

[80] The list of the Hundred Rudras (*śatarudra*) begins, *śatarudrāṇi me śṛṇu | kapālīśo hy ajo buddhaḥ vajradehaḥ pramardanaḥ* (*Niśvāsaguhya* 7.82bcd).

[81] In the *Svacchandatantra*, the eight *bhairavas* (*bhairavāṣṭaka*) forming the primary entourage of Svacchanda are headed by Kapālīśabhairava; the remaining seven are Śikhivāhana, Krodharāja, Vikarāla, Manmatha, Meghanāda, Somarāja, and Vidyārāja. The names and mantras of the Eight are given in *Svacchandatantra* 1.76cd–86; cf. 2.117–22.

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Svacchandabhairava as well—in the form of Caṇḍā Kāpālinī. The *BraYā*'s convention for naming a new officiant suggests that Kapālīśa might have usurped the position of Svacchandabhairava: during consecration, when the flower cast by the candidate falls upon the central god, he receives the name Svacchandabhairava, rather than being named after the *BraYā*'s own Kapālīśa—an apparent carryover from the cult of Svacchanda.[82]

Within the Vidyāpīṭha, the relation between the *BraYā* and the Trika *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* remains an open question.[83] Possessing distinct pantheons, these texts nonetheless share much in the domain of ritual, both being decidedly *kāpālika* and *siddhi*-oriented scriptures instrinsically connected with the cult of yoginīs in what appears to be an archaic form. The *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*'s account of the Śaiva canon lists the *Brahmayāmala*.[84] However, as Judit Törzsök points out, the *BraYā* might also refer to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, for it mentions a Vidyāpīṭha text by the title *Siddhā*—one of several names by which Abhinavagupta cites the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.[85] This circularity, which owes perhaps to ongoing revision or idealized text lists, suggests the need for weighing multiple types of evidence in determining relative chronology, evidence that appears lacking in this case. The *BraYā* does, however, contain material concerning the Three Śaktis (Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī) that might potentially shed light on the cultic background of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*'s triad (*trika*) of goddesses.[86]

---

[82] *BraYā* XXXIII.165–66:

bhairave tu yadā puṣpaṃ patate pūrvvacoditaṃ |
śaktīnāṃ tu tadā tasya nāmam vai kalpayed budhaḥ || 165 ||
svacchandabhairavo nāma tadā tasya prajāyate |
bhairavyāṃ tu yadā pāta śaktibhairavasaṃjñakaḥ || 166 ||

There would seem to be a textual problem here, for 165cd appears misplaced (perhaps it followed 166cd?), or even interpolated; 166ab seems to intended to follow 165ab.

In *BraYā* IV, in the section explicating initiatory kinship based upon the flower-cast of the initiand, the applicable clans are those of the Eight Mothers and "Bhairava," of whom no particular form is specified. This passage is quoted in part in chapter 2 (n. 14).

[83] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* survives only in a short recension missing a significant amount of the material attributed to it by Kashmiri authors. See Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," iv–v.

[84] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.18a.

[85] This is pointed out by Törzsök, ibid., ix (n. 42).

[86] Worship of the Three Śaktis comprises the subject of LXXXIII (the *śaktitrayavidhānapaṭala*). Potentially relevant material is found in *BraYā* LXXX as well. In this fascinating chapter's discussion of the origins

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More can be said concerning the relation of the *BraYā* with another major Vidyāpīṭha scripture: the *Tantrasadbhāva* of the Trika, a text which explicitly situates itself in the tradition of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*.[87] There are several indications that the *Tantrasadbhāva* postdates the *BraYā* as well. While the *Tantrasadbhāva* makes no mention of a *"Brahmayāmala,"* it does refer to the *yāmalatantra*s as a genre.[88] Given that the

---

of the skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅgotpatti*), the various elements of the archetypal skull-staff of Bhairava are described in homological relation (*adhidaiva*) to a hierarchy of divinities and cosmological spheres. In particular, the three prongs of the trident (*triśūla*) that caps the skull-staff are said to be presided over by the Three Śaktis. *BraYā* LXXX.172–73ab:

> *yat triśūlopariṣṭāt tu tatra śaktitrayaṃ viduḥ |*
> *vāmā jyeṣṭhā ca raudrī ca vāmādakṣiṇamadhyagāḥ || 172 ||*
> *upariṣṭāt śivaṃ śāntaṃ sthitaṃ sarvasya mūrdhani |*
>
> 172a °opariṣṭāt] *em.*; °opariṣṭā By^{a} 172c jyeṣṭhā] *corr.*; jeṣṭhā By^{a} 172d °madhyagāḥ] *em.*; °madhyagāṃ By^{a} 173a upariṣṭāt] *em.*; upariṣṭā By^{a}
>
> "There, above the trident, are known to be the Three Śaktis—Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī, on the left, right, and middle. Situated above, overhead all, is the quiescent Śiva."

Visualization of the triad of goddesses—Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā—upon the prongs of a trident features in the initiation maṇḍala of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, a fundamental work of the Trika; see Sanderson, "The Visualization of the Deities of the Trika," 39. It is conceivable that the material cited above from the *BraYā* provides an early precedent for this aspect of the Trika, the goddesses of which might have had their identities grafted upon those of the Three Śaktis of early Śaivism—Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā, and Raudrī.

Note that *BraYā* XXVII, the *śaktitritayayāgapaṭala*, concerns a different triad of *śaktis*: that of Vāmā, Madhyamā, and Dakṣiṇā, who in *BraYā* XXXVIII are described as presiding over the three primary streams of scriptural revelation and their practitioners.

[87] See chapter 5 in the present thesis, n. 100.

[88] *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.11–12, 34cd–35ab:

> *śrutvā vedaṃ mayā tantrā rahasyaṃ gūḍhagocarāḥ |*
> *vāmadakṣiṇamārgāś ca yāmalās tu anekadhā || 11||*
> *siddhāntāś ca sureśāna daśāṣṭādaśabhedataḥ |*
> *lakṣakoṭivibhāgena koṭayas tu anekadhā || 12||*
> *siddhayogeśvarītantre śatakoṭipravistare |*
> *mūlatantre mahāsūtre sūtradvayavinirgatam || 13 ||*
> *tantraikaṃ tu mahājñānaṃ yonyarṇavasamudbhavam*
> *na śrutaṃ śrotum icchāmi tantrasadbhāvam uttamam || 14 ||*
> ...
> *ye mayā kathitās tantrā vāmadakṣiṇayāmalāḥ || 34||*
> *rudrabhedās tathā devi śivabhedās tathaiva ca |*
>
> 11a vedaṃ] $Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}$; veda Ts^{g} tantrā] Ts^{kh}; rudrā Ts^{k}; - drā Ts^{g}; rudra *em.* Dyczkowski 11b °gocarāḥ] $Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}$; - - - Ts^{g} 11c vāma°] $Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}$; - - Ts^{g} 13 sūtradvayavinirgatam] $Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}$; ? Ts^{g} mahājñānaṃ] Ts^{kh}; mayā jñātaṃ $Ts^{k}Ts^{g}$ 14b yonyarṇava°] *em.*; yonyārṇava° $Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}Ts^{g}$ °samudbhavam] $Ts^{k}Ts^{g}$; - - - - Ts^{kh} 34c kathitās] *em.*; kathitāṃ Ts^{k}; kathitā $Ts^{kh}Ts^{g}$

MSS as reported by Dyczkowski; the edition proposed above is highly provisional. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 25.301:

> *sāmānyaṃ sarvatantreṣu vāmadakṣiṇayāmale |*
> *vidyāpīṭhe 'pi deveśi bṛhadgranthe tu sūcitāḥ || 301||*

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extant lists of *yāmala*s almost all feature the *BraYā*, this alone might suggest that the latter was known in some form to the redactors of the *Tantrasadbhāva*. Furthermore, the *Tantrasadbhāva* once makes reference to a text called the *Dvādaśasāhasra* ("[Tantra] of Twelve-thousand [Verses]"), an epithet of the *BraYā*.[89] So far I have identified only three verses shared by the two texts, with no obvious indications of the direction of redaction. In the first case, the context is that of the initiatory Pledges (*samaya*), which one might expect any number of scriptures to share—and indeed the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* contains the same verse.[90] Similarly, the texts share a verse listing eight sacred sites (*pīṭha*).[91] In the third case, which concerns *chommā*, a garbled *Tantrasadbhāva* verse would be impossible to reconstruct but for its parallel in the *BraYā*.[92] None of

[89] *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.234a. This passage comes at the end of a list of deities, which it links to a text called the *Dvādaśasāhasra*:

> *anena kramayogeṇa pañcāśānāṃ samudbhavaḥ* || 232 ||
> *kathitā devadevena kāryakāraṇabhedataḥ* |
> *evaṃ dvādaśasāhasre pṛthagdhāraprakīrtitam* |
> *nāmāni rudrasaṃghasya sūcitānīha pārvati* || 234 ||

Text as consituted in the draft edition of Dyczkowski.

[90] *BraYā* LXI.121:

> *na nagnāṃ vanitāṃ paśyen na cāpi prakaṭastanīm* |
> *nālokayet paśukrīḍāṃ kṣudrakarman na kārayet* || 121 ||
>
> paśyen] *em.*; pasye By^{a} °krīḍāṃ] *em.*; °krīḍā By^{a}

This is identical to *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.543:

> *na nagnāṃ vanitāṃ paśyen na cāpi prakaṭastanīm* |
> *nālokayet paśukrīḍāṃ kṣudrakarmaṃ na kārayet* || 543 ||
>
> nagnāṃ] Ts^{k}; naglāṃ Ts^{kh}Ts^{g} prakaṭastanīm] Ts^{k}Ts^{kh}; prakaṭāsanīṃ Ts^{g} °krīḍāṃ] *em.*; °krīḍāṃ Ts^{k}Ts^{g}; °krīḍā Ts^{kh} kṣudra°] Ts^{k}Ts^{g}; kṣudre Ts^{kh}
>
> (MSS as reported by Dyczkowski.) This verse also occurs as *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 6.47cd–48ab.

[91] See chapter 2, section 2 (n. 88).

[92] *BraYā* LV.103–4:

> *potaṅgety abhivādanaṃ pratipotaṅge pratyabhivādanam* |
> *yoginīnāṃ tu vīrāṇāṃ nārīṣety abhivādanam* |
> *pratinārīṣaśabdena procyate prativādanam* || 103 ||
> *ekāṅgulidarśanāt svāgataṃ dvābhyāṃ susvāgatam* |
> *koṣṭhapraviṣṭenāṅguṣṭhena kṣemamudrā vidhīyate* || 104 ||
>
> 103a potaṅgety] By^{a}By^{c}; potaṅge(tt?)y By^{b} 103b pratipotaṅge] By^{a}By^{b}; pratipotaṅga° By^{c} pratyabhivādanam] By^{b}; pratyābhivādanaṃ By^{a}By^{b}By^{c} 103d nārīṣety] By^{a}By^{b}; nāriṣebhy By^{c} 104c koṣṭha°] By^{b}; koṣṭa° By^{a}
>
> *Notes:* In By^{b}, 104ab is missing, while 104cd is in the lower margin, possibly by original scribe. By^{c} skips from 103c (pratinā(śa?)...) to 105c (...smṛse pādaṃ).

Cf. *Tantrasadbhāvatantra* 18.18cd–19:

> *pottaṅgety abhivādanaṃ pratyottuṅge pratikṛtam* || 18 ||
> *ekāṃgulidarśanāt svāgataṃ dvābhyāṃ susvāgatam* |

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these isolated cases seems to warrant the assumption of direct borrowing.

More substantially, the twenty-first chapter of the *Tantrasadbhāva* includes in its "treasury of *vidyā*-mantras" (*vidyākośa*) the following: OṂ CĀMUṆḌE KAPĀLINI SVĀHĀ, described as the "root mantra" (*mūlamantra*) of Aghoreśī. This is remarkably similar to the Nine Syllable Vidyā (*navākṣarā vidyā*) of the same Goddess in the *BraYā*: OṂ HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ. The *Tantrasadbhāva* describes several inflected forms of Aghoreśī's *vidyā* utilizing the vocative CAṆḌE, rather than *cāmuṇḍe*, echoing still more closely the *BraYā*'s nine-syllable *vidyā*.[93] It seems likely that the *Tantrasadbhāva* draws on the tradition of the *BraYā* with these mantras, although this cannot be stated categorically. Even more suggestive of a direct link between the texts is *Tantrasadbhāva* 19. This chapter's first section concerns sacred topography, mapping out a network of eight "fields" (*kṣetra*), "secondary fields" (*upakṣetra*), and "meeting points" (*sandoha*), for which presiding goddesses, male "field guardians" (*kṣetrapāla*), and sacred trees are enumerated. This system's eight *kṣetra*s map precisely to the eight sacred cremation grounds enumerated in *BraYā* LXXXIV (TABLE 4.10).[94] In addtion,

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koṣṭhapratibimbā cāṅguṣṭ[h]aṃ kṣemamudrā vidhīyate ‖ *19* ‖

NAK 5-445 (NGMPP reel A44/2), f. 122r. It seems likely that the text of *Brahmayāmala* LV.103ab and 104 underlies this, with the significant absence of LV.103cdef. Among the sources at my disposal presently, the text of 103ab is found elsewhere only in the *Laghuśaṃvara*, in which *potaṅginī*, *potaṅgī*, and *pratipotaṅgī* occur as *mudrā*s in 22.5, and in a closely related *chommā* passage of 24: *potaṅgyabhivādanaṃ pratipotaṅgī pratyabhivādanam* (printed as prose in the Sarnath edition, v. 1, p. 126). On the latter Bhavabhaṭṭa rather unhelpfully comments,

> *potaṅgy abhivādanam iti | abhivādanasya saṃjñā potaṅgīśabdaḥ | pratipotaṅgī pratyabhivādanam iti pratyabhivādanaṃ punar vandanāviśeṣaḥ |*
>
> "... The word *potaṅgī* is a convention for 'greetings'; ... *pratyabhivādanam* is again a particular type of paying respects."

Ibid. (text repunctuated).

[93] For instance, the *hṛdaya* or "heart" mantra is described as having the *tāraka* ("savior") in the begining, then the word CAṆḌE, ending with *nāda* (=NAMAḤ?) (*caṇḍeti tārakādyaṃ ca nādāntaṃ hṛdayaṃ param, Tantrasadbhāva* 21.156cd). That the *tāraka* is HŪṂ is suggested in *BraYā* XXIII, which describes the *tāraka* as the Root Mantra (*mūlamantra*) of Bhairava, when conjoined with its ancillaries (*tārakaṃ yan mayā proktaṃ vaktranetrāṅgasaṃyutam | bhairavasya samākhyātaṃ mūlamantraṃ na saṃśayaḥ*, 54).

[94] *Tantrasadbhāva* 19.4cd–5ab:

> *prayāgā varuṇā kollā aṭṭahāsā jayantikā* ‖ *4* ‖
> *caritraikāmrakaś caiva koṭivarṣaṃ tu cāṣṭamam |*
> *aindrīdiśi sāmārabhya yāvad īśānagocaram* ‖ *5* ‖
> *jñātavyaṃ kṣetravinyāsaṃ mantriṇā tu yathākramam |*
>
> °aikāmrakaś] *em.*; °ekāmrakaś MSS 6b mantriṇā] *em.*; mantriṇāṃ MSS

(MSS as reported by Dyczkowski.) On the sacred geography of the *BraYā*, see the next section of this

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the *Tantrasadbhāva* organizes the goddesses of these and the subsidiary sacred places into clans (*kula*) presided over by the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs of the *BraYā*'s core pantheon—deities who have no cultic significance in the *Tantrasadbhāva*. For instance, belonging to the clan of Mahābalā, fourth of the Dūtīs in the *BraYā*, are the goddess Karṇamoṭī, who presides over the eighth *kṣetra*, Koṭivarṣa; Cipiṭanāsā, of the eighth *upakṣetra*, Rājagṛha; and Carmamuṇḍā at Puṇḍravardhana, eighth of the *sandoha*s.

On these grounds it appears probable that the *Tantrasadbhāva* postdates the *BraYā*. The dating of the *Tantrasadbhāva* is itself problematic; according to Sanderson, it is one of several Vidyāpīṭha *tantra*s, including the *BraYā*, drawn upon by the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvara*.[95] This could suggest that a significant interval of time separates the *BraYā* and the *Laghuśaṃvara*, with the *Tantrasadbhāva* belonging to the intervening period.

The *BraYā* contains a single potential reference to a work of non-tantric Sanskrit literature. A verse in the revelation narrative of chapter one predicts that the *BraYā* shall become as famous as the *Saptaśatāni* ("The [Text of] Seven Hundred [Verses]").[96] The possibility seems significant that the text alluded to is none other than the *Durgāsaptaśatī* ("Seven-hundred Verses on Durgā")—the *Devīmāhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*. A work exceptionally well-known in latter medieval India, it appears fitting that the *Devīmāhātmya* would be singled out as emblematic of popularity—although it is unclear how early it attained this status. There is little to base this identification upon, however; all other texts mentioned in the revelation narrative appear to be *tantra*s.[97] Would the *BraYā* know the *Devīmāhātmya*, this could have

chapter.

[95] While this is certainly plausible, the primary textual parallel adduced in evidence is comparatively short, making the case less unambiguous than those of the *BraYā* and *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. Sanderson identifies nineteen pādas from *Tantrasadbhāva* 16 as the source of material in *Laghuśaṃvara* 41. He also identifies "related" passages in *Laghuśaṃvara* 18 and *Tantrasadbhāva* 16, and two verses redacted from chapter seven of the latter into *Laghuśaṃvara* 49. "History through Textual Criticism," 44. In a presentation at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference, Ronald Davidson reportedly called into question the possibility that the *Tantrasadbhāva* is the source of any material in the *Laghuśaṃvara*; both his and Sanderson's arguments await publication.

[96] *BraYā* 1.115–16ab.

[97] It might also be mentioned that another famous work—Hāla's anthology of Prakrit verses—bears the designation *Sattasaī* (=Sankrit *Saptaśatī*).

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significant chronological implications: long held to be a work of the sixth century, or even earlier, Yuko Yokochi questions the basis for this, and argues that the *Devī-māhātmya* might instead belong to the latter part of the eighth century.[98]

Significant uncertainties thus surround both the absolute and relative chronologies of the *BraYā*, further complicated by the fact that the text appears to have multiple strata. It does seem highly likely that the *BraYā*, in a form close to that preserved in its oldest Nepalese codex, existed at some point in the eighth century, while I see no grounds for ruling out a seventh-century dating, especially for the older portions of the text. This period in fact appears quite plausible. The possibility that some form of the *BraYā* existed in the sixth century also merits consideration, especially given its mention in the old *Skandapurāṇa*, while it is also not impossible that the *BraYā* continued to develop into the early ninth century; this possibility depends upon the dating of sources such as the *Laghuśaṃvara* and *Tantrasadbhāva*.

GEOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL HORIZONS

One might expect a text as vast as the *BraYā* to offer clues into its region of origin, and it is hoped that further study from a variety of perspectives will yield such information. At the present juncture, I would assert little more than that the text seems unlikely to herald from the far south or far north and northwest of the subcontinent.

In its first chapter, the *BraYā* provides an unusually detailed account of its "descent" (*avatāra*) or revelation. Mentioning numerous individuals, this narrative tacitly acknowledges the role of human agency—through the medium of the tantric guru—in the production of scriptural literature. More will be said in the subsequent chapter concerning the model of scripture accommodating this. Idealized though the *BraYā*'s account of revelation certainly is, some of the personages and places mentioned appear entirely realistic. More than twenty-five individuals are referred to, the majority of whom have their castes and regions of origin specified (TABLE 4.8). Most are designated by initiatory name alone; for several, however, additional in-

[98] See chapter 2, n. 103, in the present thesis.

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formation is provided: a pre-initiatory name, native village, and/or the name of a parent. These cases comprise the brahmin Śrīdhara of Kurukṣetra, near Delhi, whose initatory name is Kapālabhairava; Caṇḍabhairava, an *Atharvaveda*-school (*ātharvaṇa-śākhā*) brahmin from the village Bṛhodarī, of Sindh in modern Pakistan; Amantrī of Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain, M.P.), a.k.a. Svacchandabhairava, son of the brahmin woman Deikā; and Sattikā or Santikā[99] of Kaṇavīra village, close to Prayāga (near modern Allahabad, U.P.), the daughter of a *chandoga*-school brahmin, Meghadatta. Sattikā is none other than the goddess Bhairavī herself, manifesting in the world of mortals on account of a curse. She recovers her divinity through ritual perfection, and then sets in motion the descent of "scriptural wisdom" (*jñāna*) that culminates in the *BraYā*.

The narrative of revelation places these and the other, more anonymous individuals mentioned within a cosmic temporal framework: Bhairava teaches the Goddess the scriptural wisdom in its unabridged form of 125,000 verses at the beginning of a particular Kaliyuga, and she transmits this to Śrīdhara or Kapālabhairava in the second Tretāyuga thereafter. Kapālabhairava transmits an abbreviated redaction of 24,000 verses to his disciple, Devadatta or Padmabhairava, who further reduces the text to twelve-thousand in the Dvāparayuga, at the juncture of the Kali age. This would appear to be the *BraYā* itself, one epithet of which is *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, "The Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses."[100] Padmabhairava has fourteen disciples from throughout the subcontinent (TABLE 4.8), among whom the text's circulation is apparently restricted for most of the age.

In the final quarter of the Kaliyuga, the initiate Svacchandabhairava comes to learn the scripture. Having had numerous miscarriages, a certain Deikā of Ujjayinī prays for a son before the Mother goddesses, and they place in her womb the child called "Without a Mantra" (Amantrī)—an accomplished initiate who in

[99] It is unclear whether the name given is Sattikā or Santikā, for *tt* and *nt* are often undistinguishable in the writing of the *BraYā*'s oldest codex. For a discussion, see the annotation on *BraYā* 1.28 in the translation.

[100] See section 5 of the subsequent chapter.

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TABLE 4.8: Individuals mentioned in *BraYā* I

NAME(S)	PLACE OF ORIGIN	CASTE/VEDIC ŚĀKHĀ
Sattikā or Santikā (daughter of Meghadatta)	Kaṇavīra village, near Prayāga	*brāhmaṇa (chandoga)*
Krodhabhairava	–	–
Śrīdhara/Kapālabhairava	Kurukṣetra	*brāhmaṇa*
Devadatta/Padmabhairava	Oḍradeśa	*brāhmaṇa (bahvṛc)*
DISCIPLES OF PADMABHAIRAVA:		
Raktabhairava	Madhyadeśa	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
Jvālābhairava	Madhyadeśa	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
Helābhairava	Madhyadeśa	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
Vāmabhairava	Saurāṣṭrā	*śūdra*
Vijayabhairava	Saurāṣṭrā	*śūdra*
Bībhatsabhairava	Sindhuviṣaya	*kṣatriya, rājaputra*
Gajakarṇabhairava	Sindhuviṣaya	*kṣatriya, rājaputra*
Caṇḍabhairava (son of Yajñasoma)	Bṛhodarī village, Sindhuviṣaya	*brāhmaṇa (ātharvaṇa)*
DISCIPLES OF CAṆḌABHAIRAVA:		
Kumārabhairava	–	–
Krodhabhairava (II)	–	–
Tejabhairava	–	–
DISCIPLES OF PADMABHAIRAVA (CONT.):		
Karālabhairava	(Kashmir?)	*mātaṅga*
Ucchuṣmabhairava	(Kashmir?)	*mātaṅga*
Yamabhairava	Kashmir	*brāhmaṇa (chandoga)*
Viṣṇubhairava	Lampāviṣaya	*brāhmaṇa (vājimadhyaṃdina)*
Dakṣiṇābhairava	Kāśī	*brāhmaṇa (bahvṛc)*
Śekharabhairava	Oḍḍiyāna	*brāhmaṇa (taittirīya, apastambhabrāhmaṇa)*
SVACCHANDA AND HIS DISCIPLES:		
Amantrī/Svacchandabhairava (son of Deikā)	Ujjayinī	*brāhmaṇa*
Caṇḍabhairava (II?)	–	–
Bindubhairava (=Vibhubhairava?)	–	–
Māyābhairava	–	–
Anantabhairava	–	–
Vibhubhairava	–	–
Viṣṇubhairava (II?)	Kalāpa village, Kumārīdvīpa	–

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a previous birth had broken the initiatory Pledges and failed to achieve *siddhi*.[101] Reborn, Amantrī attains *siddhi* through practice of the *vidyā*-mantra. Consecrated as Svacchandabhairava, he learns the "Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses" from Krodhabhairava, the primordial disciple of the Goddess.[102] His own disciples preside over ever-diminishing redactions of the scripture at the twilight of the cosmic cycle, at the end of which yoginīs hide away the teachings altogether. Concealed throughout the Kṛta, Tretā, and Dvāpara ages of the subsequent cycle, at the begining of the next Kaliyuga the Goddess reveals the unabbreviated scripture of 125,000 verses to (the new incarnation of) Svacchandabhairava. He teaches a redaction of 12,000 verses to a certain Viṣṇubhairava[103] in the legendary village of Kalāpa, renowned as an abode of sages.[104] Viṣṇubhairava then transmits the text to the inhabitants of the "Isle of Maidens" (*kumārīdvīpa*)—the civilized world.[105] With this we arrive, unambiguously, at the *BraYā*. The narrative ends by predicting that the text shall achieve tremendous popularity, being present in the homes of all worthy of *siddhi*.

While this narrative contains tantalizing details concerning individuals and places, its idealized framework obscures potential historical data. Noteworthy is the fact that the text claims a pan-South Asian genealogy. This could reflect the wish to ascribe a universal dimension to what was, in fact, a manifestly local tradition. However, it is entirely plausible that the textual community involved pan-South Asian lineages. Among the figures mentioned, Svacchandabhairava of Ujjayinī appears pivotal to

[101] See *BraYā* 1.78cd–86ab. The narrative concerning Amantrin or Svacchandabhairava and his disciples, spanning two Kaliyugas, comprises *BraYā* 1.78cd–118.

[102] The verses in question, 78–79, are somewhat problematic; see the annotation thereon.

[103] "Viṣṇubhairava" is mentioned twice in the revelation narrative: as a *vājimadhyaṃdina*-school brahmin from Lampā, one of the fourteen disciples of Padmabhairava (verse 73); and as the student of Svacchandabhairava (verses 112–14), medium for the dissemination of the "Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses" to the residents of Kumārīdvīpa (see below). There is no suggestion that these are the same individual; however, the second could be a subsequent incarnation of the former.

[104] See, for instance, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 9.12.6, 9.22.17, 10.87.7, and 12.2.37–38; and the *Daśāvatāra* of Kṣemendra (opening of the Kalkyavatāra section). In both sources, the site is associated with the Kaliyuga, its final period in particular. I am grateful to Isaacson for these references.

[105] On Kanyā- or Kumārīdvīpa, see *Tantrāloka* 8.85–92, especially verse 91 (*nānāvarṇāśramācārasukhaduḥkhavicitratā | kanyādvīpe yatas tena karmabhūḥ seyam uttamā*: "Because of the existence of [the system of] manifold castes and stages of life, and the variegation of pleasure and suffering on Kanyādvīpa, it is the greatest land [for the performance] of pious acts (*karman*)").

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the text's transmission; yet there are no strong grounds for assuming he or anyone else mentioned represents an historical figure. It is nonetheless possible that the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative preserves a record of some key individuals connected with the scripture and its background, cast within an idealized temporal and geographic framework.

The geographical horizons of the *BraYā*, as indicated by the places it names, have two distinct spheres. On one hand, the revelation narrative presents an expansive topographic vision: individuals involved in the transmission of scripture span from Oḍradeśa in the east—presumably related to today's Orissa—to Sindh (*sindhuviṣaya*) and the Swat Valley (*oḍḍiyāna*) in Pakistan, and Kashmir (*kaśmīra*) and Lampā in the far north. The far south is not represented, however, nor, e.g., Nepal. In contrast, the sacred places mentioned in the *BraYā* suggest more restricted geographical horizons (TABLES 4.9–10[106]). The *BraYā*'s primary deity maṇḍala, as delineated in chapter three, positions eight sacred sites in the cardinal and ordinal directions, referred to in this context as "cremation grounds" (*śmaśāna*). This maṇḍala of eight cremation grounds encompasses central India and the Deccan, the North-Indian heartland, and Orissa and Bengal in the east. This suggests a largely central-eastern geographic sphere, the farthest point west being Kollagiri, perhaps corresponding to the Kolhapur in the Deccan (in modern Maharashtra). Orissa is disproportionately represented, while Koṭivarṣa of modern Dinajpur district in northwestern Bangladesh marks the far northeastern horizon. This maṇḍala of eight cremation grounds has a close parallel in *BraYā* LXXXIV's list of eight *pīṭha*s ("sacred mounds;" see TABLE 4.10).[107] Discrepancies between the two can in part can be accounted for by synonyms—Jayantikā is

[106] In identifying the probable regions of the sacred sites the *BraYā* enumerates, I follow Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism," 7 (n. 4).

[107] *BraYā* LXXXIV.81:

prayāgā varuṇā kollā aṭṭahāsā jayantikā |
caritraikāmrakañ caiva koṭivarṣaṃ tathāṣṭamaṃ || 81 ||

aṭṭahāsā] *em.*; haṭṭahāsā B$_{Y}^{a}$

Tantrasadbhāva 15.21 is identical to this verse, offering as substantive variants *aṭṭahāsā* (adopted above) and the corrupt *caritrekāmbukaṃ* (81c; MSS as reported by Dyczkowski).

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presumably Ujjayinī—but not entirely: Vārāṇasī is replaced by Prayāga, while the synonymity of some site names is uncertain.

It is difficult to say which of the two geographic spheres invoked—the pan-South Asian or the central and eastern—might better reflect the early textual community of the *BraYā*. The maṇḍala of cremation grounds might have been inherited from older sources, possibly shedding light upon the geographic horizons of the early tradition—or, potentially, the geographic sphere of the *BraYā* in its earliest form. The more expansive geography envisioned in the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative could, on the other hand, reflect a broadening of the cult's horizons by the period of the text's final redaction. In addition, it is difficult to imagine obscure villages such as Bṛhodarī of Sindh and Kaṇavīra, near Prayāga—neither of which seems traceable now—finding mention in the absence of a genuine connection to the text.

TABLE 4.9: The Eight Cremation Grounds in *BraYā* III

NAME(S)	PROBABLE LOCATION
Vārāṇasī	Varanasi, U.P.
Virajā	Jajpur, Orissa
Kollagiri	Kolhapur, Maharashtra
Prabhāsa	Somnath, Junagadh Dit., Gujarat
Ujjainī	Ujjain, M.P.
Bhūteśvara	?
Ekāmra	Bhuvanesvar, Orissa
Koṭivarṣa	W. Dinajpur Dit., Bangladesh

Concerning the individuals mentioned in the revelation narrative, two facts stand out: the prominence of male brahmins in the production and transmission of scripture, and the simultaneous representation of a spectrum of other castes. Eleven brahmin men figure among the twenty-five odd individuals named, representing a variety of regions and Vedic schools. The roster features two *kṣatriya*s and two *śūdra*s, and includes two members of the tribal *mātaṅga* community as well; information is not provided concerning the remaining individuals. All of the more important figures are brahmins, with Sattikā—also a brahmin—the single woman of significant status. I suspect that this points toward the simultaneous diversity of participants in the tantric Śaivism of the *BraYā*—caste and gender are, in principle, not bars—and the reality that literacy, and therefore textual production, was undoubtedly a domain in

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which male brahmins were particularly prominent. At the same time, the remarkably rustic Sanskrit of the *BraYā*, heavily influenced as it is by the Middle Indic vernacular, suggests redactors of little training in Sanskrit grammar—the study of which had pride of place in Brahmanical education.

Indeed, the language of the *BraYā* comprises a body of data potentially useful for locating the text in time, place, and sociolinguistic community. Its evaluation faces limitations, though, for the paucity of manuscript evidence complicates the effort to distinguish between the vagaries of scribal transmission and genuine irregularity. Nonetheless, the sheer volume of material in a text of more than 12,000 verses partly compensates for this problem. In the present study, I do not offer a systematic survey of the language of the *BraYā*, although the philological notes to the critical edition discuss linguistic issues as they arise. Further study is required to determine whether the *BraYā* possesses dialectical features that could be linked to a particular region and period.

TABLE 4.10: The Eight Sacred Mounds (*pīṭha*) in *BraYā* LXXXIV

NAME(S)	PROBABLE LOCATION
Prayāga	Allahabad, U.P.
Varuṇā	(=Varaṇā, i.e. Varanasi?)
Kollā/Kolagiri	Kolhapur, Maharashtra
Aṭṭahāsa	Birbhum Dit., W. Bengal
Jayantikā	Ūjjayinī/Ujjain?
Caritra	Puri Dit., Orissa
Ekāmra	Bhuvanesvar, Orissa
Koṭivarṣa/Devīkoṭṭa	W. Dinājpur Dit., Bangladesh

In general character and most particulars, the language of the *BraYā* bears comparison with that of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, on which Judit Törzsök has written a useful and detailed study.[108] To provide a single illustration, note that in the *BraYā*, metrical concerns override grammar when the two conflict, a principle consonant with other varieties of Middle-Indic influenced Sanskrit. This is, however, taken much further than in Epic and the so-called "Buddhist Hybrid" variety. Particularly striking are cases in which a spurious *visarga* is suffixed for metrical reasons: note, for instance, the cases of the adverb *upari* (*BraYā* XXXIII.86cd, *īśāne cāsane sthāpya sap-*

[108] Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," xxvi–lxix.

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tadhānyoparis tathā), the locative plural noun *dikṣu* (*evaṃ dikṣu **vidikṣuś** ca āsanaṃ saṃnive[ś]layet*, XLIV.646cd), and the verb *rakṣyati* (*sādhakānāṃ padānāṃ tu putravad **rakṣyatis** tathā*, *BraYā* XI.125cd). Again driven by meter, final consonants are optionally omitted, especially the final *-t* of optative verbs; as this is characteristic of Prakrit, pronunciation is surely a factor.[109] Additionally, the *BraYā* accepts a degree of metrical freedom by allowing for verse-quarters of nine syllables, provided that the final four-syllable cadence pattern remains intact, and provided that several of the initial five syllables are short (*laghu*).[110]

For a text which places considerable emphasis on attaining worldly power, the *BraYā* makes surprisingly few references to political or military power as an aim of ritual.[111] Furthermore, there are few significant indications of a courtly or even urban environment in the *BraYā*. Although urban centers find mention—Kāśī/Vārāṇasī and Ujjayinī—their civic status seems incidental, for these are important Śaiva places of pilgrimage. These circumstances seem suggestive of a rural social milieu. Among the possible regions of origin, Orissa might seem a strong candidate: note, in particular, the prominence of Orissan sites in the sacred geography of the *BraYā* (TABLES 4.9–10), and the text's references to Ekapādabhairava, an unusual one-legged form of the deity common in Orissan-provenance sculpture but attested elsewhere, as far as I can determine presently, only in neighboring Andhra Pradesh.[112] Temples suggestive of tantric goddess cults are, furthermore, widely attested in the sculpture of this region, particularly from the ninth century.[113] In addition, Orissa, or a region

[109] See the annotation on *BraYā* I.60.

[110] See the annotation on *BraYā* I.20 in part II.

[111] Exceptions include occasional reference to "the good fortune of kingship" or "royal fortune" (*rājyasaubhāgya*) as one of several aims of ritual; cf., e.g., *BraYā* XLIV.314 (*anena kramayogena rājyasaubhāgyam eva ca | arthāṃś ca vividhā[ṃ]ś caiva mantrī sarvān avāpnuyāt || 314*). "Kingship" itself (*rājya*) is mentioned in a list of *siddhis* in *BraYā* LXXXVII.203d. Chapter LI specifies which meats should be offered in fire sacrifice depending on one's caste and station; in this context, kings are mentioned as individuals who must offer human flesh. In addition, there are references to "protection of one's army" (*nijasainyasya rakṣaṇa*) and "terrifying the opponent's army" (*parasainyasa trāsana*) in lists of magical objectives, with no particular emphasis.

[112] The connection between Ekapādabhairava, the *BraYā*, and Orissa has been suggested to me by Sanderson (personal communication, May 2003).

[113] Thomas Donaldson, *Tantra and Śākta art of Orissa*, vol. 1, passim.

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of comparable "peripheral" status in the Brahmanical cultural world, would seem compatible with the sociolinguistic milieu of the text.

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Chapter 5

To Name a Tantra: Identity, History, and the Śaiva Canon in the Epithets of the Brahmayāmala

The text thus far referred to as "the *Brahmayāmala*" in fact designates itself by a variety of titular epithets. In my attempt to introduce this little-studied and unusually voluminous *tantra*, the present chapter attempts to explicate the functions and historical significance of the text's various titular epithets. I demonstrate how these provide important lenses into the text's contents, history, and rhetorical world, especially the position its authors sought to articulate for it within a canon of Śaiva scripture.

Though possessing several titles, evidently the scripture was best known within the tradition as *"Brahmayāmala."* However, the title *Picumata* had considerable importance as well, and the text has two additional titular epithets: *Navākṣaravidhāna* ("Procedure of the Nine-Syllable Vidyā-mantra") and *Dvādaśasāhasraka* ("Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses"). Abhinavagupta cites the text as *"Brahmayāmala"* on eleven occasions,[1] also making four references to the *"Picumata."*[2] Within the body of the text, exclusive of chapter colophons, references to the titles *Brahmayāmala* and *Picumata* are clustered heavily in the latter sections of the text,[3] while discussion of the significance

[1] Viz. *Tantrāloka* 4.54b, 4.60b, 5.97c, 13.145ab, 15.44c, 18.9a, 23.43d, 27.29a, 28.419b, 28.423b, and 29.11a.

[2] Evidently preferring the title *Brahmayāmala*, Abhinavagupta also mentions the *"Picumata"* in *Tantrāloka* 28.383a, while in 27.21d referring to *"Picuśāstra,"* and *"Śrīpicu"* in 28.409c. Note also the phrase *picuproktaṃ*, "spoken in the *Picu[mata]*," in *Tantrāloka* 27.24b. In addition, Jayaratha, commenting on *Tantrāloka* 1.18, quotes from a scriptural source that refers to the *"Picutantra."*

[3] References to the title *Brahmayāmala* occur in XXXVIII.26a, LXI.1c (*yāmalaṃ tantram*), LXI.35c (*yāmala*), LXX.100c, LXXV.36d, LXXVI.93a, LXXVII.1c (*yāmalatantra*), LXXXII.16b (*yāmala*), LXXXII.101d, LXXXII.124b, LXXXVI.85b, and CI.31a, besides numerous references in LXX, LXXI, and LXXIV. References to the title *Picumata[tantra]* occur in LXI.7a, LXI.250a, LXXI.110d, LXXXIV.222c, while *Picutantra* occurs in LXI.39a,

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of both titles occurs particularly in LXX and LXXI. Both of these titles, moreover, had the distinction of apotheosis, for the *BraYā* describes the title deities Yāmalabhairava or Yāmaleśvara, "Lord of the *Yāmalatantra*," and Picubhairava.[4]

5.1 BRAHMAYĀMALA

"Yāmala" has as its primary meaning "pair," and in tantric literature, frequently has the specific sense of "coupled god and goddess," especially in contrast to *ekavīra* or *ekavīrā*, a solitary deity.[5] The *yāmalatantra*s as a genre appear defined, in theory, by teaching the cult of a coupled supreme Godhead.[6] On this basis I prefer the English rendering "Union Tantra" for the scriptures designated *yāmala* or *yāmalatantra*. In the *Brahmayāmala*, the supreme, paired divinity comprises the deities Kapālīśabhairava and the Great Goddess, whose primary names include Caṇḍā Kāpālinī ("Fierce Skull-bearer"), Aghorī ("Un-Dreadful;" also Aghoreśī and Aghoreśvarī), and Bhairavī. As noted already, Sanderson points out that the gender polarity of this supreme divinity is imbalanced, for the mantric being of the supreme Goddess, the Nine-Syllable Vidyā-mantra, subsumes that of Bhairava and the maṇḍala deities.

There might appear a degree of incongruity in a Śaiva *tantra* cast as dialog between Bhairava and the Goddess bearing the title *Brahmayāmala*, for the orthodox creator-deity Brahmā has remarkably little to do with the text. His role is confined to a narrative episode in *BraYā* LXXX, which contains an interesting tantric variant on the "Skull of Brahmā" (*brahmakapāla*) myth.[7] In this episode, Brahmā has the distinction

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LXVI.1b, LXXIV.205c, LXXVI.93c, LXXXI.23d, LXXXII.16d, LXXXVII.257b, and LXXXVII.258b.

[4] Yāmaleśvara and his mantra, maṇḍala-deities, and the *śakti* in union with him (*tadyāmale*) are taught in *BraYā* LXXI, while Picubhairava and his "lump" (*piṇḍa*) or "heap" (*kūṭa*) mantra are described in LXVIII.

[5] Note for example Kṣemarāja's expression *bhairavayāmala*, in the sense of Bhairava together with Bhairavī, e.g. ad *Netratantra* 10.12ab and 10.13ab (*...caitad bhairavayāmalaṃ yajeta*, and *bhairavayāmalaṃ dhyāyet*, respectively). In the *Tantrāloka*, Abhinavagupta uses the word *yāmala* in the sense of "male-female pair," for example in the well-known *maṅgalaśloka*, where he speaks of his conception by the *yāmala* of his own parents. In 29.120, he appears to use *yāmala* in the sense of "conjoined *śiva* and *śakti*" (*śaktiśaktimat*).

[6] Note *Jayadrathayāmala* I.xxxiii.25ab: *dampatyayogataḥ pūjā yāmaleti nigadyate*, "The word *'yāmala'* means worship of [/in accordance to] the conjoined (*yogataḥ*) [divine] conjugal pair." I am grateful to Alexis Sanderson for providing this reference.

[7] Compare this with, e.g., *Skandapurāṇa* 6–7.

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of losing one of his heads to Bhairava, thence providing him a skull as alms-bowl. Brahmā's cosmogonic role, mentioned in a single passage, exists only by the blessing of Bhairava[8]—and perhaps to the extent that his skull, filled with blood Viṣṇu offers Bhairava as alms from his own body, serves as locus for the creation of the primordial *śaktis*.[9] Although few old *yāmalatantras* survive, extant text lists show that their titles were formed by appending *-yāmala* to the names of Brahmanical deities, or in some cases other mythical figures. In this regard, the *yāmalatantras* appear to mirror the naming conventions of Purāṇic literature, which includes texts with titles such as *Skandapurāṇa*, *Vāyupurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, and *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*.

More specifically, it appears possible that *yāmalatantras* were, in principle, texts named after the Brahmanical deities who serve as counterparts to and namesakes for the Mother goddesses (*mātṛ*). This possibility receives support from the fact that a number of sources describe or identify the *yāmalatantras* as *mātṛtantras*, "Tantras

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[8] *BraYā* LXXX.157–60ab:

etac chrutvā tu tau devau praṇipatya punaḥ punaḥ |
janmamṛtyubhayatrastau punaś cāśvāsitau mayā || 157 ||
datvā varasahasrāṇi buddhikāmānusārataḥ |
sṛṣṭiṃ kuruṣva he brahma tvaṃ pālaya janārdana || 158 ||
ajitas triṣu lokeṣu subhagaś ca bhaviṣyasi |
mama tulyabalo vatsa maccharīre bhaviṣyasi || 159 ||
prajānāṅ kāraṇaṃ brahma vivektā vedavādinām |

157a chrutvā] *em.*; chrūtvā By^{a} 157d °cāśvāsitau] *em.*; °cāsvāsito By^{a} 159c °balo] *em.* Isaacson; °balau By^{a} 160b °vādinām] *em.*; °vādināḥ

"After hearing this, the two gods [Brahmā and Viṣṇu] prostrated again and again. Terrified by fear of [the cycles of] birth and death, I [Bhairava] again consoled them, after granting thousands of boons in accordance with their mind's wishes: 'O Brahmā, create! You, Viṣṇu, maintain! You shall be undefeated in the triple universe, and fortunate. My child, having power equal to me, O Brahmā, you shall be the cause of the beings (*prajā*) (¿) [arisen] from my body (?), the wisest of those adhering to the Vedas'."

The interpretation of 159cd is unclear. By Isaacson's suggestion, I have emended *°balau* to *°balo*, referring to Brahmā. 159d's *maccharīre* has been tentatively construed as a "locative of source" (cf. V. S. Apte, *The Student's Guide to Sanskrit Composition*, §77). Judit Törzsök suggests the emendation *maccharīro*, which seems plausible (personal communication, November, 2006).

[9] *BraYā* LXXX, e.g. 225cd–26ab:

brahmaṇasyottamāṅge tu viṣṇuśoṇitapūrite || 225 ||
mama dṛṣṭinipātena utthitāś cātra raśmayaḥ |

utthitāś] *em.*; utthitā By^{a} raśmayaḥ] *corr.*; rasmayaḥ By^{a}

"And when my gaze fell upon the head of Brahmā, filled with the blood of Viṣṇu, the [*śakti*-]rays arose within it."

One could alternatively understand 225cd as a locative absolute clause, viz. "when the skull of Brahmā was filled with the blood of Viṣṇu, ...".

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of the Mother Goddesses." Among these is the old *Skandapurāṇa*, as discussed in chapter two. The eight *yāmalatantra*s listed in *BraYā* XXXVIII correspond to six of the standard Seven Mothers, omitting the independent goddess Cāmuṇḍā, and adding *yāmalatantra*s of Kubera and Vāyu.[10] Although not normally included among the Seven or Eight Mothers, the *BraYā* and other sources do attest the goddesses Kauberī and Vāyavī, *śakti*s corresponding to Kubera and Vāyu.[11] While this possibility suggests a meaningful basis for the naming convention of *yāmalatantra*s, evidence in support of this view is inconclusive. None of the early lists of *yāmalatantra*s, as identified by Alexis Sanderson,[12] map precisely to the Seven or Eight mothers, although *yāmalatantra*s of Brahmā/Brahmāṇī, Rudra/Rudrāṇī, Viṣṇu/Vaiṣṇavī, and Skanda/Kaumārī feature prominently. In addition, many *yāmalatantra* titles, whether of actual or idealized texts, do not seem compatible with this model. These include, for example, the *Nandiyāmala*,[13] bearing the name of Śiva's prominent retainer (*gaṇa*) Nandin, and the (extant) *Jayadrathayāmala*, named after the ambiguous warrior and Śiva-*bhakta* of the *Mahābhārata*.

The *Jayadrathayāmala* nonetheless advances precisely this Mother-goddess framework for understanding the *yāmalatantra*s. In the thirty-sixth chapter of the first book (*ṣaṭka*), a passage listing root scriptures of the Vidyāpīṭha refers to the sevenfold "Union Tantras of the Mothers" (*mātṛyāmala*), beginning with the Mother goddess Brahmāṇī. In this conception, *BraYā* is apparently first of seven scriptures corresponding to the Seven Mothers.[14] Accounting for the diversity of titles, chapter forty-

[10] *BraYā* XXXVIII.25cd–27ab:

rudrayāmalam anyañ ca tathā vai skandayāmalaṃ || 25 ||
brahmayāmalakaṃ caiva viṣṇuyāmalam eva ca |
yamayāmalakaṃ cānyaṃ vāyuyāmalam eva ca || 26 ||
kuberayāmalaṃ caiva indrayāmalam eva ca |

25d skanda°] *em.* (Sanderson); kanda° By[a]

[11] *BraYā* XXIX.94a includes Kauberī and Vāyavī in a set of six yoginīs, which also includes the Brahmanical *śakti*s Hutāśanī (i.e. Āgneyī), Yāmyā, Nairṛtī, Vāruṇī, and Śarkarī (i.e. Śakrāṇī, Indrāṇī?). Cf., e.g., *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 8.97–98 and *Kubjikāmata* 14.81.

[12] Sanderson, "History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the Pañcarātra and the Buddhist Yoginītantras," 7.

[13] Mentioned in e.g. *Skandapurāṇa* 171.129b.

[14] This passage also speaks of divisions of six and five *yāmala*s corresponding to smaller groups of

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two describes the five primary root-scripture *yāmala*s as Mother Tantras, from which emerge secondary (*upa-*) *yāmalatantra*s. From the five *upayāmala*s in turn emerge various *yāmala*s of the *dūtī*s ("Consorts"), *yoginī*s, and other minor goddesses.[15] While this model of the core *yāmala*s as Mother Tantras might have historical value, it appears also to reflect a posthumous and idealized classification. Certainly it seems that many *yāmala*s and *upayāmala*s posited in this conception existed only in name.

Naming conventions of *yāmalatantra*s hence suggest that *"Brahmayāmala"* has as an important, perhaps original meaning, "the Union Tantra of Brahmā" (or "of Brahmā-Brahmāṇī"), with the *Jayadrathayāmala* and other sources confirming a strong association between the *yāmalatantra*s and Mother goddesses. However, the text's self-understanding of its title diverges considerably. In the opening of chapter seventy-one, the Goddess asks, "But why [the word] *yāmala*, O God? I want to know truly."[16] Commencing to answer, Bhairava declares, "this *Brahmayāmalatantra* emerged through the sequence of the *brahma*-[mantra]s."[17] Elaborating upon the link between the *brahma-* of the title and the archaic Śaiva *brahmamantra*s, these five mantra-faces of Sadāśiva are identified with Tumburu and the Four Sisters, the core pantheon of the *vāmatantra*s. As such, the *brahma*-mantras consist of both *śiva* (Tumburu) and *śakti* (the Sisters). The same passage also offers an alternative interpretation of *brahma-*, understanding it in the sense of *brahman*, the formless absolute, rather than the *brahma*-mantras or deity Brahmā. The scripture is called *Brahmayāmala* because Śiva

Mother goddesses. *Jayadrathayāmala* I.xxxvi.16–25 (text courtesy of Sanderson).

[15] *Jayadrathayāmala*, I.xxxxii.1–7 (text courtesy of Sanderson). In this model, the five *mūlayāmala*s are those of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Skanda, and Umā, which give rise to the *Vetālayāmala*, *Īśānayāmala*, *Atharvayāmala*, *Sarasvatīyāmala*, and *Somayāmala*, respectively.

[16] *BraYā* LXXI.1ab: *yāmalan tu kathaṃ deva jñātum icchāmi tattvataḥ.*

[17] *BraYā* LXXI.3ab: *brahmayāmalatantredaṃ brahmabhaṃgyā vini[ḥ]śṛtam*, understanding °*tantredaṃ* as °*tantram idam*, with *metri causa* elision of the case ending. (The same expression occurs as *BraYā* CI.31a.) *Brahmabhaṅgi* refers to the sequence of the five *brahma*-mantras, beginning with that of Sadyojāta. See Dominic Goodall, et al, *The Pañcāvaraṇastava of Aghoraśivācārya: A Twelfth-century South India Prescription for the Visualization of Sadāśiva and His Retinue*, 136–37. See also Kṣemarāja's explanation of the term commenting on *Svacchandatantra* 1.46a. In the *BraYā*, cf. LXI.181cd: *pañcabhāgakṛtā[ṃ] vidyā[ṃ] brahmabhaṅgyā niyojayet*, "One should employ the *vidyā*-mantra divided in five parts, in the *brahmabhaṅgi* sequence." That this sequence begins with Sadyojāta appears to be stated in a corrupt half-*śloka*, LXXI.3cd: *sadyāntādivibhāgena sṛṣṭimāgreṇa saṃyutaṃ.* Most probably, *sadyāntādi*° should be emended to *sadyojādi*°, "beginning with Sadyoja/Sadyojāta."

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and Śakti, the *yāmala*, are both vast (*bṛhattvāt*) and cause expansion (*bṛṃhakatvāt*)—an etymology of *brahman*.[18]

An explanation in *BraYā* LXX focuses instead upon the term *yāmala*. The text is the *"Brahmayāmala"* because it encompasses within itself a variety of oppositions (*yāmala*): those of liberation and supernatural attainment (*mukti* and *bhukti*); ritual and doctrine (*kriyā* and *jñāna*); and teachings of both the 'pure' and 'impure' ways, as well as the 'mixed' and 'unmixed' ritual paths.[19] This definition ties into the text's classification of scripture, ritual, and practitioners according to the threefold schemata of pure, impure, and mixed.[20] Because the text teaches ritual paths for all

[18] *BraYā* LXXI.67–69ab:

brahmaṃ pañcavibhāgastham na pañcarahitaṃ kvacit |
kāmabāṇā jayādyāś ca devyas tumburupūrvakāḥ || 67 ||
nandādititithayaḥ pañca śivaśaktyātmakāḥ priye |
bṛhattvād bṛṃhakatvāc ca śivaśaktiv ubhāv api || 68 ||
jagaty asmin sugītau tu brahmayāmalasaṃjñayā |

67c kāmavāṇā] *em.*; kāmavāṇa° By^{a} 67d °pūrvakāḥ] *em.*; °pūrvvakā By^{a} 68b śivaśaktyātmakāḥ] *em.*; śivā śaktyātmakā By^{a} 68c bṛhattvād] *em.*; b(a?)hatvād By^{a}

"*brahman* always has five divisions; in no case is it devoid of the five. [These are] the five arrows of Kāmadeva, the [five] goddesses who begin with Jayā, preceded by Tumburu, and the five [auspicious] dates beginning with *nandā*, consisting of *śiva* and *śakti*. Because of being vast and causing expansion, both *śiva* and *śakti* are well-known in this world by the designation *brahmayāmala*."

By^{a}'s *kāmabāṇa*° in 67c is suspect; the connective *ca* suggests reading *kāmabāṇā jayādyāś ca*. It seems unlikely that the "arrows of Kāmadeva"—which number five—are identified with the Four Sisters and Tumburu, for this would make Tumburu himself one of Cupid's weapons. In 68d, it seems that *śivaśaktiv* represents the dual *śivaśaktī*, with an unusual hiatus-breaking *-v-*. This could reflect influence of sandhi of the type *ubhāv api* for *ubhau api*.

Cf. the definition of the word *brahman* provided in *BraYā* LIX.24cd: *bṛha[t]tvād bṛṃhikatvāc ca tad brahmaṃ śabdatāṃ gatam*. This is a standard etymological explanation (*nirukti*) of the term; note, e.g., Kṣemarāja's comments ad *Svacchandatantra* 1.46: *brahmaṇo bṛhattvāt bṛṃhakatvāt viśvātmanaḥ śaktimūrteḥ*. In *Parākhyatantra* 14.78cd, a similar etymology is provided for Brahmā, as one of the five Causal Lords (*kāraṇeśvara*): *bṛhattvād bṛṃhakatvāc ca brahmā vā brahmayogataḥ*, "[He is called] Brahmā because he is great, because He fills, or because He possesses *brahman*" (translation of Dominic Goodall, *The Parākhyatantra. A Scripture of the Śaiva Siddhānta*, 374).

[19] *BraYā* LXX.99cd–102ab:

śuddhāśuddhe tathā mārge miśrāmiśre ca tatsamaḥ || 99 ||
bhuktimuktikriyājñānaṃ śuddhāśuddhasya lakṣaṇam |
brahmayāmalam ity uktaṃ etad devyāmataṃ tathā || 100 ||
śuddhāśuddhavibhāgena jñānam uktaṃ varānane |
mantraśaktivivekena paravidyāmayena ca || 101 ||
śuddhāśuddhavibhāgastham miśrakaṃ yāmalaṃ smṛtam |

100a °kriyā°] *corr.*; °kṛyā° By^{a}

Intriguingly, *Devyāmata* in 100d appears to be another epithet of the *BraYā*. cf. *Devyāyāmala*, the title of a text quoted by Abhinavagupta.

[20] See, e.g., the annotation on *BraYā* 1.38–39 in part II.

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three grades of *sādhaka*, characterized by the basic opposition of pure and impure, it is the *yāmalatantra*.

5.2 Picumata

Alongside *"Brahmayāmala," "Picumata"* (and *Picutantra*) figures as foremost among the titles and epithets provided in the text's colophons. A number of other *tantra*s also bear the designation *-mata*, "Doctrine [Tantra]," such as the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. This epithet actually occurs with twice the frequency of *Brahmayāmala* in colophons, and the text is cited by this name and variations such as *Picutantra* in the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*[21] and *Tantrāloka*.[22] Sanderson highlights the epithet's importance by referring to the scripture as the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala*.[23] This choice has merit, for instance clearly distinguishing the text from later *tantra*s claiming the title *Brahmayāmala*. Nonetheless, I deem *Brahmayāmala* the primary title and generally refer to the text as such, giving weight to the balance of evidence from citations and text lists. The relative priority of a text's titles is of course a modern concern; the tradition itself readily accommodated multiplicity.

In Sanskrit, *picu* ordinarily means "cotton," while *picumarda* and *picumanda* refer to the neem tree. It cannot be assumed forthright that *picu* has in the *BraYā* precisely the same meaning, but there are some indications of a botanical identification: we find references to *picu* trees, flowers, and leaves.[24] It is conceivable that these refer to neem (Sanskrit *nimba*), *picuvṛkṣa* being, that is, identical in meaning to *picumanda* and *picumarda*. More likely, perhaps, is that the *picu* "tree" refers to the cotton plant, or even the much larger silk cotton tree (Sanskrit *apūraṇī*).

Irrespective of the identity of the *picu* tree, a botanical referent is difficult to reconcile with most references to *picu* (as opposed to "*picu* tree," etc.) in the *BraYā*. In

[21] See below (nn. 68, 104).

[22] See above (n. 2).

[23] See for example "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 672.

[24] Cf. *BraYā* LXIV.51cd (*picuvṛkṣād ato devi kṛtvā maṇḍalakaṃ śubham*), LXXVI.98ab (*arkapatram picoḥ patra[ṃ] †durbhagā†puṣpam eva ca*), and LXXVI.104cd (*arkapuṣpaṃ picoḥ puṣpaṃ rāsabhasya tu sekajam*).

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many passages, it appears to be a liquid, a substance one "fills" ($\sqrt{pūr}$) into a vessel or the mouth, or uses to sprinkle on and thereby sacralize ritual space.[25] Frequently, it is a liquid used in the guest-water offering (*argha*) for deities, particularly as proffered from a skull-bowl. Often, *argha* is specified as consisting of either *picu* or alcohol, or both together.[26] It can also serve as an oblation in the fire sacrifice (*homa*).[27] *BraYā* XLV, expounding the deity Manthānabhairava and his unusual "churning [of the cauldron]" ritual, is particularly rich in references to *picu* as an offering substance. Typical is its instruction, "a skull filled with *picu*, fully empowered by the *vidyā*-mantra and its ancillaries—with that, the guest-offering should be given to the goddesses and to Bhairava."[28] In *BraYā* VI and VIII, the term *picuvaktra* occurs as an iconographical description, probably meaning "having *picu* in the mouth." Related to this, Picuvaktrā is the name of a minor goddess mentioned in the *Agnipurāṇa* and *Tantrasadbhāva*, while the latter also mentions a Bhairava named Picuvaktra.[29]

Despite substantial data, the identity of the substance *"picu"* is not entirely certain. As a liquid used in ritual, *picu* must surely be distinguished from the *picu*-tree and its products. It is in fact almost certainly a bodily substance, and appears primarily to refer to sexual fluids. That it is a bodily product is suggested, for instance, by references to *mahāpicu*, in which the prefix "great" (*mahā-*) carries its not-so-secret code sense of "human;" cf. *mahāmāṃsa*, "human flesh." *BraYā* XLIX makes reference to cooking rice for the food offerings (*caru*) using *raja* (female sexual/menstrual fluid) and *picu*, or else blood (*rakta*); paired as it is with female fluids, it seems likely that here *picu* refers to semen.[30] In no case where *picu* is listed alongside other substances

[25] Cf., e.g., LXV.105, quoted below.

[26] Cf., e.g., XLV.52cd (*picunā madireṇaiva devīdevān sa tarpayet*) and XLVI.38ab (*vigṛhya dāpayed argham picunā surayātha vā*).

[27] Cf. *BraYā* XLVIII.23cd: *picupūrṇāhutiṃ dadyāt sādhyabījasamanvitam.*

[28] *BraYā* XLV.105:

> *kapālaṃ picunā pūrṇaṃ vidyāṅgābhiḥ sumantritam |*
> *tenārgham tu pradātavyaṃ devīnāṃ bhairavasya tu || 105 ||*

[29] *Agnipurāṇa* 146.19ab (*piśācī picuvaktrā ca lolupā aindrīsambhavāḥ*), *Tantrasadbhāva* 13.83cd (*bhairavī jharjharī caiva picuvaktrā tathāpar[ā]*), and *Tantrasadbhāva* 13.41ab (*bhairavo jharjharaś caiva picuvaktras tathāparaḥ*).

[30] *BraYā* XLIX.10cd–12ab:

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does seminal fluid find separate mention. But as discussed below, several passages appear to identify *picu* with the combined male and female sexual fluids, although these passages read much else into the term as well. It hence seems possible that *picu* refers in general to sexual fluids, whether male, female, or both.[31] Somewhat confusing matters, an unmetrical verse quarter in *BraYā* XLV makes reference to *gajapicu*, "elephant *picu*," and elsewhere reference seems to be made to *picu* of the jackal (*kroṣṭuka*).[32] It appears somewhat improbable that *picu* refers here to the sexual fluid of the elephant and jackal; urine or blood seems more likely. This might in fact sug-

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rajapicubhi vā raktaṃ taṇḍulāṃs tena bhāvayet || 10 ||
tryahañ ca bhāvayet prājñaḥ śoṣayitvā sthāpayet punaḥ |
tat sādhayīta carukaṃ picunā kroṣṭhukasya tu || 11 ||
bhakṣayed amṛtaṃ divyaṃ bhakṣayitvā śivo bhavet |

10d taṇḍulāṃs] *em.*; taṇḍulā BY^{a} 11a tryahañ] *em.*; trāhañ BY^{a} bhāvayet] *em.*; bhāvaye BY^{a}

"Blood, or with *rajaḥ* and *picu*—one should prepare the rice with that. The wise person should prepare it for three days; and then, after drying it out, should set it up again. He should prepare that *caru* with the *picu* of a jackal. He should consume the divine nectar; after consuming it, he would become Śiva."

One solution to the metrical problem of 10c could be *rajaḥpicubhi vā raktaṃ*.

Incidentally, one might wonder whether and how Śaiva ritualists actually procured sexual fluids by the pitcher-full or skull-full. Barring those most zealous in such matters, this seems improbable. Although the texts say little on the subject, one possibility is that the sexual fluids used in ritual were diluted in water. Note for example the following instruction in *BraYā* XXIV:

kṣobhayitvā tato śaktiṃ yoniṃ prakṣālayet tataḥ || 11 ||
kṣālanaṃ bhāṇḍake gṛhya aśeṣam raktasaṃyutam |
pūrvoktena vidhānena carukaṃ śrāvayet tataḥ || 12 ||

"Next, after bringing the *śakti* to orgasm, one should then wash the female organ. After gathering the rinse-fluid into a container, completely, together with the female sexual fluid, one should cook the food offerings (*caru*) [with that], in accordance with the aforementioned procedure."

Similarly, references to *picumadya*, "*picu*-liquor," suggest dilution in liquid.

[31] This might explain what the *Matasāra* means by *picukrīḍā*, "sporting with *picu*;" while not explicitly clear, the context suggests that this refers to something done after copulation. *Matasāra*, chapter 1:

bījaṃ jīvamayaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ mṛtyujid rasam uttamam |
picukrīḍā[ṃ] tataḥ kuryād devyā mantreṇa mantrayet |
madyena surayā vātha pūrayec cārghapātrakam |

NGMPP B28/16, folio 6r (transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva).

[32] On *kroṣṭukapicu*, see *BraYā* XLIX.10cd–12b, quoted above. *Gajapicu* is mentioned in *BraYā* XLV.21c:

gajapicukasaṃyuktaṃ bhīmavaktrābhimantritam || 21 ||
pūrayitvā kapālaṃ tu vāyavyāṃ sthāpayet priye |

This section, for which BY^{a} is not fully legible, outlines a maṇḍala with an inner circuit of eight skulls arrayed in the cardinal and ordinal directions, filled with various 'nondual' liquids. These are empowered by the mantras of the four *devī*s and four *dūtī*s who are installed therein. The other liquids include, for instance, human and rabbit blood, blood of the practitioner (*yoginasya* [!] *rakta*), alcohol, and human *picu* (*mahāpicu*).

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gest that *picu* is a general term for bodily fluids, usually having the specific sense of "sexual fluid."

Kashmiri nondual exegetical literature attests the term *picuvaktra* ("*Picu*-mouth") as a synonym for *yoginīvaktra*, the "mouth of the Yoginī."[33] In a vision of the scriptural canon articulated in the *Tantrāloka* and *Tantrasāra*, Abhinavagupta posits Kaula scriptures as revelations of a sixth, hidden stream, emerging not from Sadāśiva's five faces but a "lower face/orifice" (*adhovaktra*, etc.) or "netherworld [facing] face" (*pātālavaktra*). These are synonyms of *yoginīvaktra*.[34] In the *kulayāga* ("clan rite") expounded in *Tantrāloka* 29, this *yoginīvaktra*—the ultimate source of the lineage (*sampradāya*) and scriptural wisdom—becomes the divine homolog of the ritual consort's sexual organ. Drinking fluids from this thus becomes a medium for gnostic experience. The use of *picuvaktra* as a synonym of *yoginīvaktra* might be based upon the latter's identification with the vagina in ritual, locus of the substance *picu*. However, anatomical conceptions of the *yoginīvaktra* are ambiguous: it in fact appears that to the Kashmiri Śaiva authors Jayaratha and Kṣemarāja, the *adhovaktra* or the "lower mouth" refers in microcosmic terms to the root plexus of the human body, associated as much with the rectum as the genitals.[35] In the Kaula yoga of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā*

[33] Jayaratha provides *picuvaktra* as a synonym for *yoginīvaktra* in commenting on *Tantrāloka* 15.206.

[34] On the concept of the *adhovaktra*, see *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. 1, 110, and Marc Dyczkowski, *The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition*, 63–65. The expression *pātālavaktra* is found in *Tantrāloka* 15.206a, *adhovaktra* in 6.193c, and "the mouth of the yoginī" in 29.40d, 29.124d, and 29.221d. In all likelihood, the idea was already present in Kaula scriptural sources. Dyczkowski, for instance, cites a suggestive passage from the *Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya* which speaks of the *āmnāyahṛdaya* ("heart of the lineage") as located in the "mouth of the Yoginī." *Canon of the Śaivāgama*, 168 (n. 49).

[35] In the *Pratyabhijñāhṛdaya*, Kṣemarāja speaks of the bodily *śakti* as the middle *nāḍī* "extending from the *brahmarandhra* to the lower mouth (*adhovaktra*)" (*sā ...ā brahmarandhrāt adhovaktraparyantaṃ prāṇaśaktibrahmāśrayamadhyamanāḍīrūpatayā prādhānyena sthitā*). The "lower mouth/orifice" cannot of course refer here to female genitalia, for the central *nāḍī* would then not exist in males. Jayaratha, commenting after *Tantrāloka* 6.194ab, refers to the *adhovaktra* as "where the *apāna* vital wind has its resting point," the orifice which "removes" the "defilement of duality." He explicitly identifies this with the *yoginīvaktra*. The imagery of waste removal suggests the anus, although perhaps also the urethra:

> *yatra nāmāpānasya viśrāntis tad idaṃ dvaitakalaṅkāpaham 'adhovaktraṃ'*
> *ṣaṣṭhasrotorūpaṃ yoginīvaktram ity ucyate ...*
> "[The place] where in fact the *apāna* [vital wind] rests, the 'lower mouth' by which the defilement of duality is removed, is called the *yoginīvaktra*, which takes the form of the sixth [scriptural] stream."

The association between the area of the rectum and the *apāna vāyu*, which is responsible for food intake

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as well, the downward "netherworld face" (*pātālavaktra*) or *picuvaktra* is correlated with the yogic body's *ādhāra-* or "root" *cakra*.[36] David White has suggested that *picuvaktra* means "cotton mouth," his hermeneutics of "literal readings" finding in it a synonym of "vagina."[37] (Cotton, apparently, implies pubic hair.) Extrapolating from this, he renders *picu* itself as "vagina," interpreting the title *Picumata* to mean "Doctrine of the [Nether] Cotton Mouth."[38] This seems highly improbable. More sound, but still unlikely, Marc Dyczkowski suggests that the title *Picumata* means "the Doctrine of Picubhairava," the latter deity being taught in *BraYā* LXVIII.[39] More probably, Picubhairava is an apotheosis of the title *Picumata*, in much the same manner as Yāmalabhairava or Yāmaleśvara, a deity expounded in *BraYā* LXXI.

Whatever may be its basic, material referent, the *BraYā* also uses *picu* as a multivalent technical term (*saṃjñā*) some distance removed from the *picu* substance. As such, the title *Picumata* invokes a range of embedded homologies, from mixed male-female sexual fluids to the supreme Goddess. Several discussions of the term *picu*

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and the elimination of waste (*Svacchandatantra* 7.307ab: *praveśayed annapānaṃ tan malaṃ srāvayed adhaḥ*), is made explicit in *Svacchandatantra* 7.316a: *prāṇāpānaṃ gude dhyāyet*, "one should visualize/meditate on the *apāna*-wind in the anus." Cf., e.g., the *Gorakṣaśataka* (Briggs' edition):

> *hṛdi prāṇo vasen nityaṃ apāno gudamaṇḍale |*
> *samāno nābhideśe syād udānaḥ kaṇṭhamadhyagaḥ || 34 ||*
> "*Prāṇa* would always remain in the heart, *apāna* in the area of the rectum; *samāna* would be in the navel area, *udāna* within the throat."

It seems certain that Jayaratha and Kṣemarāja identify the *adhovaktra* as neither the rectum nor genitals, but rather the plexus associated with both located at the base of the torso, which they call the *janmādhāra*, "the root of birth." Jayaratha makes this identification explicit commenting on 3.95ab, remarking, *trikoṇam ity anena yoginīvaktrāparaparyāyajanmādhārarūpatvam apy asya sūcitam | tata eva hi parā śaktir udeti—iti bhāvaḥ |* Jayaratha elsewhere refers to the *janmādhāra* as the "place of the arising of the *śakti*," commenting after *Tantrāloka* 5.94ab and 15.104ab. He also provides as synonyms the terms *mūlādhāra, kulamūla* (e.g. ad 5.94ab), *guhya* and *guhyacakra* ("plexus of the privies," e.g. ad 29.88), and *mūlasthāna* ("place of the root," ad 32.35c), etc. Cf. *Netratantra* 7.31–32ab, which provides a list of synonyms for the base plexus.

It is perhaps worth noting that the later *Śivasaṃhitā* speaks of a *yoni* ("vulva, womb") located between the penis and rectum as the locus of the *kuṇḍalinī*:

> *gudād dvyaṃgulataś cordhvaṃ meḍhraikāṅgulatas tv adhaḥ |*
> *ekaṃ cāsti samaṃ kandaṃ samantāc caturaṃgulam || 77 ||*
> *paścimābhimukhī yonir gudameḍhrāntarālagā |*
> *tatra kandaṃ samākhyātaṃ tatrāste kuṇḍalī sadā || 78 ||*

Śivasaṃhitā 5.77–78 (Lonavala edition).

[36] J. A. Schotermann, *The Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā, Chapters 1–5*, 86–87.

[37] *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 101; on "literal readings," see ibid., 7–8.

[38] *Kiss of the Yoginī*, 101.

[39] *Canon of the Śaivāgama*, 168–70 (n. 56).

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occur in the *BraYā*'s second half (*ṣaṭka*), prior to the *Addendum Tantras*, particularly in chapters LXVI, LXVIII, and LXXI. In the last section of LXXI, the Devī asks, "Why does this *tantra* have the designation *'picu'*? What is stated by the syllable *'pi'*, and the syllable *'cu'*, O Maheśvara? [And what] through the conjunction of the two? Tell [me] everything."

Bhairava in answer embeds in this two-syllable word a series of doctrinal and ritual meanings. Within the syllable *'pi'* is present the supreme Śiva, for the entire universe "fell" (***papāta***), i.e. came to pass, through [his] contact with the *śakti*.[40] In union with Śiva, the supreme Śakti is *'cu'*, for she kisses (***cumbana***) and sucks (***cūṣaṇa***). Their orgasmic discharge (*kṣobha*) is "the great substance" (*mahādravya*), the seed [of creation?]. Since the entire world is composed of *śiva* and *śakti*, the term *picu*, furthermore, connotes supreme nonduality (*parādvaya*). A subsequent, problematic line apparently describes *picu* as blood—presumably menstrual blood or female sexual fluid—as well as cognition (*buddhi*), and the "yoga of meditation upon Śiva."[41] *Picu* is nothing other than Śiva and Śakti; it is the nectar of immortality, in which all substances have origin. *Picu* has the nature of gnosis, the ever-exalted Ucchuṣmabhairava. *'Pi'* has the form of the penis, while *'cu'* denotes male and female sexual fluids.[42] In chapter LXVI, *picu* is described as the union of Śiva and Śakti,

[40] It is possible that the verb *papāta* is used in allusion to *śukrapāta*, seminal emission.

[41] This line—*picu raktaṃ tathā buddhi dhyānayogaṃ śivātmakaṃ*, LXXI.117ab—is highly problematic. It is conceivable that *buddhi* is a corruption of *viddhi*, the imperative of √*vid*.

[42] *BraYā* LXXI.110–21ab:

devy uvāca ||
picusaṃjñā mahādeva tantrasyāsya kathaṃ bhavet |
kiṃ vā pikāram ity uktaṃ cukāram vā maheśvara || *110* ||
ubhayor yogayogena kathayasva samastakam |
bhairava uvāca ||
śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi picupraśnārtham uttamam || *111* ||
pratyakṣaravibhāgena yathāvasthaṃ varānane |
papāta śaktiyogena yasmāt sarvaṃ carācaram || *112* ||
pikārasthaṃ śivaṃ vindyād vyāpakaṃ vibhur avyayam |
cumbanaṃ cūṣaṇaṃ yogaṃ sarvagaṃ śivayojitam || *113* ||
śā śaktiḥ kurute yasmāc chivayogād varānane |
picusaṃjñācalā śambhuyuktā proktā varānane || *114* ||
ubhayor bhogayogāc ca kṣobho yaḥ paramārthataḥ |
picuvad bījavaj jñeyaṃ mahādravyañ ca pārvati || *115* ||
śivaśaktir na cānyaṃ hi sarvatrāpi ca dṛśyate |
vyāpitva-m-aprameyatve picusaṃjñā parādvaye || *116* ||

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taking the form of the two-syllable mantra HUṂ PHE.[43] The syllable *'pi'* connotes the male genitals and semen, and *'cu'* menstrual/sexual fluid and the female "hole" or "vessel" (*kuṇḍa*). In addition, *picu* is the supreme Śakti, Aghoreśvarī, from whose

picu raktaṃ tathā buddhir dhyānayogaṃ śivātmakam |
picu śaktiśivābhyāṃ tu nāntaraṃ varavarṇini || 117 ||
yogatvāt sarvabodhāc ca sarvasattvavivecanāt |
nityayuktaṃ picujñānaṃ †sārvvannaikopamāsthitaṃ† || 118 ||
amṛtaṃ mṛtyunāśaṃ tu sarvadravyaṃ picūdbhavam |
picu jñānasvabhāvaṃ tu ucchuṣmaṃ satatoditam || 119 ||
pikāro liṅgasaṃsthānaṃ cukāraḥ śukraśoṇitam |
picu-r-akṣarasaṃyogā śuddhāśuddhavilakṣaṇā || 120 ||
antaḥkaraṇake bāhye saikā śaktiḥ śivānvitā |

111d °praśnā°] *corr.*; °prasnā° By^{a} 114a śaktiḥ] *corr.*; śakti By^{a} yasmāc] *em.*; yasyāc By^{a} 115a bījavaj] *em.*; bījava By^{a} 116a °śaktir] *em.*; °śakti By^{a} 118a yogatvāt] *em.*; yogatvā By^{a} °bodhāc] *em.*; °boddhāc? By$^{a\,pc}$; (° - - ?) By$^{a\,ac}$ 118b °sattva°] *em.*; °sattvaṃ By^{a} 119a °nāśaṃ] *em.*; °nāsaṃ By^{a} 119d satato°] *em.*; śatato° By^{a} 120b °śoṇitam] *em.*; °sroṇitaṃ By^{a} 120d °vilakṣaṇā] *em.*; °vilakṣaṇaṃ By^{a} 121b śivānvitā] *em.*; śivānvitāṃ By^{a}

"The Goddess spoke: 'O Mahādeva, why does this *tantra* have the title *Picu*? What is stated by the syllable *pi*, and what by the syllable *cu*, O Maheśvara? [And what] by joining them in combination? Tell me everything'. [110–11ab]

Bhairava spoke: 'Hear, O goddess, the ultimate answer to the question about *picu*, in accordance with its state with the division of each syllable. Since the entire universe came to pass [lit. "fell"] through [his] union with the Śakti, the pervasive, immutable lord, Śiva, should be known as present in the syllable *pi*. [111cd–13ab] Since, in union with Śiva, the Śakti kisses (*cumbanaṃ*) [and] sucks (*cuṣaṇaṃ*), (¿) [and creates a] union that is all pervasive, conjoined with Śiva (?), the immovable [Śakti] is said to have the title *picu* when united with Śiva, O fair woman. [113cd–14] And the orgasm fluid (*kṣobha*) from their combined pleasure, (¿) composed of *picu*, should in truth be known as containing the "seed" [for the creation] (?), the "Great Substance" (*mahādravya*), O Pārvatī. And everywhere verily are seen *śiva* and *śakti*, nothing else. Because of being pervasive and immeasurable, the term *picu* has the sense of supreme nonduality (*parādvaya*). [115–16] (¿) *Picu* is [sexual/menstrual] blood and cognition (*buddhi*); yoga and meditation consist of Śiva (?). *Picu* is none other than *śiva* and *śakti*, O fair woman. [117] Because of its state of unity, because of omniscience, and because of discriminating knowledge of all beings, (¿) .....(?). [118] It is the nectar which destroys death; all substances originate from *picu*. *Picu* has the nature of wisdom; it is the ever-arisen Ucchuṣmabhairava. [119] The syllable *pi* has the form of the penis; the syllable *cu* is semen and female sexual/menstrual fluid (*śoṇita*). Possessing the conjoined syllables *pi* and *cu*, having both pure and impure characteristics, the Śakti is singular, both internally and externally, conjoined with Śiva. [120–21ab]

The text and interpretation offered are provisional. Note for example the problem of what By^{a} transmits as *picuvad bījava* in 115cd. This should probably read *picuvad bījavaj*, the *-vat* suffix having the sense of "possessing, containing." In 116cd and 120c, there appear to be compounds with internal hiatus breakers, *vyāpitva-m-aprameyatve* and *picu-r-akṣara°*, respectively. 118 is particularly problematic. For 118d, the only conjecture I can offer is *sarvam ekopamāsthitam*, "everything, present in a single comparison."

[43] By^{a} is not legible here, but the form of the mantra is perhaps confirmed by the occurrence of HUṂ PHE PHAṬ in XXVI.39ab: *huṃphephaḍeti rakṣārdhaṃ tato dūtidvayāntimaṃ*. However, there is a possibility that *phe* is corrupt for *phet*, a syllable whose importance is illustrated by the exposition of a deity called of Phetkārabhairava ("the *bhairava* of the syllable 'Phet' ") in the very next chapter, LXVII. The manuscript evidence is mixed; in support of *phe* (or *pheḥ*, *pheṃ*?), note for example LXXXIV.57c and 188c in By^{a}: *hūṃpheti dvyakṣaram mantra* and *huṃpheti dvyakṣaraṃ mantraṃ*, respectively, the latter probably being the correct text for both (°*pheti* appears to represent *phe iti*).

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womb the entire creation arose.[44] Hence, the title *Picumata* appears to foreground the importance of sexual fluids and coitus in the ritual of this scripture. The text's exegesis of this term advances a rudimentary theology of sexual ritual, embedding in *picu*'s two syllables the polarity of *śiva* and *śakti* and their earthly embodiment in male and female fluids. And consistent with this scripture's emphasis on the female pole of the Godhead, although *picu*'s syllables are homologous with *śiva* and *śakti*,

[44] *BraYā* LXIV. The text of this passage has several problems, in part because the oldest codex, $B_Y{}^a$, is damaged. The following edition reports the readings of $B_Y{}^a$, $B_Y{}^b$, and $B_Y{}^d$:

huṃkāre bhairavo devo phekārasthā maheśvarī |
ubhābhyāṃ yo 'tra saṃyogaḥ śaktikuṇḍe maheśvari || 6 ||
raktaretātmako hy ekaḥ picurūpaḥ sadāvyayaḥ |
sā śaktir devadevasya śivabījasamanvitā || 7 ||
akṣarākṣarayogena pralayotpattikāraṇam |
viśvotpattivibhāgena śaktirūpaṃ mahodayam || 8 ||
picusaṃjñāgataṃ devi lolībhūtaṃ tu sarvagam |
pikāro liṅgam ity uktaṃ cukāraṃ kuṇḍa ucyate || 9 ||
pi śukrañ cugataṃ raktaṃ picuyogaṃ bhavātmakam |
jīvadehavibhāgena śaktiśaktimataṃ picum || 10 ||
pradhānaṃ jaṭhare sā tu yayotpannaṃ carācaram |
dṛṣṭaṃ śaktimayaṃ devi tena śaktir udīryate || 11 ||
cintāmaṇisamā devi jagaty asminn aghorikā |

6a huṃkāre] $B_Y{}^a$; huṃkāro $B_Y{}^b$; huṃkāra $B_Y{}^d$ 6b phe°] $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^b$; pha° $B_Y{}^d$ °kārasthā] $B_Y{}^d$; °kārastho $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^b$ 6c yo 'tra saṃyogaḥ] *conj.*; (yo[tr]a[y/s/g]aṃ[y/g][ā/o]?) $B_Y{}^a$; śrotasaṃyogāc $B_Y{}^b$; yātra saṃyogo $B_Y{}^d$ 6d śakti°] $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^d$; chakti° $B_Y{}^b$ kuṇḍe] $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^b$; kuṇḍa $B_Y{}^d$ 7a °retā°] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$; °(- ?)etā° $B_Y{}^a$ ekaḥ] $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^d$; eka $B_Y{}^b$ 7b °rūpaḥ] *corr.*; °rūpa $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$ 7c sā] $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^b$; so $B_Y{}^d$ śaktir] *em.*; śakti $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$ 7d °samanvitā] *em.*; °samanvitāḥ $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$ 9a °saṃjñā°] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$; sajñā (*anusvara perhaps obscured*) $B_Y{}^a$ 9b lolībhūtaṃ tu] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$; lol(- - taṃ - ?) $B_Y{}^a$ 9c pi°] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$; pa° $B_Y{}^a$ 9d cukāraṃ] *corr.*; cukāra(n?) $B_Y{}^a$; cukāra $B_Y{}^b$; cukāraḥ $B_Y{}^d$ 10a pi śukrañ cu gataṃ] *em.*; pi śukra(ṃ -?)gataṃ $B_Y{}^a$; pi śukra tu gataṃ $B_Y{}^b$; pi śukraṃ vugataṃ $B_Y{}^d$ raktaṃ] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$(- ktaṃ) $B_Y{}^a$ 10b picuyogaṃ bhavātmakam] *conj.*; picu([p/y][ā/o] -)bhavātmak(- ?) $B_Y{}^a$; picuyāgaṃ tavātmakam $B_Y{}^b$; picuyāgaṃ bhavātmakaṃ $B_Y{}^d$ 10c jīvadeha] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$; j(ā/ī?)va(- - -) $B_Y{}^a$ 10d picum] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$; pi(-)ṃ $B_Y{}^a$ 11a jaṭhare] $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^b$; jaṭhara $B_Y{}^d$ tu] $B_Y{}^b$; tuḥ $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^d$ 11b yayotpannaṃ] *conj.* Isaacson; yathotpannaṃ] $B_Y{}^bB_Y{}^d$; yathotp(- -)ṃ $B_Y{}^a$ 12 cintāmaṇisamā] $B_Y{}^aB_Y{}^b$; cintāmaṇisamo $B_Y{}^d$ 12b aghorikā] $B_Y{}^a$; aghārikā $B_Y{}^b$; aghyārikā $B_Y{}^d$

"In the syllable *huṃ* is the god Bhairava; Maheśvarī is present in the syllable *phe*. (¿) The conjunction by both here, in the hole of the consort (?), O Maheśvarī, as one, has the form of the everlasting *picu*, which consists of female fluid and semen. [6–7ab] It is the Śakti of the god of gods, possessing the seed of Śiva. Through combination of the respective syllables, it is the cause of the universal creation and destruction. [7cd–8ab] Through the divisions of the creation of the universe, it has the glorious form of the Śakti, located in the designation *picu*, vibrating and omnipresent. [8cd–9ab] The syllable *'pi'* means "penis;" the syllable *'cu'* means "the hole" (*kuṇḍa*). *'pi'* is semen; female fluid is present in *'cu'*. (¿) The combination *pi-cu* comprises the universe (*bhava*) (?). [9cd–10ab] *Picu* is [both] *śakti* and the possessor of *śakti*, through the division of the soul (*jīva*) and body of living beings. She is Prakṛti (*pradhāna*), by whom was born from the womb the animate and inanimate universe. [10cd–11ab] Everything seen consists of *śakti*, O goddess. That is why the Śakti, Aghorī, is said to be like a wish-fulfilling jewel in this world, O goddess. [11cd–12ab]

The interpretation offered of this somewhat obscure material is again provisional.

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as an integral unit it seems primarily to embody the supreme Śakti—she who gives birth to the universe.

Interestingly, the term *picu* occurs in mantras in several Buddhist *yoginītantras*: the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra, Kṛṣṇayamāritantra,* and *Hevajratantra.* It features prominently, for instance, in the latter source in the "heart mantra" (*hṛdaya*) of Hevajra: OṂ DEVA PICUVAJRA HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.[45] According to Isaacson, commentators on the *Hevajratantra* understand *picu* to refer to "fine cotton," with Hevajra's epithet *picuvajra* indicating his simultaneously soft or grace-bestowing nature and his hard, *vajra*-nature as destroyer of obstacles and evil.[46] Outside of mantras, I am unaware of the occurrence of *picu* as a technical term in Buddhist tantric sources, wherein it thus appears anomalous—perhaps inherited from teachings no longer present in surviving scriptures, or drawn from Śaivism, even the tradition of the *Picumata* itself.

5.3 Navākṣaravidhāna: the "Method of Nine Syllables"

Among the secondary epithets or titles of the *BraYā* is *Navākṣaravidhāna,* the "Procedure/Method of the Nine Syllables" of the *vidyā*-mantra of Aghoreśvarī. This title foregrounds the pivotal function of the *vidyā*-mantra, the mantra-form of the supreme Goddess herself, in cementing this text's doctrinal vision and vast corpus of ritual into a coherent whole. Whether in accounts of the cosmos, mantra, or ritual, the *vidyā* of Aghoreśvarī serves as the organizing principle which patterns and establishes order among these intersecting domains. As the sonic embodiment of the Goddess, the *vidyā,* moreover, encodes the core pantheon of the *Brahmayāmala* and the mantras for its systems of practice. Its syllabic form is [OṂ] HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ, the nine syllable-deities accordingly being HŪṂ-CAṂ-ḌE-KĀ-PĀ-LI-NI-SVĀ-HĀ: Bhairava; Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā—the Four Devīs or *guhyakās*; and Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā—the Four Dūtīs ("Consorts"), *kiṅkarīs*, or *anucarīs*. A syllabic series based upon the vowels of the *vidyā* embodies the

[45] *Hevajratantra* I.ii.5.

[46] Unpublished annotation to Ratnākaraśānti's *Bhramaharanāma Hevajrasādhana.*

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Eight Mothers, while the Six Yoginīs comprise a set of inflected forms of the *vidyā*. As the nine-syllable whole, the Great Goddess Aghoreśvarī or Bhairavī subsumes all (TABLE 5.1).

TABLE 5.1: Deities of the *Navākṣarā Vidyā*

FOUR DEVĪS	FOUR DŪTĪS
Raktā (CAṂ)	Karālā (LI)
Karālī (ḌE)	Danturā (NI)
Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ)	Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ)
Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)	Mahābalā (HĀ)
SIX YOGINĪS	**EIGHT MOTHERS**
Kroṣṭukī (OṂ HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI NAMAḤ)	Maheśvarī (AṂ)
	Brāhmī (E)
Vijayā (OṂ ... SVĀHĀ)	Vaiṣṇavī (Ā)
Gajakarṇā (OṂ ... HŪṂ)	Kaumārī (A)
Mahāmukhī (OṂ ... VAUṢAṬ)	Vaivasvatī (Ī)
Cakravegā (OṂ ... VAṢAṬ)	Indrāṇī (I)
Mahānāsā (OṂ ... PHAṬ)	Caṇḍikā (SVĀ)
	Aghorī (HĀ)

Vidhāna and its synonym *vidhi* connote in this context the processes of ritual. Procedures for mantra-incantation and consecration are, for instance, called *japavidhāna* and *abhiṣekavidhi*, the subjects of chapters XVIII and XXXIII, respectively. The *vidhāna*s of the *BraYā* are patterned by mantra-configurations representing so many inflections of the Nine, their uninflected configuration being the "basic/root pantheon" or *mūlayāga*, consisting of Bhairava-Bhairavī, the Four Goddesses (*devī*), and the Four Consorts (*dūtī*). These pattern the entire gamut of ritual, from fire sacrifice to *vrata*s to yoga. In *nyāsa*, for instance, installation of the mantra-deities upon the body and other substrates preliminary to almost all ritual, the practitioner or ritual object embodies the mantra-deities in various configurations. Among the fundamental rituals of the system are the *vidhāna*s of the *navayāga*, "nine pantheons," these being the *mūlayāga* and eight other configurations of the pantheon.[47] *Vrata*s or observances are also ninefold, or fivefold, corresponding to the mantra-deities of all nine syllables or the Four Devīs with Bhairava, respectively.[48] Other *yāga*s are based upon different and extended configurations of

[47] The Nine Yāgas form the subject of chapter thirteen. The opening verses of chapter 3, the *mahāyāgapaṭala*, provide moreover names for each of the Nine.

[48] The nine and five *vrata*s form the primary subject of chapter XXI. Among these, the fifth of the

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the *vidyā*'s mantra-deities.[49] *Cakra*s or *maṇḍala*s drawn upon a substrate, usually the ground, provide templates for these pantheon configurations and loci for many of the *vidhi*s connected with them.

The *navākṣarā vidyā*-mantra comprises the subject of the second chapter of the *BraYā*, which follows the narrative of revelation (*BraYā* I.1–119) and a short exposition on the supreme Śakti (I.120–33).[50] The *vidyā*'s mantric form and embedded pantheon were first identified by Sanderson:

> ... the essential components of the *mantras* of the nine deities who form the core of the greater *maṇḍala* and are the pantheon of daily worship are the syllables of the *mantra* of Caṇḍā Kāpālinī: (OṂ) HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ ('... O Caṇḍā Kāpālinī ...!'). Thus Kapālīśabhairava (HŪṂ), his four goddesses (Raktā (CAṂ), Karālā (ḌE), Caṇḍākṣī (KĀ) and Mahocchuṣmā (PĀ)) and their four attendant powers or Dūtīs (Karālī (LI), Danturā (NI) Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ) and Mahābalā (HĀ)) are aspects of a feminine power which transcends the male-female dichotomy which patterns the lower revelations.[51]

This account of the *vidyā* requires correction in one detail: the second Devī is Karālī, while Karālā is first of the Dūtīs.[52] The confusion is understandable, for these deities of similar nomenclature are frequently mixed up in the manuscript evidence.[53] Besides the core pantheon of the Nine, the *vidyā* is said to contain within itself a pan-

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Five seems most important: the "great Observance," called also the "Bhairava-observance" and "observance of the *vidyā*." This probably corresponds to the *ekavīravidhāna*, "procedure of the solitary Hero [Bhairava]," an important inflection of the *mūlayāga* in which the focus is Bhairava alone and not the coupled divinity (*yāmala*).

[49] *BraYā* XXV in particular, the *yāganirṇayapaṭala*, teaches extended inflections of the basic pantheon.

[50] Note that *BraYā* II has been included in the critical edition forming the latter part of the present dissertation.

[51] "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 672. Sanderson also provides the *vidyā* on the basis of a passage from *BraYā* LXXXV (verses 42–43ab in his numbering), in "History through Textual Criticism," 44–46.

[52] Among the numerous lists, see for example a concise one in chapter 4, quoted in full in the annotation ad *BraYā* 1.8cd–9; and another passage from the same chapter (verse 262):

> *raktāyās tu karālā syāt karālyāyās tu danturā |*
> *bhīmavaktrā tu caṇḍākṣyā ucchuṣmāyā mahābalā |*
>
> karālā] *em.*; karālaṃ By^{a} caṇḍākṣyā] *em.*; caṇḍākṣī By^{a}
>
> "[The attendant] of Raktā is Karālā, but of Karālī, Danturā; of Caṇḍākṣī, Bhīmavaktrā; of Ucchuṣmā, Mahābalā."

Note that the genitive *karālyāyāḥ* of *karālī* occurs with great frequency in the *Brahmayāmala*. This formation is similar to the locative *ujainyāyām* in 1.81a, discussed in the footnote thereon.

[53] For instance, in the oldest MS, By^{a}, chapter LXI (133–42) lists Karālī as first of the Dūtīs, while for the second Devī, it provides *karālāyā[ḥ]*, the genitive of *karālā*. There is no metrical reason why these

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theon augmented by a sextet of yoginīs and the Eight Mother goddesses (TABLE 5.1). The Six Yoginīs "emerge from the limbs of Aghoreśvarī,"[54] although as the *aṅga*-mantras of the *vidyā*,[55] these deities appear distinct from the *aṅga*-mantras of the Goddess.[56] Somewhat less natural is the derivation of the Mother Goddesses (*mātṛ*) from the *vidyā*: the syllabic series AṂ-E-Ā-A-Ī-I-SVĀ-HĀ, which maps loosely to the vowels of the *vidyā*.

Evidence confirming Sanderson's reconstruction of the *vidyā*-mantra is ample. The point of least clarity concerns its first syllable, HŪṂ, the seed-mantra (*bīja*) of Kapālīśabhairava. On the evidence of chapter two alone, it might appear that the *vidyā* begins with OṂ, and that this is the seed-mantra of Bhairava; II.15a states that "the God [Bhairava] exists in the *praṇava*,"[57] and the chapter gives no indication of *praṇava* having a sense different from its normal referent, OṂ. There are, moreover, mantras in the *BraYā* which begin, as would the *vidyā*, "OṂ CAṆḌE ...."[58] However, elsewhere the stated form of the *vidyā* clearly begins with HŪṂ. Note for example LXXXVIII.113–15, where we find a mantra-installation (*nyāsa*) with the sequence HŪṂ-CA[59]-ḌE-KĀ-PĀ-LI-NI-SVĀ-HĀ—the nine-syllable *vidyā*. It seems in fact likely that *praṇava* in *BraYā* II.15 refers to HŪṂ. This possibility is illustrated by the *Svacchandatantra*, which appears also to attest reference to HŪṂ, the seed-mantra of Svacchand-

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could not be emended to *karālā* and *karālyāyā[ḥ]*, respectively, and the confusion is probably scribal. In *BraYā* X, which concerns the *mantroddhāra* of the goddesses, By^{a} is inconsistent: three of the occurrences of the names in question imply the order suggested by Sanderson (41b, 51a, and 86b), while two follow the pattern I believe to be correct (47d and 81b).

[54] *BraYā* II.14ab.

[55] On the concept of *aṅga* or "ancillary" mantras, see *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I, 93–95.

[56] Although in theory the *vidyā*-mantra *is* Aghoreśvarī, an important distinction appears between the two as well. The supreme Goddess is both embodied by the *vidyā* and appears as a subset within it—as eighth of the Mother goddesses, the *mātṛpūraṇī* ("she who makes the Mothers complete"; cf. *BraYā* II.18b, etc.). The latter's root mantra, as given in *BraYā* X, is OṂ HĀ NAMAḤ, and her *aṅga*- and other ancillary mantras are based upon this, rather than the full *vidyā* (see *BraYā* X.210cd–215ab). It hence appears that two levels of being are posited for the Goddess, the higher of which comprises the *vidyā* of nine syllables.

[57] *praṇave tu sthito devo.*

[58] Cf. seven mantras provided in the prose following LXXXIV.55, beginning with OṂ CAṆḌE MOHANEŚVARI GHĀTANI HŪṂ PHAṬ SVĀHĀ.

[59] Note that *cakāra* is provided instead of *caṃkāra*, despite the latter occuring in the *vidyā*. This might not be a corruption; although *caṃ* is provided in the *saṃkalanavidhi* (quoted below), *ca* occurs as the *bīja* of Raktā used for *nyāsa* in X.24a.

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abhairava, as *'praṇava'*.[60] In the *Brahmayāmala*, furthermore, reference is made to the "Bhairava-*praṇava*;"[61] and this surely refers to HŪṂ, for the context is installation of the maṇḍala deities of the *vidyā* onto the body, beginning with Bhairava. Yet while the *vidyā* proper hence begins with HŪṂ, in many of its applications, OṂ is nonetheless prefixed to the nine syllables. This reflects standard mantra formation in this system;[62] a mantra not preceded by OṂ is said to be "headless."[63]

As the seed-mantra of Kapālīśabhairava and the initial syllable of the *navākṣarā vidyā*, HŪṂ possesses particular significance in the *Brahmayāmala*. It is given the special designation *smaraṇa*, said to be formed by conjoining the sixth vowel (*ū*) and the *candrabindu* (*ṃ*) to the *haṃsa* (HA).[64] One is to affix the *smaraṇa* to all mantras,

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[60] Commenting ad *Svacchandatantra* 4.203, Kṣemarāja glosses *praṇava* as *niṣkalanātha*, which as Isaacson points out to me refers to HŪṂ, the *niṣkala* (undifferentiated, unmanifest) form of Bhairava in this system (e-mail communication, January 29, 2006). That the term can have multiple applications is evident also in the teaching of *pañca praṇavāḥ* or five *praṇavas* in *Svacchandatantra* 6, discussed by Kṣemarāja ad *Svacchandatantra* 6.3. It seems that these involve permutations of the five constituents of OṂ, along with the *haṃsa* (HA).

[61] *BraYā* XII.60cd: *śikhāyā[ṃ] praṇavaṃ nyasya bhairavākhyaṃ na saṃśayaḥ.*

[62] Cf., e.g., *BraYā* LXXXV, which opens with the mantra OṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ VAUṢAṬ KAPĀLABHAIRAVĀYA NAMAḤ.

[63] *Brahmayāmala* XI.16cd–19ab:

> *koṭayaḥ sapta mantrāṇām oṃkārasya na saṃśayaḥ* || *16* ||
> *kiṃkaratvaṃ prakurvanti evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt* |
> *sarveṣāṃ mantrajātīnāṃ mastako praṇavaḥ smṛtaḥ* || *17* ||
> *yatrādau na bhavaty eṣa amuṇḍo mantra ucyate* |
> *nānena tu vinā mantraḥ sidhyateha kadācana* || *18* ||
> *tenādau praṇavaḥ proktaḥ sarvamantreṣu suvrate* |
>
> 16c mantrāṇām] *em.*; mantrāṇā By^{a} 18c nānena] *em.*; nāmena By^{a} 18d cana] *em.*; canaḥ By^{a}
>
> "The seventy million mantras are undoubtedly subordinate to OṂ. *Thus did speak Bhairava.* The *praṇava* is called the 'head' of all classes of mantra. When it is not present at the beginning, the mantra is called 'headless.' A mantra never bears fruit in this world without it; that is why the *praṇava* is taught at the beginning of all mantras, O pious woman."

That the *praṇava* is here OṂ is made explicit in the preceding verses.

[64] Cf. XI.36cd–39ab:

> *haṃsākhyaṃ satataṃ bījaṃ niṣkalaṃ tu samuccaret* || *36* ||
> *ādyasvaraṃ tathā caiva uccaren nātra saṃśayaḥ* |
> *ekīkṛtaṃ mahādevi hakāraḥ parikīrtitaḥ*|| *37* ||
> *ṣaṣṭhasvareṇa saṃyuktaṃ kartavyaṃ tu maheśvari* |
> *ardhendubindukalayā saṃyuktaṃ kārayet tataḥ* || *38* ||
> *smaraṇasaṃjñā samākhyātā sarvamantreśvareśvaraḥ* |
>
> 36c haṃsākhyaṃ] *em.*; hansākhyā By^{a} 37a °svaraṃ] *corr.*; °śvaraṃ By^{a} 37d hakāraḥ] *em.*; hakāra By^{a} parikīrtitaḥ] *em.*; parikīrttitaṃ By^{a} 38a °svareṇa] °śvareṇa By^{a} 39a smaraṇa°] *em.*; smaraṇaḥ By^{a} °ākhyātā] *em.*; °ākhyātāḥ By^{a}
>
> "One would pronounce [the mantra] called *haṃsa* constantly, but [just] the seed-syllable *[h]* without a vowel. One would likewise utter the first vowel *[a]*, no doubt. Made one, O

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particularly those of the *BraYā*.[65] Knowing the syllabic content of the *smaraṇa*, the form of the *navākṣarā vidyā* can be confirmed from multiple other passages. In *BraYā* LXXXV, for example, we find the *navākṣarā vidyā* headed by HŪṂ and called the "Heart of All Śaktis":

> Possessing the *smaraṇa*, with the word (*pada*) CAṆḌE [afterwards] in the beginning, ending KĀPĀLINI, and decorated [at the end] by the word SVĀHĀ—this is the Heart of All Śaktis, bestower of the fruits of supernatural experience and liberation.[66]

BraYā XXXIV offers further evidence confirming the form of the *vidyā*-mantra.[67]

> Mahādevī, this is known as the syllable *ha*. One should conjoin this with the sixth vowel *[ū]*, O Maheśvarī, and then make it joined with the crescent moon and dot [i.e. *candra-bindu*]. The term *'smaraṇa'* has been taught, the lord of all Mantra-lords."

[65] *BraYā* XI.75cd–76ab:

> *yāvan mantro mahādevi asmi[ṃs] tantre viśeṣataḥ* ||
> *smaraṇasaṃputitaṃ kāryaṃ khecaratvajigīṣiṇām* |
>
> "As many mantras as there are, particularly in this *tantra*, those aspiring to become sky-travellers must frame with the *smaraṇa*."

The masculine *mantro* appears to be a collective singular, in agreement with the neuter °*puṭitaṃ kāryaṃ* and *yāvat*. Cf. *yāvan mantragaṇo* (*em.*; °gaṇau By^{a}), XXXVIII.44c.

[66] *BraYā* LXXXV.42cd-43:

> *smaraṇena samāyuktañ caṇḍetyādipadānvitam* || 42 ||
> *kāpālinyantasaṃyuktaṃ svāhāpadavibhūṣitam* |
> *hṛdayaṃ sarvaśaktīnāṃ bhuktimuktiphalapradam* || 43 ||
>
> samāyuktañ] *em.*; samāyukta By^{a} °śaktīnāṃ] *corr.*; °saktīnāṃ By^{a}

This passage is cited and discussed by Sanderson, in "History through Textual Criticism," 44–46.

[67] This extensive chapter, entitled *Mantrasaṃkalanavidhi*, teaches the prelimary ritual for preparing or empowering (*saṃkalana*) the basic mantras of the system, apparently necessary for entitlement to *ācāryābhiṣeka*, consecration as an officiant. Its instructions begin thus:

> *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi mantrasaṃkalanāvidhim* |
> *yena vijñātamātreṇa dīkṣāṃ vai kartum arhati* || 1 ||
> *praṇavaṃ coccaren mantrī punaḥ smaraṇam uccaret* |
> *punaḥ smaraṇam uccārya punaḥ praṇavam uccaret* || 2 ||
> *svāhākārāntasaṃyuktām āhutyaikāṃ tato hunet* |
> *punaḥ smaraṇa+m uccārya+ punaḥ praṇavam uccaret* || 3 ||
> *puna[ḥ] smaraṇam uccārya svāhākārāntakaṃ hunet* |
>
> 1b saṃkalanāvidhim] *em.*; saṃkalanāvidhiḥ By^{a}
>
> "Next, I shall further teach the procedure of preparing the mantras, upon the mere learning of which one is worthy to bestow initiation. A *mantrin* should first utter the *praṇava*, then utter the *smaraṇa*; then after again uttering the *smaraṇa*, then again utter the *praṇava*. [After uttering the *vidyā*] conjoined with SVĀHĀ at its end, one should offer sacrifice of one oblation. After again uttering the *smaraṇa*, one should again utter the *praṇava*. After again uttering the *smaraṇa*, one should sacrifice, [uttering the *vidyā*] ending with SVĀHĀ."

(It seems that 3b would mean *ekām āhutim tato juhuyāt*. Note the optative verb *hunet* for *juhuyāt*, a formation, influenced by Middle Indic verbal systems, based on the non-standard, non-reduplicated

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References to the *smaraṇa*, which appears distinctive to and probably has origins in the system of the *BraYā*, also occur elsewhere in Śaiva literature. The *Bhairavamaṅgalā* refers to the "eightfold *smaraṇa*" as "originating from the *Picutantra*."[68] In the *Tantrāloka*, Abhinavagupta too makes reference to the *smaraṇa*, in a citation from the *BraYā* XI on the subject of expiation ritual (*prāyaścitta*).[69] Sanderson, moreover, shows that a reference to the *smaraṇa* has found its way into the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvaratantra*, in a passage redacted from *BraYā* LXXXV, for which the text's commentators vainly endeavored to offer a plausible interpretation.[70]

Despite the central importance of the *navākṣarā vidyā* and its components, a number of alternate or parallel configurations of mantra-deities exist within the *BraYā*, which while correlated in various manners with the *vidyā* and its pantheon cannot be said to derive from it. Such for example appears to be true concerning the *kula-* or *khecarīcakra*, which is connected with the *kulavidyā* ("Vidyā-mantra of the Goddess Clans") rather than the *navākṣarā vidyā*.[71] A number of the deities taught in separate chapters (often called *kalpa*s), furthermore, have only loose connections with the *navākṣarā vidyā* and its pantheon; these include Mahākāla,[72] Gartābhairava,[73]

present indicative *hunate* for *juhoti*. In the *BraYā*, I note one occurrence of *hunate*, in XLIX.7a; none of *juhoti*; nearly two-hundred instances of *hunet*; and eleven of *juhuyāt*.) In this inimitably tedious style, which continues for fifteen folios, the text then instructs the following sequence: *smaraṇa* → CAṂ → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation; *smaraṇa* → CAṂ → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation; *smaraṇa* → ṆE → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation; *smaraṇa* → ṆE → *smaraṇa* → SVĀHĀ oblation. This patterns continues with the remaining syllables of the *vidyā*, KĀ-PĀ-LI-NI-SVĀ-HĀ, and probably implies OṂ HŪṂ CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI SVĀHĀ as the full form of the mantra.

[68] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 235ab: *smaraṇaṃ aṣṭadhā jñātvā picutantrāt samudbhavam* (°tantrāt samudbhavam] *em.*; °tantrā samudbhavam *cod.*). Cf. *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 242:

> *avadhūtā tu sā śaktir īśvarākhyā mayoditā |*
> *nirācāraḥ śivo jñeyaḥ smaraṇatve vyavasthitaḥ* || 242 ||
>
> śaktir] *em.*; śakti MS nirācāraḥ] *corr.*; nirācāra MS śivo] *corr.*; sivo MS
>
> "The Avadhūtā Śakti is the [same] one I said is called 'Īśvarā'. Śiva is known as *'nirācāra'*, existing as the *smaraṇa*."

NAK 5-687, f. 13v; electronic transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva. Regarding *avadhūtā* and *nirācāra*, see the annotation on *BraYā* I.36–39 and II.2 in the critical edition.

[69] Abhinavagupta's citations of the *BraYā* are discussed in appendix A.

[70] "History through Textual Criticism," 44–46.

[71] The *kulacakra* or *khecarīcakra* forms the subject of *BraYā* XIV. Its basic form comprises a configuration of sixteen vowel-goddesses as *nāḍī*s around Bhairava in the center, in which it resembles the *bhautikacakra* of *BraYā* XIX.

[72] Mahākāla and his maṇḍala of the Eight Mother goddesses are the subject of *BraYā* LIV.

[73] Chapter LXIX teaches this "Subterranean Bhairava" and his maṇḍala of four goddesses.

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Hairambhabhairava (Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati as Bhairava),[74] and Utphullakabhairava.[75]

5.4 Mūlatantra: the "Root Scripture"

In the revelation narrative of chapter one and at several others points in the text, the *BraYā* refers to itself as the *mūlatantra*, the "Root Tantra" or "Root Scripture."[76] Yet although claiming the status of the foundational, originary scripture, it also describes itself as originating from a text of 125,000 verses called the *Vimala* or "Unblemished," the primordial font of 'scriptural wisdom' (*jñāna*). These claims are embedded within a theology of revelation that posits scriptural wisdom as originating at the pinnacle of the hierarchy of *tattva*s, reality levels or cosmological principles, its descent (*avatāra*) into the bounded form of texts marked by ever-increasing brevity and numerical profusion.

Perhaps the earliest surviving account of the 'descent' (*avatāra*) of revelation in Śaiva sources occurs in the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatantra*. In its simple description, scripture (the *śāstra* or *śivatantra*) emerges from the formless, supreme Śiva as subtle sound (*nāda*), which Sadāśiva sets down into language. This he transmits to the gods, whence it reaches in various redactions to the sages and mortals (figure 5.1).[77] A demonstrably later scripture, the *Svacchandatantra* describes a more detailed genesis of scripture. In its conception, from the supreme, formless Śiva emerges a

[74] Taught in *BraYā* lxxvi, this skull-bearing, elephantine Bhairava has four heads and ten arms, and stands upon a dead rat (*mahāmūṣakapreta*). His is a ten-syllable *vidyā*, and he possesses a maṇḍala of yoginīs.

[75] The subject of *BraYā* lxxxii. While Utphullaka's pantheon mirrors the *mūlayāga* in having a nine-syllable mantra, embodying himself in a maṇḍala of *śakti*s, the mantra-deities are distinct.

[76] Colophons to chapters ii, xxx, and xxxiv. Text passages describing the *BraYā* as *mūlatantra* are discussed below.

[77] *Niśvāsatantra, Uttarasūtra* 1.22cd–25:

śivatantrasya cotpattiṃ kīrtyamānaṃ nibodha me || 22 ||
adṛṣṭavigrahe śānte śive paramakāraṇe |
nādarūpaṃ viniṣkrāntaṃ śāstraṃ paramadurlabham || 23 ||
sadāśivas tu vettā vai sa ca māṃ prati bodhakaḥ |
nādarūpasya śāstrasya ahaṃ granthanibandhakaḥ || 24 ||
anuṣṭupchandabandhena devebhyaḥ pratipāditam |
ṛṣibhyaś ca punaś cāhaṃ tebhyo martyeṣu santatiḥ || 25 ||

Text as constituted in the working draft edition of Goodall, et al.

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sonic resonance (*tad dhvanirūpam*), which Sadāśiva transmits to Īśvara in the form of countless scriptures suitable to the variety of beings deserving of grace. Īśvara then teaches the *tantra*s to the Mantra-lords and *rudra*s of the upper reaches of the universe, as well as to Śrīkaṇṭha, via whom the teachings descend unto the various lower *rudra*s. Bhairava too takes initiation from Śrīkaṇṭha and learns the scripture, and teaches the Goddess, who transmits *tantra*s to the *gaṇa*s, gods, Mothers, *nāga*s, *yakṣa*s, etc., whence it finally reaches the sages and humankind (FIGURE 5.2).[78] While both of these sources attest the notion of a subtle, sonic original wisdom, neither however applies to this or its first textual evolutes the term *mūlatantra*.

The *BraYā*'s conception of the genesis of scripture is considerably more complex (FIGURE 5.3). It in fact posits a hierarchy of levels of the originary scriptural wisdom: that of an undifferentiated totality, that of a scripture called the *Vimala*, and that of a Root Tantra. In some accounts, these appear to be distinct levels or stages of the primordial 'wisdom' in its descent into the texts of the canon, while other passages appear to conflate one or more of them. Chapter one describes the supreme

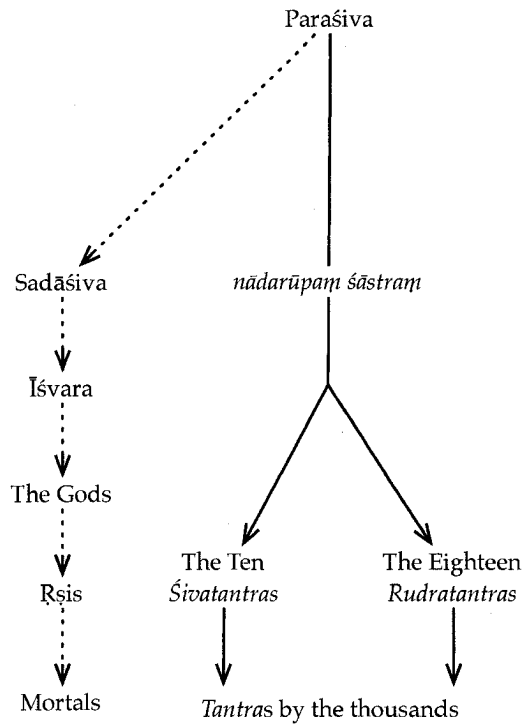
[78] *Svacchandatantra*8.28cd–39 (KSTS edition):

tad evāpararūpeṇa śivena paramātmanā || *28* ||
mantrasiṃhāsanasthena pañcamantramahātmanā |
puruṣārthaṃ vicāryāśu sādhanāni pṛthak pṛthak || *29* ||
laukikādiśivāntāni parāparavibhūtaye |
tadanugrahayogyānāṃ sve sve viṣayagocare || *30* ||
anuṣṭupchandasā baddhaṃ koṭyarbudasahasradhā |
guruśiṣyapade sthitvā svayaṃ devaḥ sadāśivaḥ || *31* ||
pūrvottarapadair vākyais tantram ādhārabhedataḥ |
taj jñānam īśvare 'dāt tad īśvareṇa śivecchayā || *32* ||
vidyāyāḥ kathitaṃ pūrvaṃ vidyeśebhyas tathādarāt |
māyāniyatiparyantais tasmād rudrair avāpi tat || *33* ||
śrīkaṇṭheneśvarāt prāptaṃ jñānaṃ paramadurlabham |
tenāpi tadadhaḥ proktaṃ rudrāṇām īśvarecchayā || *34* ||
pradhānāc chatarudrāntaṃ dīkṣayitvā vidhānataḥ |
mamāpi ca purā dīkṣā tathā caivābhiṣecanam || *35* ||
śrīkaṇṭhena purā dattaṃ tantraṃ sarvārthasādhakam |
mayāpi tava deveśi sādhikāraṃ samarpitam || *36* ||
tvam api skandarudrebhyo dadasva vidhipūrvakam |
brahmaviṣvindradevānāṃ vasumātṛdivākṛtām || *37* ||
loke saṃgṛhya nāgānāṃ yakṣāṇāṃ parameśvari |
kathayasva ṛṣīṇāṃ ca ṛṣibhyo manujeṣv api || *38* ||
evaṃ tantravaraṃ divyaṃ siddharatnakaraṇḍakam |
tvayā guptataraṃ kāryaṃ na deyaṃ yasya kasyacit || *39* ||

A Nepalese codex, NAK 1-224, in 37ab reads *tvañ cāpi gaṇarudrāṇāṃ dadasva siddhipūrvakam*; and in 38ab, *lokapālāgrahāṃ nāgāṃ yakṣāṇāṃ parameśvari*.

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FIGURE 5.1: The 'Origin of Scripture' (*Śivatantrotpatti*) according *Niśvāsatantra, Uttarasūtra* 1.23–25

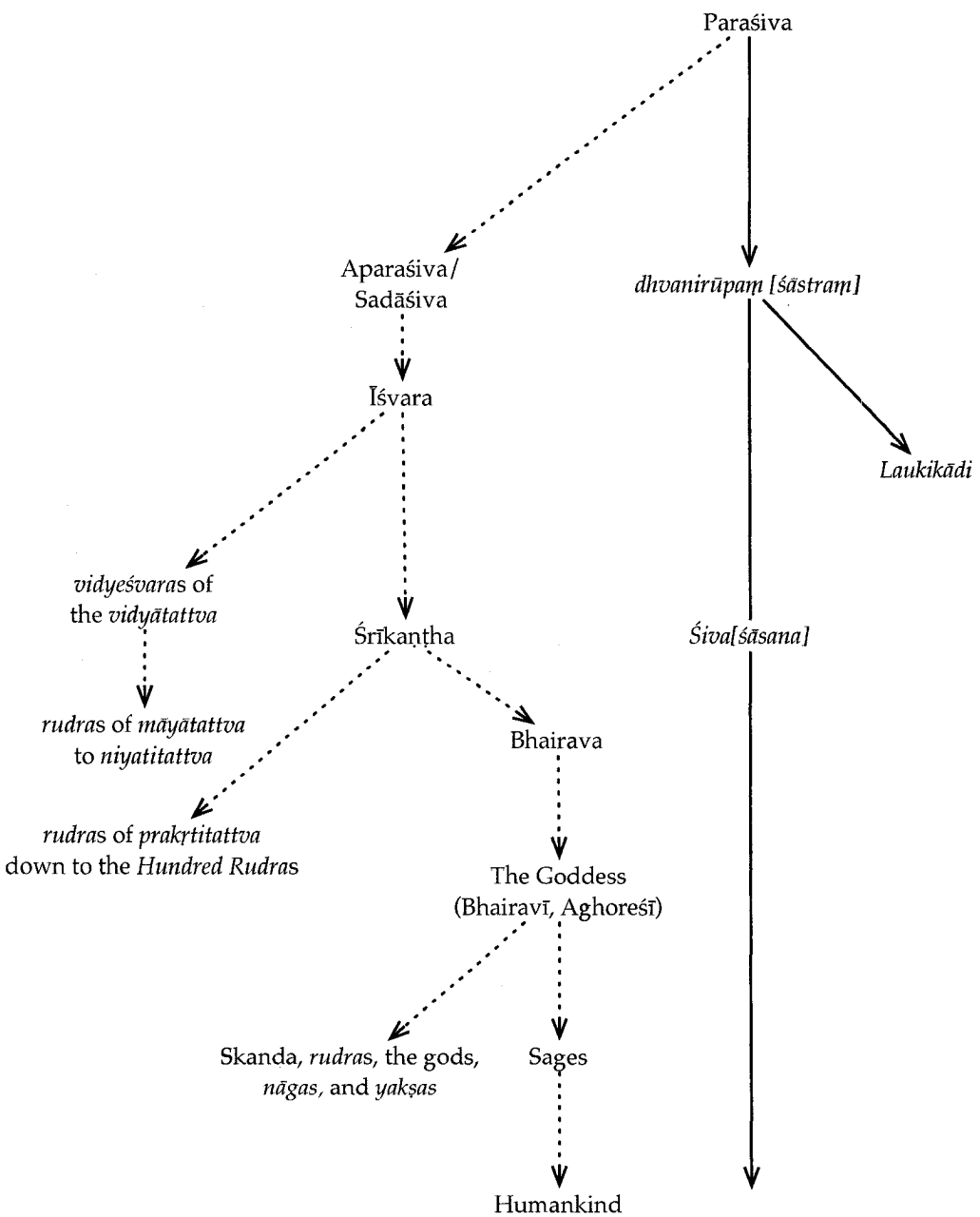


Śakti, Śiva's volition, as awakening *bindu*, the primordial substance of cosmic sound, from which emerges the undifferentiated totality or "flood" of scriptural wisdom (*jñānaughaṃ niṣkalaṃ*). This takes the form of a "body of mantra" (*mantravigraha*) situated at the level of the *sadāśivatattva* in the pure universe.[79] At the time of creation, Sadāśiva causes the *Vimala* to emerge forth from this, therefore representing the first descent of the primordial 'wisdom' to the level of language, taking shape as a text of 125,000 verses in the *anuṣṭhubh* or *śloka* meter.[80] This primordial text, the font of all scripture—even of the universe, in some descriptions[81]—also exists at the level of the *sadāśivatattva*. Thus, just as does the supreme deity, the mass or totality of scriptural wisdom (*jñānaugha*) possesses a higher, undifferentiated (*niṣkala*) and a differentiated (*sakala*), manifest form, the latter being the *Vimala*. It is from

[79] *BraYā* 1.35.
[80] *BraYā* 1.37–38.
[81] Cf. *BraYā* 1.44ab and XXXII.329ab, quoted below.

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FIGURE 5.2: The 'Descent of Scripture' (*śāstrāvatāra*) according to *Svacchandatantra* 8



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the *Vimala* that the Root Tantra emerges. Description of the Root Tantra as a text of twelve-thousand verses identifies this as the *BraYā*, one of the epithets of which is *The [Tantra of] Twelve-Thousand [Verses]* (*dvādaśasāhasraka*).

Mirroring and in some accounts interwoven with the cosmogenesis, scripture hence descends into the world from the apex of the universe through the levels of reality (*tattva*) into the materiality of language. In this conception, the scriptural wisdom first takes on fixed, linguistic form as the *Vimala* of one and a quarter hundred-thousand verses, learnt by Śrīkaṇṭha, who transmits it to humankind in countless abbreviated redactions.[82] This is not a scheme which automatically privileges the *BraYā*, a problem apparently addressed by providing it the status of Root Tantra.

Chapter thirty-two, teaching initiation (*dīkṣā*), contains a passage contrasting the *jñānaugha*, the font of both scripture and the universe, with the Four-fold Bhairavatantra (*catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavam*) which emerges from it. In contrast with the account of chapter one, the *jñānaugha* itself is identified as the "primordial Root Tantra," rather than the *catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavam*. In this account, no mention is made of the *Vimala*, nor is the *BraYā* specifically identified with the *catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavam*:[83]

[82] *BraYā* 1.34–42.

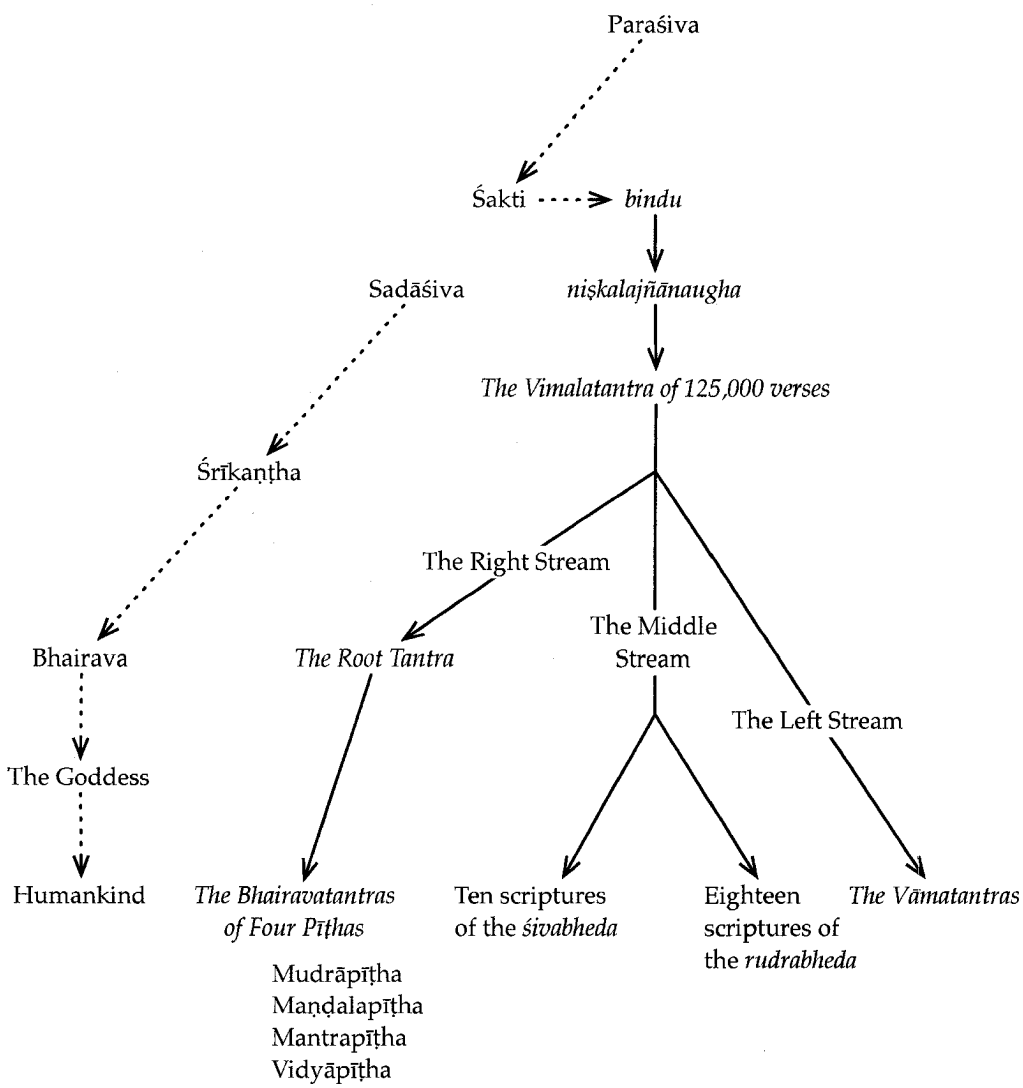
[83] Several verses preceding those quoted below, though relevant to the subject at hand, present yet unsolved textual problems and have unfortunately been omitted. *BraYā* XXXII.323cd–31:

sadāśivena devena ubhayamārgānuvartinā || 323 ||
tat sarvaṃ nirgataṃ devi jñānaughāsmān na saṃśayaḥ |
śuddhamārge tathāśuddhe śuddhāsuddhe tathaiva hi || 324 ||
śuddhāny eva hi proktāni aśuddhāny api kāni ca |
śuddhāśuddhau tu cānyāni ebhir bhedaiḥ sthitāni tu || 325 ||
pṛthakpṛthāni mantrāṇi ubhayamārgopasevinām |
sadāśivena proktāni bahubhir vā pravistaraiḥ || 326 ||
ayaṃ tu jñānasandohaṃ svarūpeṇaiva saṃsthitam |
na dvitīyaṃ yataś cāsmāt tenādvaitaṃ paraṃ smṛtam || 327 ||
śuddhāśuddhavimiśraṃ syāt trividhasthāpy asaṃśayaḥ |
yathāvasthitakaṃ proktaṃ jñānaughaṃ paramaṃ sthitam || 328 ||
asmāj jñānād yato mantrās trailokyaṃ sacarācaram |
aśeṣāni tu tantrāṇi bhedayitvā sthitāni tu || 329 ||
tenādyaṃ tu samākhyātaṃ mūlatantraṃ na saṃśayaḥ |
asmād vinirgataṃ devi catuṣpīṭhaṃ tu bhairavaṃ || 330 ||
tato 'smin dīkṣito yas tu sarvatantreṣu dīkṣitaḥ |
śuddhāśuddhavimiśreṣu nātra kārya vicāraṇāt || 331 ||

323c devena] *conj.*; deveśe By^{a} 324b jñānaughāsmān] *em.*; jñānoghāsmā By^{a} 327b saṃsthitam] *em.*; saṃsthitāṃ By^{a} 327c yataś cāsmāt] *em.*; yato casmā By^{a} 328a syāt] *em.*; syā By^{a} 328b °py asaṃśayaḥ] *conj.*; °pi saṃśayaḥ By^{a} 328c °vasthitakaṃ] *em.*; °vasthitakāṃ By^{a} 328d jñānaughaṃ] *corr.*; jñānoghaṃ By^{a} 329a asmāj jñānād] *em.*; asmā jñānā By^{a} 330d

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FIGURE 5.3: The 'Descent of Scripture' (*śāstrāvatāra*) according to *Brahmayāmala* I and XXXVIII



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> Through the Lord Sadāśiva, who follows both paths [viz., the pure and impure], all this [scripture] emerged from this mass of scriptural wisdom, undoubtedly. [323cd–24ab] For the pure way, the impure, and likewise the [mixed] pure-impure, were taught pure [*tantra*s], some that are impure, and others that are pure-impure. Having these divisions, Sadāśiva taught a variety of separate mantras with numerous elaborations for the followers of both [the pure and impure] ways. [324cd–26] But this [scripture] is the mass of scriptural wisdom, existing as [its] very true nature. Since it is second to none, it is therefore known as 'supremely nondual'.[84] [326–27] Pure, impure, and mixed comprise the threefold states, undoubtedly. The supreme mass of scriptural wisdom remains taught in accordance to the state.[85] [328]
>
> Since the mantras [and] the triple universe, with its animate and inanimate [beings], came from this, [and] the *tantra*s, without remainder, have divided from this, it is therefore called the Primordial Root Tantra (*ādyaṃ mūlatantram*), without doubt. From this emerged, O goddess, the Bhairava-[tantra] with four divisions (*catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavam*). [329–30] Therefore one initated into this is initiated into all the *tantra*s, pure, impure, and mixed. About this, there is no need for deliberation. [331]

Here too the boundary between the primordial scriptural wisdom and the text one actually reads is obfuscated: the proximate pronoun (*ayaṃ*) describes the *jñānaugha*, as though it is the present text, while the *catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavam*—i.e. the *BraYā*—is referred to as another scripture altogether. Through such rhetorical claims, the *BraYā* continually inscribes upon itself the transcendental identity of the primordial scriptural wisdom.

Further evidence on this question emerges in chapter XXXVIII, which, entitled "A Definitive Judgment on the Streams of Revelation" (*srotanirṇayapaṭala*), is devoted to defining the Śaiva canon. Its account articulates more clearly the nature of the Root Tantra in relation to the *jñānaugha*, the two of which are not in this case mutually identified. From the *jñānaugha* emerge the *tantra*s in three streams, which

---

catuṣ°] *corr.*; catuḥ By^{a}

By^{a} in 324b transmits *jñānoghāsmā*, which I understand to mean *asmāj jñānaughāt*; cf. 329a. The text should probably be corrected to *jñānaughāsmān*, with *metri causa* contraction of *jñānaughāt*. On elision of the final *-t* of the ablative in the *BraYā*, see the annotation ad 1.5 in the critical edition.

[84] There is here a play on the words *dvaya* ("two," and "dual") and *dvitīya* ("second").

[85] The implication here is that scripture is redacted from its primordial source in accordance with the differences in the speakers and audience—i.e. *pṛcchakāśrayabhedena*, as stated in XXXVIII.14a (quoted below). Cf. *Svacchandatantra* 8.32b, referring to *ādhārabheda*, "difference in the locus [of revelation]."

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Sadāśiva teaches to Śrīkaṇṭha. These correspond to the pure, impure, and mixed ways, and to the *bhairavatantra*s of the Right stream, *siddhāntatantra*s of the Middle stream, and *vāmatantra*s of the Left stream, respectively. At the root of the Bhairava stream lies the *mūlatantra*, the *Bhairavatantra of Four Divisions* (*catuṣpīṭhaṃ ... tantraṃ bhairavasaṃjñitam*, 19cd):[86]

> Proclamation of the *tantra*s is done according to differences in [their] interlocutors and recipients. Through three streams [of revelation] for the pure, impure, and mixed, respectively, the *tantra*s emerged from the mass of scriptural wisdom, [and] were spoken. [14–15ab] The wisdom is not in all respects undivided; rather the *tantra*s exist with differences in ritual for the pure, impure, and mixed, O fair woman. [15cd–16ab] The supreme mass of scriptural wisdom emerges forth in three streams, situated on the left, right, and middle with manifold divisions. Seventy-million mantras emerge from the Right stream, with a profusion of manifold *tantra*s based upon it, having differences in ritual. Even within this [stream], the recipients vary, being pure, impure, and mixed. [16cd–18] Via the way of the Right stream arose the *tantra* called the *Bhairava*, possessing the four

---

[86] *BraYā* XXXVIII 14–26ab:

pṛcchakāśrayabhedena tantrāṇāṃ kīrtanaṃ kṛtam |
śuddhāśuddhavimisrebhyas tribhiḥ srotair yathākramam || 14 ||
vinirgatāni tantrāṇi jñānaughād bhāṣitāni tu |
nābhinnaṃ sarvathā jñānaṃ kriyābhedaiḥ sthitāni tu || 15 ||
śuddhāśuddhavimiśreṣu tantrāṇi varavarṇini |
jñānaughaḥ paramo yas tu tribhiḥ srotair vinirgataḥ || 16 ||
vāmadakṣiṇamadhyastho nānābhedavyavasthitaḥ |
sapta koṭyas tu mantrāṇāṃ dakṣiṇāyā vinirgatāḥ || 17 ||
tam āśritya kriyābhedair nānātantrapravistaraiḥ |
tatrāpi āśrayo bhinnaḥ śuddhāśuddhavimiśritaḥ || 18 ||
dakṣiṇāsrotamārgeṇa kriyābhedavyavasthitam |
catuṣpīṭhaṃ samutpannaṃ tantraṃ bhairavasaṃjñitam || 19 ||
dakṣiṇāsrotasaṃbhūtaṃ sarvam asmād vinirgatam |

14b tantrāṇāṃ] *em.*; tantrānāṃ By^{a} 14c vimiśrebhyas] *corr.*; vimisrebhyaḥ By^{a} 14d tribhiḥ] *corr.*; tṛbhiḥ By^{a} srotair] *em.*; srotrai By^{a} 15b jñānaughād] *corr.*; jñānoghād By^{a} 15 sarvathā] *em.*; sarvvarthā By^{a} 15d °bhedaiḥ] *conj.*; °bhede By^{a} 16c jñānaughaḥ] *corr.*; jñānoghaḥ By^{a} 16d tribhiḥ] *corr.*; tṛbhiḥ By^{a} srotair] *em.*; srotrair By^{a} 17b °vyavasthitaḥ] *em.*; °vyavasthitāḥ By^{a} 17c °koṭyas] *em.*; °koṭyās By^{a} 18a āśritya] *corr.*; āśṛtya By^{a} °bhedair] *conj.*; °bhede 19a °srota°] *em.*; °srotra° By^{a} 19b °vyavasthitam] *em.*; °vyavasthitaḥ By^{a} 19c catuṣ°] *corr.*; catuḥ° By^{a} 20a °srota°] *em.*; °srotra° By^{a} 20b sarvam] *corr.*; sarvvamm By^{a}

In referring to the "right" stream of scriptural revelation, the *BraYā* alternates between the masculine *dakṣiṇa* and feminine *dakṣiṇā*. In 15d, By^{a} transmits *kriyābhede*, which appears to require emendation to the instrumental °*bhedaiḥ*. Cf. XXXVIII.33ab, *vinirgatāni tantrāṇi kriyābhedena caiva hi*, where however the instrumental is singular. Cf. also *kriyābhedavibhāgaśaḥ*, *BraYā* 1.41b. In 15c, *nābhinnaṃ* with its double negative is somewhat suspect; one might consider *na bhinnaṃ*. It is possible that the line intended something along the lines of "scriptural wisdom [or 'doctrine'] is singular, but the *tantra*s are divided according to differences in ritual."

In 18a, *tam* probably refers to the *dakṣiṇa*-stream, but one might also consider *tān [mantrān]*.

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> *pīṭhas* [or *Catuṣpīṭhabhairavatantra*], and arranged according to divisions in ritual. Everything arisen from the Right stream emerged from this. [19–20ab]

The passage immediately following narrates the genesis of the Left and Middle streams.

Although not specifically designated as the *mūlatantra*, the text *BraYā* XXXVIII describes as *catuṣpīṭhaṃ bhairavaṃ*, identified elsewhere with the *BraYā* itself, functions as the Root Scripture, insofar as it is the source of the scriptures of the Bhairava Stream in its four divisions—the *mantra-*, *maṇḍala-*, *mudrā-*, and *vidyāpīṭhas*—which it alone contains within itself.[87] As such, it occupies a position in the canon above all but the transcendental *jñānaugha* or *Vimala*. In the conception of this chapter, after Sadāśiva transmits the three scriptural streams to Śrīkaṇṭha, the latter transmits the canon to the world in ten streams in the ten directions, with *tantras* by the millions (TABLE 5.2).[88] In this ten-stream model, the three primary streams remain largely the

[87] *BraYā* XXXVIII 29cd–33ab:

> *dakṣiṇena tu vaktreṇa dakṣiṇāsrotasambhavam* || 29 ||
> *catuṣpīṭhaprabhedena śuddhāśuddhavibheditam* |
> *pṛcchakāśrayabhedena bahudhā saṃvyavasthitam* || 30 ||
> *vidyāśritāni yāni syur vidyāpīṭhaṃ varānane* |
> *mantrāśṛtāni yāni syur mantrapīṭhaṃ tathaiva ca* || 31 ||
> *mudrāśṛtāni yāni syur mudrāpīṭhaṃ tu suvrate* |
> *maṇḍalāpīṭhakāni syur maṇḍalaṃ pīṭham ucyate* || 32 ||
> *vinirgatāni tantrāni kriyābhedena caiva hi* |
>
> 29d °srotasambhavam] *em.*; °srotrasaṃbhavaḥ BY^{a} 30a catuṣ°] *corr.*; catu° BY^{a} 31a syur] *em.*; syu BY^{a} 31c syur] *em.*; syu BY^{a} 31d °pīṭhaṃ] *em.*; °pīṭhā BY^{a} 32a syur] *em.*; syu BY^{a} 32b °pīṭhaṃ] *em.*; °pīṭhaṃ BY^{a} 32c syur] *em.*; syu BY^{a} 32d pīṭham] *em.*; pīṭha BY^{a} 33a tantrāṇi] *corr.*; tantrāni BY^{a}
>
> "Through [Sadāśiva's] right face arises the *dakṣiṇāsrotas* [of the *bhairavatantras*], divided into the pure and impure, with division of Four Pīṭhas, existing manifoldly because of differences among the interlocutors and audiences. Those based upon *vidyā*-mantras comprise the Vidyāpīṭha, O fair woman, and likewise, those based upon mantras comprise the Mantrapīṭha. Those based upon *mudrās* comprise the Mudrāpīṭha, O pious woman. The ones belonging to the Seat of Maṇḍalas are called the Maṇḍalapīṭha. And [thus] did emerge the *tantras*, with differences in ritual (*kriyābhedena*)."

In 32c, *maṇḍalāpīṭhakāni* appears to exhibit metrical lengthening, thus avoiding the fault of short syllables in both the second and third positions.

[88] *BraYā* XXXVIII.84–86:

> *ādimo jñānasandohas tribhiḥ srotair vinirgataḥ* |
> *sadāśivena devena śrīkaṇṭhāya prabhāṣitaḥ* || 84 ||
> *sapādajñānasandohaḥ śrīkaṇṭhena mahāyaśe* |
> *daśasrotavibhāgena bhāṣitaḥ sādhakecchayā* || 85 ||

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same. However, the *siddhāntatantra*s become distributed among five streams, with the upward face of Sadāśiva revealing *śiva*-division *tantra*s, and four streams in the intermediate directions revealing *rudra*-division *tantra*s. The eastern face of Sadāśiva is said to teach the Vedic revelation, while the "downward" stream is also of considerable interest, for here the *BraYā* places the texts it considers least worthy of veneration: treatises on alchemy, magical herbs, exorcism, and snakebite cure; last, and perhaps least, are the *tantra*s of the Vaiṣṇavas (see TABLES 4.2–4).

TABLE 5.2: The Ten Streams of Revelation according to *BraYā* XXXVIII

FACE OF SADĀŚIVA	PRESIDING ŚAKTI	DIRECTION	SCRIPTURAL CATEGORY
Southern	Dakṣiṇā	[S]	*bhairavatantra*s
Northern	Vāmā	[N]	*vāmatantra*s
Upward	Madhyamā	[Up]	*śivabheda*
Western	Vāmā and Madhyamā	[W]	[*rudrabheda*?]
Eastern	Vāmā and Madhyamā	[E]	*veda*s, etc. (*vedādīni*)
Eastern		E, SE	*rudrabheda*
Southern		S, SW	*rudrabheda*
Western		W, NW	*rudrabheda*
Northern		N, [NE?]	*rudrabheda*
N/A?		Down	*rudrabheda*

This three- and ten-stream model is unusual, and probably archaic; what actually becomes normative is a five-stream model of Śaiva revelation, in which the primary three streams are augmented by the lowly *bhūtatantra*s, in the west, and *garuḍatantra*s

koṭi koṭi pravistāraiḥ kalpakalpasahasrakaiḥ |
pracodito mahādevi tadvidair bahudhā punaḥ || 86 ||

84a sandohas] *em.*; sandehas BY^{a} 84b srotair] *em.*; srotrair 84d prabhāṣitaḥ] *em.*; prabhāṣitaṃ BY^{a} 85b mahāyaśe] *corr.*; mahāyase BY^{a} 85a °sandohaḥ] *em.*; °sandehaḥ BY^{a} 85c °srota°] *em.*; °srotra° BY^{a} 85d bhāṣitaḥ] *em.*; bhāṣitaṃ BY^{a}

"The primordial mass of Wisdom emerged forth in three streams. The Lord Sadāśiva taught it to Śrīkaṇṭha. Śrīkaṇṭha, O woman of great renown, taught the mass of scriptural wisdom (¿) having [one hundred] and a quarter [thousand verses] (?), through divisions of ten streams, according with the wishes of *sādhaka*s. Those who learned these further revealed [the wisdom] manifoldy, with millions and millions of elaborations, (¿) and *kalpa*-texts by the thousands (?)."

The interpretation of *sapādajñānasandohaḥ* (85a) is uncertain. I have taken this as an abbreviation of *sapādalakṣajñānasandoha* (*jñānasandoha* meaning *jñānaugha*), i.e. the "mass of scriptural wisdom measuring 125,000 verses;" however, it is conceivable that *sapāda* here means "having verse-quarters," i.e. actual text in verse. Of linguistic interest in this passage is the thematized *a*-stem *tatvida*, for *tadvid*.

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in the east; these have as their respective concerns exorcism and the magical cure of snakebite. And although the Root Scripture, the *Bhairava Tantra of Four Divisions*, has here articulated for it a compelling position within the canon, never in this chapter is a relationship of identity with the *BraYā* stated directly. In fact, the *BraYā* appears to have a humble position in this account of the canon, being mentioned only as the third of eight *yāmalatantra*s in the Vidyāpīṭha-division of the *bhairavatantra*s.

The closing verses of the *BraYā* propose what seems to be another variation on the conception of its 'descent'. In agreement with chapter one, the twelve-thousand verse *BraYā* emerges from the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-Thousand*. However, the *BraYā* is also said to be the ultimate essence of a *tantra* of one billion verses.[89] This might imply that the billion-verse text forms the source of the 125,000-verse scripture, this in turn being the source of the *BraYā*; elsewhere, however, the *lakṣapādādhika tantra* is said to emerge from the undifferentiated totality of scriptural wisdom (*niṣkalajñānaugha*). Both schemes of course agree in positing three fundamental levels of originary scripture: gargantuan, 125,000 verses, and 12,000 verses.

Invoking the authority of an intangible Ur-wisdom and claiming for itself the status of *mūlatantra*, the *BraYā* positions itself at the apex of actual and possible texts within the parameters of existing models of the canon. 'Scriptural wisdom' (*jñāna*) is a transcendental essence which descends in streams from a primordial source, taking on concrete form according to the capacities of its various redactors and audiences. These linguistic manifestations of scripture are provisional, and the canon fundamentally an open one. Possibilities for new revealed texts are endless, each containing within itself the essence of what precedes.

This model of revelation dictates that a new scripture claim for itself a privileged position on a hierarchical scale of texts, a process which involves, if necessary, reconfiguration and extension of models of the canon and their implicit hierarchies. As the Root Tantra, the *BraYā* claims to be uniquely reflective of the primordial wis-

[89] See chapter 4, n. 27.

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dom. Being the source and essence of the Vidyāpīṭha, it places itself at the head of the four-fold (*catuṣpīṭha*) canon of *bhairavatantra*s, which in turn it places as highest of the three streams of Śaiva revelation. And in broader sectarian terms, its additional taxonomy of ten scriptural streams positions the *BraYā* above the orthodox Veda, the Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra, and so forth. Most distinctive about its articulation of a place in the canon, however, is the layering of the *BraYā*'s identity. Drawing upon the notion of scripture as an essence existing on a scale of texts, the *BraYā* continually blurs the boundaries between itself and 'higher' levels of the scriptural wisdom. This begins with chapter one's revelation narrative: the text opens with the Goddess stating that, having learnt the *mūlatantra*, she now desires to hear the *Vimala* from which it emerged. Bhairava's narration moreover is concerned primarily with the descent of the *Vimala*, and this—not the twelve-thousand verse *BraYā*—is in fact what he promises to teach her.[90] Throughout the text, references to the *BraYā* "as" the Root Tantra, the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-Thousand*, and the *Vimala*, the boundaries of which are never completely clear, serve to articulate multiple levels of identity: it is but one of several *yāmalatantra*s, but also the Root Scripture of the entire Bhairava stream, having moreover as its highest existence the primordial source of scripture itself.

BraYā is by no means unique in utilizing the concept of *mūlatantra*. The idea of a vast scripture as the source of texts on a smaller, more human scale is attested in both Śaiva and Buddhist tantric sources, and similar conceptions are found in Sanskrit texts of a variety of genres. Ideas of a divine-scale source text abound in the *purāṇa* corpus, while the *Mahābhārata* itself is sometimes said to exist among the gods in a version of millions of verses.[91] Note also, for instance, in the med-

[90] Cf. *BraYā* 1.42–44, especially.

[91] On the notion of an Ur-*purāṇa*, both in the *purāṇa*s themselves and colonial-period Indology, see Ludo Rocher, *The Purāṇas*, 41–47. It seems probable to me that the purāṇic notion of a *mūlasaṃhitā* has influenced the notion *mūlatantra*s. As for the *Mahābhārata*, note for example two verses found in some manuscripts of *Svargārohaṇaparvan* 5 (quoted on p. 29 in the apparatus of the critical edition), which speak of the *Mahābhārata* as having an Ur-text of six million verses, a three-million verse recension in the world of gods (*devaloka*), versions of one and a half and 1.4 million verses among the Ancestors (*pitṛ*) and the *nāga*s and *yakṣa*s, respectively, as well as the 100,000-verse text known to men.

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ical literature, that the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* claims origins from a text of 100,000 verses composed by Brahmā himself, which was divided and abridged for the good of a short-lived and dull-witted humanity.[92] In the Buddhist tradition, the exegetical tradition of the Cakraśaṃvara cycle of *yoginītantra*s conceives of a Root Scripture of one-hundred thousand verses as the source of the *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* or *Herukābhidhāna*.[93] Commentatorial literature of the Hevajra cycle also invokes a fabulously large Root Tantra,[94] while the Kālacakra tradition purports to have the lost *Paramādibuddha* as its original scripture; the extant *Kālacakratantra* is but an "abridged *tantra*" (the *Laghukālacakratantra*), much as is the *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra*.[95]

Among early Śaiva scriptures, the *Svacchandatantra* professes descent from a version of a billion verses, which posed understandable obstacles for short-lived mortals. Like the *mūlatantra* the *BraYā* describes, the original *Svacchandatantra* contained within itself all four divisions (*pīṭha*) of the Bhairava canon.[96] The conception of Root

[92] *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 1.1.6. This case was brought to my attention by Isaacson.

[93] Cf. Bhavabhaṭṭa's remarks on *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 1.1, commenting on its opening phrase, *athāto rahasyaṃ vakṣye*: *bhagavān śrīcakrasaṃvarādhimuktānām arthāya lakṣaparimāṇān mūlatantrāt tad [laghusaṃvaratantram] ākṛṣya deśayate ... mūlatantradeśanāyā anantaraṃ mūlatantram evākarīkṛtya* ***rahasyaṃ vakṣye*** *iti sambandhaḥ*. Sarnāth edition, p. 3. Similarly, Vajrapāṇi makes numerous references in the *Laghutantraṭīkā* to the Root Tantra as *Lakṣābhidhāna*, the "One-Hundred Thousand Verse [Heruka]-Abhidhāna Tantra."

[94] Although conceptions of the Hevajra *vistaratantra* or *mūlatantra* are diverse, perhaps most common is that of a *Hevajratantra* five-hundred thousand verses in extent, from which the received text was drawn. Isaacson, lecture handout, "The Problem of the Lost 'Root-Tantra' of the *Hevajratantra*," University of Pennsylvania, February 2001.

[95] On the subject of the *Paramādibuddha*, the Root Scripture of the Kālacakra cycle, see John Newman, "The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Cosmology in the Kālacakra Tantra," 118; and especially Francesco Sferra, "Constructing the Wheel of Time. Strategies for Constructing a Tradition," 255–273. Sferra also mentions the case of the *Yoginīsañcāratantra* and its references to a *mūlatantra*; ibid., 268.

[96] *Svacchandatantra* 1.4cd–7 (KSTS edition):

> *yat tvayā kathitaṃ mahyaṃ svacchandaṃ parameśvara* ‖ 4 ‖
> *śatakoṭipravistīrṇaṃ bhedānantyavisarpitam* |
> *catuṣpīṭhaṃ mahātantraṃ catuṣṭayaphalodayam* ‖ 5 ‖
> *na śaknuvanti manujā alpavīryaparākramāḥ* |
> *alpāyuṣo 'lpavittāś ca alpasattvāś ca śaṃkara* ‖ 6 ‖
> *tadarthaṃ saṃgrahaṃ tasya svalpaśāstrārthavistaram* |
> *bhuktimuktipradātāraṃ kathayasva prasādataḥ* ‖ 7 ‖
>
> "O supreme lord, the great *Svacchandatantra* which you had taught me, possessing [all] four divisions (*catuṣpīṭha*) [of the *bhairavatantra*s], bestowing the four fruits [of *kāma, artha, dharma*, and *mokṣa*], ten-million verses in extent, and spread forth with an infinitude of divisions, humans are incapable [of comprehening], being of little wealth, little spirit, little vital energy and courage. For this reason, please teach an abridged version (*saṃgraha*) of it with very little elaboration on the scripture's meaning, which bestows supernatural experience and liberation."

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Tantras continued to have currency in Kaula sources as well; note for example that the *Ūrmikaulārṇava* or *Nīratantra* refers to itself as "extracted from the *Tantra of a Hundred-Thousand* (*lakṣapādoddhṛta*)."[97] Both the *Manthānabhairavatantra* and *Sarvavīratantra* reportedly attribute their origins to massive *mūlatantras*,[98] as also do Vaiṣṇava *tantras* such as the *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* and *Pādmasaṃhitā*.[99]

Not all Root Tantras were pious fictions, moreover, for the epithet is also applied to real texts deemed fundamental to particular traditions. As is the case with the *BraYā* itself, being or claiming to be an authorative source-text justifies the designation *mūlatantra*. The Trika *Tantrasadbhāva*, for example, refers to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* as *mūlatantra*, although in a version one billion verses in extent.[100] This might be linked to the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*'s own claim of being the source of the sixty-four *tantras*, including the *BraYā*.[101] Reinforcing this status, the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* claims origin from a version of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* "ninety-million [verses] in extent," via the intermediary stages of a *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* version of twelve-

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A Nepalese codex, NGMPP reel B28-18, offers as substantive variants °*ānanta*° for °*ānantya*° in 5b, *alpacittās* in 6c, and *ato 'rthasaṃgrahaṃ samyak* for 7a. However, in the latter case the Bodleian Library's Nepalese codex of the *Svacchandatantra* agrees with the KSTS edition, according to Törzsök's transcription. "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," 198.

[97] Thus the colophon to *Ūrmikaulārṇava* 1: *iti nīratantre śrīmadūrmikaulārṇṇave mahāśāstre lakṣapādoddhṛte paramarahasye śrīśrībhogahastakramāyāte śrīkaulagiripīṭhavinirgate śrīmīnapādāvatārite ṣaḍsatādhike śate maṃtroddhārarahasyaguruśiṣyaparīkṣāvicāro nāma prathama paṭalaḥ*. NAK 5-5207 (NGMPP reel B115/9).

[98] Dyczkowski, *Canon of the Śaivāgama*, 99, 110–11.

[99] Sferra, "Constructing the Wheel of Time," 268.

[100] *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.13–14ab:

> *siddhayogeśvarītantre śatakoṭipravistare |*
> *mūlatantre mahāsūtre sūtradvayavinirgatam || 13 ||*
> *tantraikaṃ tu mayā jñātaṃ yonyārṇavasamudbhavam |*

Text as constituted by Dyczkowski; read however *yonyarṇava*°.

[101] *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.19:

> *evamādyās tu ye tantrāś catuḥṣaṣṭivibheditāḥ |*
> *nirgatā iha caṇḍākṣi siddhayogeśvarīmate || 19 ||*

Note also that *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 31.5 seems to refer to the *bhairavasrotas* as possessing one hundred-thousand verses:

> *śṛṇuṣvaikamanā bhadre yad vakṣyāmi samāsataḥ |*
> *yena pūryanti kāryāṇi kalābhir bhairavasya tu |*
> *srotasya tu samagrasya lakṣapādayutasya ca || 5 ||*

Törzsök understands *lakṣapādayutasya* to refer to multiple lacs of verses, which is also possible. "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," 182.

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thousand verses, and the thirty-million verse Ur-*Mālinīvijayottaratantra*.[102] While it does not apply the term *mūlatantra*, the function is analogous.

At least two later sources support the *BraYā*'s claim for the status of Root Tantra. In the *Bhairavamaṅgalā*, the Goddess states, "you have indicated the eightfold *smaraṇa*-mantra [taught] in the *mūlatantra*."[103] Confirming that *mūlatantra* refers to the *BraYā*, several verses later the text refers to the "eight-fold *smaraṇa*-mantra originating in the *Picutantra*," i.e. *BraYā*.[104] The *Jayadrathayāmala*, which conceives of multiple Root Scriptures, lists five *yāmalatantra*s beginning with the *BraYā* among the *mūlatantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha. This account of the Vidyāpīṭha and *yāmala*s gives pride of place to the *BraYā*, and indeed many lists of *yāmalatantra*s place the *BraYā* at their head. In support of its claim to be a Root Scripture, there are moreover indications that the *BraYā* served as the primary authorizing scripture for a body of practice and exegesis. While the record is more fragmentary than in the case of the Trika, several surviving sources, such as the *Piṅgalāmata* (a *pratiṣṭhātantra*, i.e. concerned with rites of empowerment for images and so forth) and the *Matasāra* claim to belong to the tradition of the *BraYā*.

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[102] *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 1.8–12:

svasthānastham umā devī praṇipatyedam abravīt |
siddhayogeśvarītantraṃ navakoṭipravistaram || 8 ||
yat tvayā kathitaṃ pūrvaṃ bhedatrayavisarpitam |
mālinīvijaye tantre koṭitritayalakṣite || 9 ||
yogamārgas tvayā proktaḥ suvistīrṇo maheśvara |
bhūyas tasyopasaṃhāraḥ prokto dvādaśabhis tathā || 10 ||
sahasraiḥ so 'pi vistīrṇo gṛhyate nālpabuddhibhiḥ |
atas tam upasaṃhṛtya samāsād alpadhīhitam || 11 ||
sarvasiddhikaraṃ brūhi prasādāt parameśvara |

"The goddess Umā prostrated to [Śiva] in his own abode, and said this: 'the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* which you had previously taught me extended ninety-million verses, spread forth with the three divisions [of the *śakti*?]. [And] the path of yoga which you had taught in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* possessing thirty-million verses was extremely lengthy, O Maheśvara. And furthermore, the abridgment of this you had taught with twelve-thousand verses was also lengthy, not understood by those of little intellect. Hence, for the good of those of little intelligence, please further abridge this and teach [a *tantra*] which produces all the *siddhi*s, O supreme lord'."

[103] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 230ab: *aṣṭadhā smaraṇaṃ deva mūlatantre tu sūcitāṃ.*

[104] *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 235ab: *smaraṇaṃ aṣṭadhā jñātvā picutantrāsamudbhavam.*

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5.5 Dvādaśasāhasraka: the "Tantra of Twelve-Thousand Verses"

A number of Indic texts are known by their verse count. Famous examples include the *Sattasaī* compiled by Hāla, and the *Durgāsaptaśatī* or *Devīmāhātmya*, both ostensibly compositions of seven-hundred verses. There exists also the *śataka* or "century" genre, comprising texts of approximately one-hundred verses such as the *Amaruśataka*, and the *Caṇḍīśataka* of Bāṇa. A number of Śaiva scriptures too make prominent reference to their length in colophons or the text, sometimes even in their titles; note for example the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara* ("The Three-hundred and Fifty-Verse Addendum-tantra of the Kālatantra"). The *BraYā* for its part calls itself *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, the "[Tantra of] Twelve Thousand [Verses]." Twelve-thousand is moreover not an exaggeration, as the text in fact consists of roughly 12,800 verses.[105]

According to the revelation narrative (*śāstrāvataraṇa*) of chapter one, the *Tantra of Twelve Thousand* is but one of many redactions of various lengths from the *Vimala* or *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-thousand*. In this narrative, the numerous *tantra*s mentioned are almost all referred to by length alone. The *Dvādaśasāhasraka* descends at the advent of the Kaliyuga, revealed to the residents of the Isle of Maidens. Taught the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-thousand* by the supreme Goddess herself, a guru named Svacchandabhairava contracts this to the size of twelve-thousand verses, and then teaches the scripture to Viṣṇubhairava in the village of Kalāpa. Viṣṇubhairava then reveals the text to the residents of the Isle of Maidens (*kumārīdvīpa*), among whom the scripture attains paramount popularity. In the last portion of the Kaliyuga, however, the scripture and lineage disappear altogether, snatched by the yoginīs, not to reappear until the commencement of the next Kaliyuga.[106]

The epithet *Dvādaśasāhasraka* hence places the *BraYā* within a canon of myriad actual, possible, and mythical texts, structurally embedded in the cosmos and its cycles

[105] Approximated on the basis of an average of eighteen verses on each of seven-hundred and thirteen folio sides. There is a margin of error of perhaps three-hundred verses, for it is possible that I have overlooked errors in the folio numbering. The typical range of verses per folio is 17.5–18.5.

[106] *BraYā* 1.102cd–105.

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of time. In the course of cosmic cycles, the lineages of gurus abbreviate the scriptural wisdom and redact it into countless scriptures of various lengths for the good of a variously-abled humankind. Its ultimate condensation consists of the *vidyā*-mantra alone.[107] At the other extreme lies the *Vimala* of 125,000 verses, from which directly emerges the *mūlatantra* of twelve-thousand verses—the *BraYā*. In these idealized terms, the *BraYā* is thus a redaction of merely medium length. Its size, however, makes it almost uniquely voluminous among surviving *tantra*s, surpassed only, I believe, by the *Jayadrathayāmala*.[108] Other large and early surviving scriptures include the *Tantrasadbhāva*, and there may have existed several more extremely voluminous *tantra*s. *BraYā*'s revelation narrative speaks of a *tantra* in twenty-four thousand verses, and the implication appears to be that anything larger than that is beyond the capacity of mere humans.[109]

Within the wider Śaiva tradition, the epithet *dvādaśasāhasra* does not appear to have been associated exclusively with the *BraYā*. I am not in fact aware of external references to the *BraYā* by this epithet, and Abhinavagupta refers in *Tantrāloka* 15 to another scripture, the *Ānandeśvaratantra*, which his commentator describes as *dvādaśasāhasra*.[110] As mentioned earlier, the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* as we have it claims to be an abridgement of a version of twelve-thousand verses, although it seems doubtful that such a text existed. The *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* also refers to the *Śaukrasaṃhitā*, a lost *vāmatantra*, as containing twelve-thousand verses.[111] Among Tantric Buddhist sources, the *Vimalaprabhā* "commentary" on the *Kālacakratantra* is *dvādaśasāhasra*, as is its purported Root Tantra, the *Paramādibuddha*.[112]

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[107] *BraYā* 1.67.

[108] Sanderson reports that the *Jayadrathayāmala* consists of twenty-four thousand verses. "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," 674. According to Dyczkowski, the *Manthānabhairavatantra* calls itself a *tantra* of twenty-four thousand verses as well, its actual verse-count being closer to 17,000. *Canon of the Śaivāgama*, 97.

[109] 1.49ab.

[110] Jayaratha, commenting on *Tantrāloka* 15.281. As mentioned previously (chapter 4, section 3, n. 89), the *Tantrasadbhāva* appears to mention a *dvādaśasāhasra* scripture, although the grounds for linking this to the *BraYā* appear weak.

[111] The *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasaṃhitā* describes the *Śaukrasaṃhitā* as *dvādaśasāhasrī*, "containing twelve-thousand." Verse 258 in the transcription of Hanneder, *Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Revelation*.

[112] The *Laghutantraṭīkā* in fact quotes from the *Paramādibuddha*, referring to it as *dvādaśasāhasrika* (chap-

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5.6 Vimala and the Ucchuṣmatantra

Although there are but a handful of references to the *BraYā* as the *Vimalatantra* and the *Ucchuṣmatantra*, these may have disproportionate significance. What sets apart these particular epithets is that they might possibly refer to independent scriptures upon whose tradition and authority the *BraYā* draws, and with which the text also occasionally identifies itself. These text titles hence have a special status in the self-presentation of the *Brahmayāmala*. Moreover, the *BraYā* intrinsically connects the *Vimalatantra* with the deity Ucchuṣmabhairava, suggesting a relationship between the *Vimala* and *Ucchuṣmatantra*.

As discussed previously, the *BraYā*'s revelation narrative provides *'Vimala'* ("Unblemished") as the name for the *jñānaugha* in its manifest form as a text of 125,000 verses, the source of all scripture. In several instances the *BraYā* refers to itself by the title *Vimala*, thus claiming as its highest identity the originary scriptural wisdom.[113] While the notion of 125,000 verses is surely mythic, a Śaiva scripture called the *Vimala* might nonetheless have existed. No old *tantra* by this title appears to survive;[114] however, the *Vimala* has a place in some accounts of the fundamental Śaiva canon, and may hence have been an early Siddhāntatantra. Among the extant early Saiddhāntika sources attesting the ten-plus-eighteen model of the canon—that of ten scriptures of the *śiva*-division (*śivabheda*) and eighteen of the *rudra*-division (*rudrabheda*)—several, although not perhaps the earliest, include the *Vimala* among the *rudrabheda tantras*.[115]

The colophon to *BraYā* xxxv provides *Ucchuṣmatantra* as yet another title for the

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ter XIV, p. 124).

[113] Viz., *divyādivyāṃs tathā hy ete tantre 'smim vimalāhvaye* (IV.8cd.); *śaktayas tu tavākhyātā[s] tantre 'smin vimalāhvaye* (LXXXVIII.149cd); and *etās tu tithayaḥ prokt[āḥ] tantre vimalasaṃjñake* (XXIV.103cd).

[114] There does survive some material attributed to a *Vimalāgama* in composite South Indian manuscripts, but these Saiddhāntika ritual tracts give no suggestion of antiquity. Cf, e.g., Institut Français de Pondichéry manuscript T. 71, which contains a tract on "temple mantras" (*prāsādamantra*) drawn from the *Vimalāgama*. (This is a transcription of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, MS no. R14398.) There also exists a Śaiva *paddhati* (ritual manual) called the *Vimalāvatī*, but this is certainly unrelated. It is preserved in a Nepalese palm-leaf MS (NAK 1-1536, NGMPP reel B28/7), and apparently two paper manuscripts as well (NAK 3-586, NGMPP reel A187/1; and NAK 1-131, NGMPP reel A186/10).

[115] See Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary*, appendix III.

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text,[116] while XLV cites a text called the *Ucchuṣmottarabhairavatantra* as the source of the extended version of a ritual it teaches.[117] We do have some knowledge concerning a text entitled *Ucchuṣmatantra* or *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra*, although nothing by the name appears to have survived. Abhinavagupta cites a scripture bearing this title in the *Tantrasāra* and *Parātriṃśikāvivaraṇa*, while Kṣemarāja quotes from it in his commentaries on the *Śivasūtra*, *Netratantra*, and *Svacchandatantra*. One of the verses Kṣemarāja adduces from the *Ucchuṣmatantra* is also quoted by Jayadratha, without attribution, in the *Tantrālokaviveka*. From most of these short quoted passages it is difficult to ascertain the character of the text. Kṣemarāja, for example, quotes a passage which describes the distinct mantra-functions of OṂ, NAMAḤ, SVĀHĀ, PHAṬ, VAUṢAṬ, and HŪṂ.[118] More illuminating, in the *Tantrasāra*, Abhinavagupta appears to refer to the *Ucchuṣmatantra* as representative of the radical "far left" of Śaiva scripture, paired opposite the Saiddhāntika *Pārameśvara*.[119] This is corroborated to an extent by a passage Kṣemarāja quotes several times in support for the nondualist position of there being no such thing as 'impurity'.[120] Offering further confirmation of the text's

[116] *ity ucchuṣmatantre picumate nāḍīsañcārapaṭalaḥ saṭtṛṃśatimaḥ.*

[117] *BraYā* XLV.124–25:

> *pūrvam eva mayākhyātām ucchuṣmottarabhairave |*
> *mahāmanthānavidhānaṃ vistareṇa yaśasvini || 124 ||*
> *saṃkṣiptaṃ tantrasadbhāvaṃ sarahasyasamuccayam |*
> *dadhnād ghṛtam ivodhṛtya sārāt sārataraṃ śubham || 125 ||*
>
> 124d yaśasvini] *corr.*; yasasvini By^{a} 125c dadhnād ghṛtam] *conj.*; dadhnāghṛtav By^{a}
>
> "I had earlier taught the Great Rite of Churning at length in the *Ucchuṣmottarabhairavatantra*, O woman of renown. The essence of [that] *tantra*, along with its collection of secret teachings, has been extracted like ghee from yoghurt and abbreviated—the auspicious essence of the essence."

Underlying what By^{a} transmits as *dadhnā* I conjecture to be an ablative, *dadhnād*, formed from the thematized stem *dadhna*, for *dadhi* ("yoghurt").

[118] Commenting ad *Netratantra* 19.8. This passage is quoted by Peter Bisschop and Arlo Griffiths, "The Practice Involving the Ucchuṣmas (Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 36)" (*forthcoming*), 3–4.

[119] *Tantrasāra* 4.45: *tasmāt vaidikāt prabhṛti pārameśvarasiddhāntatantrakulocchuṣmādiśāstrokto 'pi yo niyamo vidhiḥ vā niṣedho vā so 'tra yāvad akiṃcitkara eva iti siddham |* ("Therefore, starting with Vedic revelation, any regulation, whether a rule or prohibition, stated even in the scriptures—the *Pārameśvara* Siddhāntatantra, the *Ucchuṣmatantra* of the Kula, etc.—is in this case inoperative. So it is established").

[120] Quoted in the *Svacchandoddyota* ad *Svacchandatantra* 8.249 and 11.927, and in the *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, KSTS edition, p. 8:

> *yāvan na vedakā ete tāvad vedyāḥ katham priye |*
> *vedakaṃ vedyam ekaṃ tu tattvaṃ nāsty aśucis tataḥ ||*
>
> "As long as they are not knowers, how can there be objects of knowledge, my dear? But the knower and object of knowledge are one; therefore 'impurity' is not something real

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orientation, the Buddhist author Advayavajra quotes a verse from the *Ucchuṣmatantra* which speaks of the bliss of the union of Śiva and Śakti as the supreme nonduality (*paramādvaya*).[121] It would however be a matter of considerable surprise if a *bhairavatantra* antedating the *BraYā* exhibited developed nondualism of the gnostic variety, to the extent of being singled out for this by Abhinavagupta. This raises the possibility that the *Ucchuṣmatantra* referred to in the *BraYā* is distinct from the text of this name cited by later authors.

As for the title, the term *ucchuṣma* occurs in the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā*,[122] and is presumably related to *śuṣma* or *śuṣman*, words connected with heat and light. One of the *pariśiṣṭa* texts of the *Atharvaveda* bears the name *Ucchuṣmakalpa*, on which Peter Bisschop and Arlo Griffiths have just contributed a study.[123] This text opens with an invocation of the *ucchuṣma*s, here apparently a class of minor male spirits.[124] The *Tantrasadbhāva*, moreover, describes a class of female spirits called *ucchuṣmikā*s.[125] Buddhist tantric sources attest a deity called Ucchuṣmajambhala, a form of the *yakṣa-*

(*tattva*)."

Cf. Bisschop and Griffiths, "Practice Involving the Ucchuṣmas," 4, to which my interpretation is indebted. See also the entry *ucchuṣma* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I, 225–26.

[121] *Sekanirdeśa*, verse 10:

śivaśaktisamāyogāt satsukhaṃ paramādvayam |
na śivo nāpi śaktiś ca ratnāntargatasaṃsthitam ||

Advayavajrasaṃgraha, part IV, p. 50. Remarking upon the verse, the (anonymous) editors identify the *Ucchuṣmatantra* with the *BraYā*, on the authority of Goudriaan and Gupta, "Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature," 42. I am grateful to Isaacson for providing this reference.

[122] *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* 1.6.2.2; see Bisschop and Griffiths, "Practice Involving the Ucchuṣmas," 2.

[123] Bisschop and Griffiths, "The Practice Involving the Ucchuṣmas (Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa 36)" (*forthcoming*).

[124] *oṃ nama ucchuṣmebhyaḥ*, *Pariśiṣṭa* 36.

[125] The *Tantrasadbhāva* uses both the terms *ucchuṣmā* and *ucchuṣmikā* for this variety of female spirit. In a passage Kṣemarāja quotes in commenting on *Netratantra* 19.55, the *ucchuṣmikā* is described thus:

rātrau bhūtvā vivastrā yā mūtrayitvā pradakṣiṇam |
kṛtvā tu prāśayed raktaṃ muktakeśī tu karṣayet ||
ucchuṣmikā tu sā jñeyā sādhakair vīranāyikā |

"A woman who at night becomes naked, urinates, then circumambulates, and would consume blood—and then with hair unbound, would subdue—she *sādhaka*s should know to be an *ucchuṣmikā*, a heroine."

This corresponds to 16.187–88ab in Dyzckowski's collation/draft edition. Aside from several probable corruptions, the Nepalese MSS collated attest two substantive variants: *prāśayate* for *prāśayed*, and *vīravatsalā* for *vīranāyikā*. The syntax is ambiguous, for either *prāśayed* or *karṣayet* lacks an object. Cf. the interpretation of Bisschop and Griffiths, "Practice Involving Ucchuṣmas," 5.

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lord Jambhala,[126] while in Śaivism, a *rudra* by the name Ucchuṣma is known from early Saiddhāntika sources such as the *Kiraṇatantra*.[127] Ucchuṣma the *rudra* appears to have developed into a *bhairava* and acquired his own cult, for the *Ucchuṣmatantra* or *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra* must have expounded a pantheon headed by Ucchuṣmabhairava. Similarly, the *BraYā*'s Kapālīśa appears also to have begun his career as a *rudra*, heading the list of one-hundred *rudra*s in the *Niśvāsaguhya* before achieving his place among the eight *bhairava*s in the maṇḍala of Svacchanda.

The *BraYā* associates Ucchuṣma with the groups of goddesses forming the maṇḍala of Kapālīśabhairava, which suggests the possibility that the *BraYā*'s Kapālīśa has inherited his pantheon.[128] The association seems particularly strong between Ucchuṣma and the Mothers, who are referred to as "the Mothers arising from the *Ucchuṣma[tantra/bhairava?]*," or simply, "the Ucchuṣma Mothers."[129] A female counterpart to this deity, Ucchuṣmā or Mahocchuṣmā, has an important position within the maṇḍala of Kapālīśa and Aghoreśvarī, as the last—but perhaps highest[130]—of the Four Dūtīs. Ucchuṣmabhairava himself makes an appearance only in the maṇ-

[126] Bisschop and Griffiths, "Practice Involving the Ucchuṣmas," 5–6.

[127] In the cosmology of the *Matańgapārameśvara* (12.34d), Ucchuṣma is one of the *rudra*s presiding over *kālatattva*, while in the *Kiraṇatantra*, Ucchuṣma is listed among the *rudra*s at the *tattva*s *kāla* and *niyati* (8.129a).

[128] Note in particular the following passages from *BraYā* IV:

> *raktā karālī caṇḍākhyāṃ mahocchuṣmā tathaiva ca* || 252 ||
> *ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na saṃśayaḥ* |

And,

> *raktāyās tu karālā syāt karālyāyās tu danturā* |
> *bhīmavaktrā tu caṇḍākṣyā ucchuṣmāyā mahābalā* || 262 ||
> *guhyakānucarā hy etāḥ kiṅkaryocchuṣmasambhavāḥ* |
>
> karālā] *em.*; karālaṃ BY^a caṇḍākṣyā] *conj.*; caṇḍākṣī BY^a etāḥ] *corr.*; etā BY^a kiṅkaryocchuṣmasambhavā] *em.*; kiṅkaryācchuṣmasambhavā BY^a

See also the text and annotation to the translation of *BraYā* I.8–9, and *BraYā* LIX.77:

> *ucchuṣmasambhavaṃ tantraṃ devyaś cocchuṣmasambhavāḥ* |
> *tvayoktaṃ tu mahādeva sūtrādibhi maheśvara* || 77 ||
>
> devyaś] *em.*; devyā BY^a
>
> "O Mahādeva, with *sūtra*s, you have taught the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣma and the goddesses arising from Ucchuṣma, O Maheśvara."

[129] *BraYā* I.133b and LXXXVIII.244d.

[130] The high status of Mahoccuṣmā is suggested by her position in cosmology: in descriptions of the "pervasion" (*vyāpti*) of the *tattva*s by the mantra-deities, Mahocchuṣmā is placed at the level of Sadāśiva, above the other goddesses (TABLE 4.7c–e).

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ḍala of Picubhairava, in a configuration of male counterparts to the eight goddesses of the maṇḍala of Kapālīśa.[131] On several occasions, *ucchuṣma* is however used as a synonym of the supreme Bhairava.[132]

The *BraYā*'s appeal to the authority of the *Vimala* establishes its link with the earliest canonical scriptures of the Mantramārga. Whether or not its contents bore a relationship is another matter. A distinct possibility exists that the *Vimala*, assuming the text in fact existed beyond lists of the canon,[133] had been lost by the time of the composition of the *BraYā*, continuing nonetheless to command considerable prestige. Its actual contents largely forgotten, it remained nonetheless an empty signifier of canonical authority on which to inscribe the pedigree of the *BraYā*.[134] In contrast, the *Ucchuṣmabhairavatantra* is more likely to have been a text contemporaneous to the *BraYā*, perhaps lying in its immediate cultic background. Its maṇḍala appears to have consisted of primarily female deities, headed by Ucchuṣma and perhaps his consort Mahocchuṣmā. Furthermore, the *BraYā* posits a close connection between the *Vimala* and Ucchuṣmabhairava, describing the *Vimala* as "the *tantra* originating from Ucchuṣma."[135] There could conceivably be substance to this link, given Ucchuṣma's early history as a *rudra* and the *Vimala*'s presence in some lists of the *rudra*-division scriptures. According to the *Mṛgendrāgama*, one of the sources listing the *Vimala* in its account of the canon,[136] Śiva only indirectly teaches the *rudrabheda*-scriptures; these

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[131] *BraYā* LXVIII, especially verse 21.

[132] *BraYā* LXXXVII.96cd: *nirācāra[ḥ] sa evātra ucchuṣmaṃ parikīrtitam* ("That very [state of the supreme Bhairava known as] 'beyond conduct' (*nirācāra*) is here called *ucchuṣma*").

[133] It might also be possible that the notion of a mythic *Vimala* contributed to the inclusion of a text by this name in lists of the canon.

[134] This perhaps bears comparison with the phenomenon of "replacing" forgotten but authorative scriptures, passing off the new as the ancient so as to authorize contemporary practice. Such is best attested in the case of the South Indian Śaivasiddhānta, in which case texts were duly provided to fill in gaps between extant scripture and authorative accounts of the canon. See Goodall, *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary*, xxxvi–xlvii. As mentioned in the introduction, the *BraYā* itself appears to have been "updated" in later times in both east India and Nepal, besides South India.

[135] *BraYā* 1.4b. The opening of chapter XXVIII, moreover, announces it will teach the "Vimala-division" (*vimalaṃ vibhāgaṃ*) "brought forth by the lotus [mouth?] of Ucchuṣma, revealed by Ucchuṣma:"

> *ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi vibhāgaṃ vimalaṃ dhruvam |*
> *ucchuṣmakamalodgīrṇaṃ ucchuṣmenāvatāritam || 1 ||*

[136] *Mṛgendrāgama* 1.46.

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are "brought forth by *rudra*s who have been possessed/entered into by Śiva—not [brought forth] from their own intellects."[137] It might be possible that the historical *Vimala* had as its speaker the *rudra* Ucchuṣma, in which case its link with the *Ucchuṣmatantra* would be based upon the shared figure of Ucchuṣma, as a *rudra* and *bhairava*, respectively. What can be asserted with more confidence is that through its appropriation of the figure of Ucchuṣma, the *BraYā* projects a pedigree rooted in earlier layers of the tradition: both the early canon of Siddhāntatantras, through a *Vimalatantra* purportedly spoken by the *rudra* Ucchuṣma, and the *bhairavatantra*s, through the cult and scripture of Ucchuṣmabhairava.

Conspicuous by their absence are the *Vimala* and *Ucchuṣmatantra* in the extended account of the Śaiva canon in *BraYā* XXXVIII, despite their importance in the revelation narrative (*śāstrāvatāraṇa*). Understandably so given its status as the "mass/totality of scriptural wisdom" (*jñānaugha*), the *Vimala* finds no place in the list of twenty-eight Saiddhāntika scriptures; but neither does Ucchuṣma figure among the eight *bhairavatantra*s.[138]

The possibility seems substantial that the *BraYā* has in the form of the *Vimalatantra* and/or *Ucchuṣmatantra* woven historical texts into its genealogy and identity, although our knowledge of these sources remains vague. That this scenario is plausible finds support in the authorizing strategies of later scriptures, which offer insight into the processes of legitimization the *BraYā* itself might have employed in relation to older literature. Adding new layers to the palimpsest of revelation, subsequent literature claiming to belong to the tradition of the *BraYā* continues the prac-

[137] *Mṛgendrāgama* 3.43ab: *raudrā rudraiḥ śivāviṣṭair udgīrṇā na svabuddhitaḥ.*

[138] The eight Bhairavas, who correspond to the eight *bhairavatantra*s of the Vidyāpīṭha, are Svacchanda, Krodha, Unmatta, Ugra, Kapālī, Jhaṅkāra, Śekhara, and Vijaya. *BraYā* XXXVIII.33cd–35ab:

> *svacchandabhairavaṃ devi krodhabhairavam eva ca* ‖ 33 ‖
> *unmattabhairavaṃ devi tathā caivograbhairavaḥ* |
> *kapālībhairavaṃ caiva tathā jhaṅkārabhairavaḥ* ‖ 34 ‖
> *sekharañ ca tathā caiva vijayabhairavam eva ca* ‖

Perhaps closest to this list of eight *bhairava*s is that of the *Śrīkaṇṭhīya*, quoted by Jayaratha commenting on *Tantrāloka* 1.18: Svacchanda, Caṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta, Asitāṅga, Mahocchuṣma, and Kapālī. See also *Svacchandatantra* 2.117cd–19. Note in the passage quoted above free alternation of the nominative and accusative cases, the sense being nominative.

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tice of self-identification with authorizing sources. Thus the final colophon of the *Matasāra*, "Essence of the [Picu]mata:"[139] "Thus ends the thirty-third chapter within the *Matasāra* in the *Vidyāpīṭhā*, in the *Tantra of Twelve-Thousand*, within the Great Scripture numbering 125,000 verses."[140] Here the ambiguity of the locatives is meaningful: the passage may in part be read as a hierarchy of texts within texts, from the originary wisdom of 125,000 verses down to the *Essence of the [Picu]mata*, or it may be read as a series of identifications: the *Matasāra* which "is" the *BraYā* which "is" the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-Thousand*. And so continues the perpetual descent of the scriptural wisdom into the multiplicity of texts.

[139] While the text refers to itself simply as the *Matasāra*, Sanderson suggests that this means *"Picumatasāra."* Personal communication, May, 2004. Given the text's close relationship with and appeal to the authority of the *BraYā*, this seems quite plausible.

[140] *iti lakṣapādādhike mahāsaṃhitāyāṃ dvādaśasāhasre vidyāpīṭhe matasāre trayoviṃśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.* NAK 3-379, f. 161v. Transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva.

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Chapter 6

Conclusion

A significant concern of the present thesis has been to position the *BraYā* relative to first-millennium textual and other sources concerned with yoginīs. With this aim in mind, chapters two and three have surveyed early evidence for the cult of yoginīs, attempting to establish a chronology of sources and important developments within which to situate the *BraYā*. It has been shown that, although a Śaiva cult of yoginīs must have developed prior to the eighth century, it is in this period that yoginīs begin to come into prominence, a trend which continues with the emergence of a public temple cult in the tenth century. I have argued that the *BraYā* in all likelihood belongs to an early stratum of evidence: being mentioned in the old *Skandapurāṇa*, predating the Buddhist *Laghuśaṃvara* and (most probably) the Śaiva *Tantrasadbhāva*, making no obvious reference to Kaula literature, showing no awareness of traditions of sixty-four yoginīs, having an archaic model of the Śaiva canon, and being a well-established authority by the mid-tenth century—at the very latest—the *BraYā* shows notable signs of archaism. It has not yet, however, been possible to date the text with any precision.

Likely as the *BraYā* is to be one of the oldest surviving *bhairavatantras*—and perhaps among the older extant works of tantric Śaiva literature—the text nonetheless presupposes a wide variety of Śaiva cults and tantric scriptures. With roots in the cults of Rudra/Bhairava, Mother goddesses, the Sisters of Tumburu, *ḍākinīs*, and

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bhūtas, the *BraYā* and other Vidyāpīṭha sources synthesize a range of esoteric traditions and sacred figures, our knowledge of which has significant gaps. Furthermore, while the *BraYā* represents, in ritual terms, a radical and highly esoteric tradition, its roots in aspects of earlier Śaivism are notable, as suggested by comparison with the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* in particular—a text the *BraYā* appears in one case to draw from. In the figures of Svacchandabhairava, Kapālīśa the *rudra*, Ucchuṣma, and the Sisters of Tumburu, traces in the *BraYā* of past cults point toward it being the product of complex historical layering. This picture becomes all the more complex when the *BraYā*'s own textual development is queried; it has been suggested that the text as we have it possesses two or more strata, and contains chapters potentially drawn from or otherwise connected with independent Śaiva works. "Layering" is a theme in the *BraYā*'s reflexive vision as well, for in articulating a model of scriptural revelation, the text positions itself at multiple levels: it is but one of several *yāmalatantras*, yet also the Root Tantra of the entire *bhairava*-stream, itself a contracted form of the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-thousand Verses*—scripture in its primordial linguistic form.

A key development in the *BraYā* and Vidyāpīṭha sources lies in the figure of the yoginī: a malleable goddess typology which comes to encompass cult deities, every manner of female spirit and demi-goddess, and even female tantric adepts, all of whom become linked in a hierarchical matrix of clans (*kula*) emanating from the Supreme Śakti herself.[1] While it has been shown that Śaiva conceptions of yoginīs have roots in Mother goddesses and figures such as the *vidyādharī*, aspects of the formation of this category of sacred figure in Śaiva tantric literature remain murky. This undoubtedly has much to do with chronic losses in tantric Śaiva literature; indeed, the *BraYā* makes reference to numerous other Vidyāpīṭha sources, few of which are extant. On the other hand, it appears possible to map the emergence of the yoginī

[1] *BraYā* LV.3–19 describes a hierarchy of nine principal goddess clans, correlated with nine *tattvas*: *mātṛs*, *yoginīs*, *dūtīs*, *rudraḍākinīs*, *ḍāmarīs*, *ḍāvīs*, *śivās*, *bhaginīs*, *devīs*, and their "genetrix" (*prasūti*), the supreme Śakti, which exists at the level of the *śivatattva*. Human practitioners enter into the hierarchy of clans through 'initiatory kinship' with the Mothers, goddesses who exist at the level of the *prakṛtitattva*.

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or *ḍākinī* in Buddhist tantric literature, on which subject chapter three has attempted to contribute. The relationship between these two textual corpuses—and more importantly, the religious traditions which produced them—remains a significant area for future research. Concerning the case of the *BraYā*, evidence has been adduced in support of Alexis Sanderson's contention that it is a source for material redacted into a Buddhist *yoginītantra*—the *Laghucakraśaṃvaratantra*.

Despite the efforts documented in the present thesis, study of the *BraYā* remains at an early stage. The endeavor to critically edit the text—a prerequisite to deep understanding—remains a project of significant proportions. It is expected that data gleaned from the close study entailed by further critical editing will lead to revision of some claims I have made, while opening up new avenues of investigation as well.

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Part II

The Brahmayāmala: A Critical Edition and Translation of Chapters I, II, LV, LXXIII, and XCIX

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Introduction

The late T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, the distinguished first editor of, among a great many Sanskrit texts, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, offered in his preface the following apology for reproducing the text precisely as found in the only manuscript available to him:

> This is a holy work of the Buddhists and deserves to be placed along with the Vedas. As the non-observance of the rules of Vyākara[ṇ]a in regard to gender, number and case, found throughout this work is becoming of its sacred character, and as no second manuscript has been obtained, the text in this edition is adopted exactly as it is found in the original manuscript.[1]

It is not clear which of the two points weighed more heavily in Śāstrī's decision: the text's holiness, or the paucity of manuscript evidence. In either event, the choice spared him considerable trouble, for cases such as the *BraYā* or *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, in which the language is non-classical and manuscript evidence very limited, present special problems.

The approach of the present edition might be faulted as representing the opposite extreme, for the critically constituted text of the *BraYā* introduces numerous emendations and conjectures. But to avoid the "risk" of emendation would, in this case, be to embrace unintelligibility, for the readings of the oldest codex—from which, I contend, the other extant MSS are descended—are with vexing frequency incomprehensible. Furthermore, in the absence of corroborating evidence, I have erred in favor of normalizing potential linguistic irregularities. Considerations of sense, coherence, and context have served as the principal bases for emendation, with attention to the

[1] Gaṇapati Śāstrī, preface to *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, vol. 1, 2.

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paleographic plausibility of scribal error as well as intra- and intertextual parallels (as adduced in the annotation to the translation).

The present edition is a work in progress; although it seems unlikely that valuable new manuscript evidence will surface, I presume that further reflection, the identification of additional parallels, and the insights of other readers will make possible considerable improvement in the constitution and interpretation of the text, prior to its eventual publication.

THE MANUSCRIPTS

NAK 3-370 (reported in the critical edition as "A," and as "By^{a}" in part I). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A42/6. Palm-leaf, 358 folios. Dated Sunday (*ādityadina*), the 8th of Māgha (waxing fortnight), Nepal saṃvat 172—i.e. Sunday, 12 January, 1052 C.E. Copied by Jayākarajīva, a resident of the Paśupatinātha temple area of Kathmandu.[2] This codex was cataloged more than a century ago by Haraprasād Śāstrī, who notes: "the MS. is marked with letter numerals on the left and with Newári figures on the right. They agree up to the 129th leaf, and from the 130th the Newári figure make a mistake of 10, and the mistakes on the right side continued to be added to and subtracted from till last leaf (358) becomes 364 in the Newári side."[3] The text-final and scribal colophons are as follows: *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate dvādaśasāhasrake ekottaraśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ || || samvat a cū 2 māghaśuklāṣṭamyāṃ ādityadine rājādhirājaparameśvaraśrībaladevarājye | śrīpaśupativāstavya | śrījayākarajīvena brahmayāmalaṃ nāma śāstraṃ likhitaṃ.*

NAK 5-1929 (reported as "B"). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A165/14. Paper, Nepalese

[2] Cf. Luciano Petech's discussion of this colophon in *Mediaeval History of Nepal (circa 750–1482)*, 2nd ed., 44.

[3] Śāstrī, *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Durbar Library Nepal*, vol. II, reprinted in Reinhold Grünendahl, *A Concordance of H. P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and the Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*, 60–61.

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Nāgarī script; undated and unsigned. Complete in 353 folios. The first portion of this MS appears to have been copied from the same highly corrupt exemplar as C (see below). However, the latter sections of the text appear copied from a different, superior exemplar, on the basis of which corrections are introduced into the earlier portion of the text as well. This second exemplar appears to be A itself. However, the scribe frequently emends the text, "correcting" some of its most glaring linguistic aberrations. Thus far no evidence suggests that its departures from A reflect anything more than the editorial activity of the scribe. Although hence of little value in constituting the text of the *BraYā*, the readings of this MS reflect the interpretive activity of an educated reader, and are reported in all chapters of the critical edition.

NAK 1-143 (reported as "C"). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A166/1. Paper, Nepalese Nāgarī script; undated and unsigned. Complete in 440 folios. Descended from A, but hopelessly corrupt, this MS offers little to reward the labor of its transcription. Its readings nonetheless are recorded in the apparatus of chapters I and LV in the critical edition.

NAK 1-286 (reported as "D"). NGMPP microfilm reel nos. A165/13 and A1178/1 (filmed twice). Paper, Newari script; undated (the word "saṃvat" appears in the colophon, but with no number) and unsigned. Complete in 248 folios. Ff. 210–233 are written in Nepalese Nāgarī, perhaps replacing damaged or missing leaves. This MS is closely related to E, and it seems likely to descend from A, for in the sections collated, none of its variant readings appear to have independent value. Its readings are reported in all chapters except LV of the critical edition.

NAK 6-2608 (reported as "E"). NGMPP microfilm reel no. A1319/4. Paper, Nepalese Nāgarī script; undated and unsigned. Incomplete, with 136 folios. The readings of this MS, written in a Newari-influenced Nāgarī, are very close to those of D.

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The two might share a (lost) examplar descended from A. E's readings are reported for chapter I alone.

As alluded to, it is the working hypothesis of the present editor that codices D and E, and to a lesser degree B and C, are closely related, all furthermore being descended from A. While further collation is necessary to rule out other possibilities, I believe that the manuscript evidence for *BraYā* I, collated fully in the critical edition, is sufficient to sustain the premise that neither B, C, D, nor E provide variants not attributable to scribal error or, in the case of B, editorial activity. I will argue this in greater detail with the publication of the critical edition.

Although not utilized in the present edition, there exists another codex of Nepalese provenance transmitting *BraYā* IV–VII, housed in the Sanskrit manuscript collection of Viśvabhāratī University, West Bengal.[4] Being written on paper in Nāgarī characters, this is of no particular antiquity. Further collation of the MS is required to determine if it offers readings independent of A; the sample studied so far suggests otherwise. In addition, S. N. Ghoshal Sastri has published chapter XLII of the *BraYā* based upon an untraced MS transcribed by the late Haradās Mitra.[5] The text transmitted is tantalizing, for it departs from A more significantly than the other extant MSS. However, there is no conclusive evidence that it represents an independent transmission.[6] Whether or not Ghoshal Sastri's MS descends from A, it appears to

[4] Sanskrit Manuscript Section, Vidyā-Bhavana, Viśvabhāratī University. "Old collection;" no accession number.

[5] See chapter 1, section 2.

[6] Although containing almost identical material, the order of verses in Sastri's MS differs significantly from A. Its readings also vary frequently, containing a comparatively large number of obvious corruptions. However, variants are also plentiful. Some of these are synonyms, giving no indication of the relationship between the MSS. Many of its readings which differ from A's appear to be products of secondary editing. Note for example the crude attempt to correct A's *kaniṣṭhānāmikobhau tu aṅguṣṭhau parisaṃsthitau*, which contains what appears to be a non-standard contraction of *kaniṣṭhānāmikau ubhau*. Sastri's MS reads *kaniṣṭhānāmike dve tu aṅguṣṭhopari saṃsthitau*, which provides the correct feminine dual in the first pāda; but this still agrees with the masculine *saṃsthitau*. However, *aṅguṣṭhopari* appears likely to be the original reading, in whatever manner it was arrived at. Note also the pāda transmitted by A as *ubhayo hastayo ['ṅgulyā* (31c in A, 37a in Sastri's MS). Here A's text arrives at the correct meter by non-standard sandhi, viz. *hastayoḥ + aṅg°* → *°yo 'ṅg°* (rather than → *°yor aṅg°*). In the MS used by Sastri, there appears the grammatical but hypermetrical *hastayor aṅgulyaḥ*, with "correct" sandhi, as well as the correct plural *aṅgulyaḥ*. While the *BraYā* allows this sort of hypermetricism (cf.

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represent a complex transmission. The degree of corruption and apparent reorganization of the verses suggest the possibility that the text—perhaps contained in an anthology—passed through numerous copies.

In the edition presented below, the critical apparatus is positive: the readings of all the MSS used are reported, including their lacunae. Several normalizations are however silent: those of *anusvāra* (*śivan*, for instance, when it occurs before a dental consonant, is normalized to *śivaṃ*), and cases of degemination (e.g. *tatva* for *tattva*) and gemination (e.g. *pūrvva* for *pūrva*). However, when the MSS are reported, their readings are reproduced exactly. The most doubtful readings appearing in the critically constituted text, whether or not emendations, have been identified through wavy underlining. In the apparatus, parentheses enclose poorly legible syllables, with those wholly illegible represented by hyphens. Syllables which have been corrected or marked as erroneous by the scribe appear in parentheses, followed by the superscript "*corr.*" and "*err.*," respectively. Short interlinear and marginal insertions are enclosed within a pair of plus signs. The *upadhmānīya*, which occurs numerous times in A, is rendered as *f*. Asterisks mark folio changes in A, the numbers for which are reported in the first level of the critical apparatus, along with occasional notes on lacunae, marginal insertions, and so forth. Among the MSS, only A's readings are reported as unmetrical, when this is the case.

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the annotation on *BraYā* 1.20), there are several other cases where Sastri's MS violates meter in favor of grammar—quite the reverse of the language of the *BraYā*, in which meter overrides grammar. Note for example the unmetrical "correction" of *bandhayet* to *badhnīyāt* (44d in Sastri, 47b in A). In some cases Sastri's MS contains better readings which could but might not reflect later editorial activity. Note e.g. *kiṃ cid unnamitau karau* (19b) for A's ° *unnāmatau* ° (19d), and *śaramudrā* (37c) for A's *suramudrā* (32a). The two MSS do however share obvious corruptions, an indication of possible affinity: note in particular *tarjanīṃkuśarūpiṇīṃ* (38d in A) or *tarjanīmkuśarūpinīm* (Sastri 29d) for, presumably, *tarjany aṅkuśarūpiṇī*.

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I

BRAHMAYĀMALE SAMBANDHAPAṬALAḤ PRATHAMAḤ

|| OṂ NAMAḤ ŚIVĀDIBHYO GURUBHYO YOGĪŚVARĪṆĀM ||

yat tattvaṃ mantragarbhaṃ sakalaśivamayaṃ hetu nirvāṇabimbaṃ
dūtīnāṃ padmaṣaṇḍe 'samasukhavilasalliṅgarūpaṃ bibharti |
nānābhogādhivāsair vividhalayapadaiḥ †śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍe†
tat tattvaṃ viśvagarbhaṃ bhavanagadalanaṃ bhairavaṃ vaḥ punātu || 1 ||
śrutvā śāstraṃ purā devī mūlatantraṃ mahodayam |
mudrāmaṇḍalamantraughaṃ vidyāpīṭhopalakṣitam || 2 ||
sahasrāṇi daśa dve ca catuṣpīṭhaṃ tu bhairavam |

CODICES: ABCDE A: f. 1v

MAṄGALAM: oṃ namaḥ śivādibhyo gurubhyo yogeśvarīṇām] *em.*; ...śvar(ī/ā)ṇ(ā) A (*akṣara tops missing; bottoms consistent with* D *and* E *from* guru°; *final anusvāra possibly lost*); oṃ namaḥ śivāya B; *erasure* C^{pc} (*before correction, perhaps* oṃ śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ); oṃ namaḥ śivādibhyo gurubhya yogīśvarīṇā DE 1a tattvaṃ] ABCE; tatva° D °garbhaṃ] BC; °garbha] ADE °mayaṃ] BCDE; °maya A °bimbaṃ] C; °visv(aṃ?) A; °bimbād B; °viśvaṃ DE 1b dūtīnāṃ] ABDE; dūtīnā(- ?) C padmaṣaṇḍe] AB; padmakhaṇḍe DE; (- ?)admaṣarṇḍe C^{ac}; +padmaṣaṇḍe+ C^{pc} °sukha°] ABC; °(sraśva?) D; °sūkha° E °rūpaṃ] AD; °rūpa° E; °kāyaṃ BC bibharti] B; bibharttiḥ AC; vibhūrttiḥ DE 1c °bhogā°] ABC^{pc}DE °ādhivāsair] BC^{pc}E; °ādhivās(air?) A; °ādhivāsai D vividha°] ABC; dvividha° DE °laya°] *conj.* (Sanderson); °naya° ABCDE 1d bhairavaṃ] AC; bhairavo B; bhairavas DE 2a śrutvā] BDE; srutvā AC śāstraṃ purā] B; śāstra purā AC (*anusvāra possibly lost in* A); mantraparo DE devī] BC; dev(ī/ā/o) A; devo DE 2b mūlatantraṃ mahodayam] *em.*; (m/s)ū - - - - - - - A; pārvatiṃ pratyuvāca ha B; pārvvatiṃ pratyu+vāca ha+ C; mūlatantramahodayaḥ D; mūlatantramahā(-)yaḥ E 2c °mantraughaṃ] *em.*; °mantr(- gh -) A; °maṃtrāṇi BC; °mantroghe DE 2d °pīṭhopalakṣitam] ABC; °pīṭhe ya lakṣitaḥ DE 3a daśa] ABCD; ddaśa E 3b catuṣ°] *corr.*; catuḥ° ABCDE bhairavam] ABC; bhairavaḥ DE

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vimalān nirgataṃ yat tad aghorī bhīmavikramā |
pratyuvāca mahādevaṃ bhairavaṃ mantravigraham || 3 ||
yat purā sūcitaṃ deva tantram ucchuṣmasambhavam |
vimalāhveti yat proktaṃ jñānaughaṃ śaktipūrvakam || 4 ||
yasmiṃs tu saṃsthitaṃ hy etac catuṣpīṭhaṃ tu bhairavam |
yasmā hi nirgataṃ sarvaṃ mantrapīṭhaṃ mahodayam || 5 ||
catuṣpīṭhasya saṃbandhe yat tvayā coditaṃ mama |
tantrāvatārasaṃyuktam ādyaṃ yat siddhikāraṇam || 6 ||
sarahasyaṃ mamācakṣva jñānaughoccārapūjitam |
śivaśaktivibhedañ ca bindubhedaṃ tathaiva ca || 7 ||
navaśaktivibhedañ ca śṛṣṭibhedaṃ suvistaram |
ekākinī yathāśaktir navabhedair vyavasthitā || 8 ||
guhyakākiṃkarībhiś ca kiṃkaryocchuṣmasambhavāḥ |
yoginyo lākinīnāṃ tu bahubhedair vyavasthitāḥ || 9 ||

A: f. 1v

3c vimalān] *em.*; vimalā ABCDE nirgataṃ] ABCD; nirggata E yat] ACD; ye DE 3d aghorī] ADE; ar+(- ?)+ B; a(- rgho?)rī C^{ac}; a+ghā+rī C^{pc} 3e mahādevaṃ] ADE; mahādeva $B^{ac}C$; mahādevo B^{pc} 3f °vigraham] ABC^{pc}; °vigrahaḥṃ DE 4b tantram ucchuṣma°] B^{pc}; tantrām ucchuṣma° A; taṃtr(- ṇ- ?)suṣma° C; mantr(omre?)cchuṣma° D; mantro(m -?)cchuṣma° E °sambhavam] ABC; sambhavaḥ DE 4c vimalāhveti] ABCE; vis(a?)lāhveti D proktaṃ] ADE; pro+kta+ṃ B^{pc}; prokṣa(- ?)ī $B^{ac}C$ 4d jñānaughaṃ] *em.*; jñānoghaṃ A; (- nāghaṃ?) B; stenādyaṃ D; stenā(gh)aṃ E; jñ(- nāth- ṃ?) C 5a yasmiṃs] A; yasmin BCE; (y- sm- n?) D hy etac] ACD; hatac D; heta E 5b catuṣ°] *corr.*; catuḥ° ABCDE 5c yasmā hi nirgataṃ] D; yasmā(- - - -) A; yasmāt pīṭhaṃ tu tat B; yasmāt pīṭhaṃ tu +tat+ C; yasmādi nirggataṃ E 5d °pīṭhaṃ] ABDE; °pīṭha° C mahodayam] ABDE; mahodayaḥṃ C 6a catuṣ°] *corr.*; catuḥ° ABCDE saṃbandhe] ABC; samvatta D; samvartta E 6b tvayā] ABC; tvayo DE coditaṃ] *em.*; codito ABCDE mama] B^{ac}; mamaḥ $AB^{ac}CDE$ 6c tantrāvatāra°] ADE; taṃtrāvatāraṃ BC^{pc}; taṃtrovatāraṃ C^{ac} °saṃyuktaṃ] A; saṃprekṣ(-)m BC; °saṃyuktām DE 6d ādyaṃ] ABDE; ādya C 7a sa°] ABCE; sa(ṃ?)° D mamācakṣva] A; samācakṣva $B^{pc}CED$; samācakṣve B^{ac} 7b jñānaughoccāra°] *em.*; jñānoghocāra° A; jñānādyācāra° BC; stenādyocāra° D; stenāghocāra° E 7c °śakti°] BCDE; °sakti° A °vibhedañ] ADE; °vibhedaś BC 7d °bhedaṃ] AD^{pc}; °bhedas BC; °bhen $D^{ac}E^{(err.)}$ 8a °vibhedañ] ADE; °vibhedaś $B^{pc}C$; °vibhedadaś B^{ac} 8c ekākinī] *corr.*; ekākiṇī ABCDE 8d °bhedair] ABC; °bhedai DE vyavasthitā] B^{pc}; vyavasthitāḥ $AB^{ac}CDE$ 9a guhyakā°] ABC^{pc}; (- - ?)kā° C^{ac}; śuhyakā° DE 9b kiṃkaryo° BCDE; kiṃ(-yyā?) A °sambhavāḥ] *em.*; °sambhavam ABCDE 9c lākinīnāṃ] ABCE; lākinīmāṃ D 9d °bhedair] ABC; °bhedai DE

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ekā eva mahāvīryā vyāpinī śakti cottamā |

tasyā yāgam aśeṣaṃ tu kriyate surapūjita |

yathā tathā mahādeva yoginīsiddhikāṅkṣiṇām || 10 ||

guruśuśrūṣanirate vāmamārgānuvartine |

advaitabhāvanāvasthe nirvikalpe mane sthite || 11 ||

siddhir yathā bhaved deva tadvidhānāṃ vada prabho |

yoginyaḥ svalpabuddhyas tu alpacittālpasāttvikāḥ || 12 ||

bhartuḥ śuśrūṣaṇaparā gurubhaktisamanvitāḥ |

tāsāṃ siddhir yathā deva bhavate ca samāsataḥ || 13 ||

īśvara uvāca ||

sādhu sādhu mahādevi yat tvayāhaṃ procoditam |

nikhilaṃ tat pravakṣyāmi sarvasaṃdohalakṣaṇam || 14 ||

yathā ca tantrasadbhāvaṃ bahvarthaṃ gūḍhavikramam |

sarahasyaṃ mahābhāge śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā || 15 ||

purā -d- akasmād deveśi krīḍamānasya svasthitau |

A: f. 1v

10a ekā] ABCD; eko E °vīryā] ABD; °vīryyo CE 10b vyāpinī] BC; vyāpiṇī ADE śakti cottamā] ACDE; śaktir uttamā B^{pc}; śaktiś cottamā B^{ac} 10c tasyā] *em.*; tasya AD; tan me BC; taṃsya E yāgam] *em.*; yogam ABCDE 10d surapūjita] *em.*; surapūjitaḥ ABCDE 10f °kāṅkṣiṇām] BCDE; °kākṣiṇāṃ A 11a °śuśrūṣa°] *corr.*; °susrūṣa° A; °śuśūṇa° B^{pc}; °śuśoṣa° B^{ac}; °suśroṣa° C; °sa(nto?)ṣa° D; °mantroṣa° E °nirate] $AB^{pc}E$; °nirato $B^{ac}C^{corr.?}$; °nirat(- ?) D 11b °mārgānuvartine] ABC; °mārgan tu varttine DE 11c advaita°] AB; advaitad° C; a(rdvai?)a° D; arddheta E °bhāvanā°] ACDE; °(-)āvanā° B 11d nirvikalpe] *em.*; nirvikalpair ABCDE 12a bhaved deva] *em.*; bhaved eva ABCDE 12b vidhānāṃ] ADE; vidhānaṃ BC 12c yoginyaḥ] B^{pc}; yoginyo $AB^{ac}CDE$ svalpa°] ABC; alpa° DE °buddhyas] *em.*; °buddhās AB; °buddhāṃs C; buddhān DE 12d °cittālpa°] ACDE; °cintā+lpa+° B °sāttvikāḥ] ABCD; °sotvikāḥ E 13a śuśrūṣaṇaparā] *corr.*; suśrūṣaṇaparā A; suśrūṣaṇaparāḥ BC; santoṣaṇaparo $D^{pc}E$; santroṣaṇaparo D^{ac} 13d samāsataḥ] A; namo namaḥ BC; samānataḥ DE 14b yat tvayā°] B; yatvayā° ADE; yatvayo° C pracoditam] *em.*; pracoditaḥ ABCDE 14c nikhilaṃ] ABC; niśilat DE pravakṣyāmi] ABC; pravakṣāmi DE 15a tantra°] ACD; tatra DE °sadbhāvaṃ] ABCD; satbhāvaṃ E 15b bahvarthaṃ] BC; bahvārthaṃ A; bahvārtha° DE °vikramaṃ] B; °vikramāṃ A; °vikramāḥ C; vikramā DE 15c °bhāge] ABC; °se(no?) D; °se(ro?) E 15d °ekāgramānasā] *corr.*; °ekāgramānasāḥ ACDE; °aikāgramānasā B 16a purā -d- akasmād] *conj.*; (- rodakas)mā A; purodaka(- ?) B; pudodakaṃnyā C; purodakasmā DE 16b krīḍamānasya] ADE; kriḍamānasya $B^{err.}C$

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yadi yāgavijñātā syām icchā yāvan mamotthitā || 16 ||

icchayā preritenaiva śrīkaṇṭho bhaktavatsalaḥ |

divyaṃ varṣasahasraṃ tu ijyāñjalipuraḥsaram |

ārādhito mayā devi bhaktyāviṣṭena cetasā || 17 ||

śrīkaṇṭhena tato mahyaṃ parākaruṇayā mahat |

jñānaughas tu samākhyātaḥ padabandhakrameṇa tu || 18 ||

śrīkaṇṭhasya prasādena* sarvo 'yaṃ pariṇato mama |

matsamparkāt tvayā caiva aśeṣaś cāvadhāritaḥ || 19 ||

tatas tvayā hitārthāya ādeśena vinā priye |

parijanasya samākhyātuṃ prārabdhaṃ bhaktihṛṣṭayā || 20 ||

viplāpyamānaṃ taṃ dṛṣṭvā mahātantraṃ mayā punaḥ |

krodhāviṣṭena śaptāsi jñānaṃ te nāśitaṃ yayā || 21 ||

A: ff. 1v–*2r

16c yāgavijñātā syām] *conj.*; yāgaṃ vijānāsyā A; yogaṃ vijānā(nyā) BC; yogaṃ vijenānyo DE 16d icchā yāvan] *conj.*; icchayā ca ABCDE mamotthitā] *em.*; mamotthitāḥ A; samāsthitā BC; samāsthitāḥ DE 17b śrīkaṇṭho] ABC; śrīkaṇṭh(ā/o?) DE bhakta°] *em.*; bhakti° AD^{pc}E; lakṣmi°BC; bhaktibha D^{ac} 17c divyaṃ] ABCD; divya° E varṣa°] ABDE; varṣe C °sahasraṃ tu] ABC^{pc}DE 17d ijyā°] BC; ījyā° A; icchāl° DE °puraḥsaram] B; °purassaraṃ A; °puraḥsaraḥṃ C^{pc}; °puraṃsara(ḥ?) C^{ac}; °puratsaraḥ DE 17e ārādhito] ACDE; ārādhitā B mayā] ABC; nayā DE 17f bhaktyāviṣṭena] ABC; bhaktāviṣṇena DE cetasā] ABCDE^{pc}; cetasāḥC^{ac} 18a śrīkaṇṭhena] BCDE; śrīka(ṇ- n- ?) A tato] AC^{pc}DE; tamo B mahyaṃ] ABC^{pc}; sehaṃ DE 18b °karuṇayā] *em.*; °kāruṇayā AB; °kār+u+ṇayā C; °kāruṇayo DE mahat] ABC^{pc}; sahat DE 18c jñānaughas] A; jñānākhyaṃ BC; steno(gha)n D; stena(ghe)n E samākhyātaḥ] ABD; samā(khyā)$^{(err.)}$taḥ E; mamākhyātaḥ C 18d padabandha°] AC^{pc}; padavedha° B; padeva° C^{ac}; yadavatta° DE 19a śrīkaṇṭhasya] ABC^{pc}DE; śrīkaṇṭhasye C^{ac} prasādena] ABE; pramādena C; prasādana D 19b sarvo 'yaṃ] ABC^{pc}DE pariṇato] ADE; parinato B$^{(err.\ under\ na)}$; pari+na+to C^{pc}; pa(di?)to C^{ac} 19c matsamparkāt] AB^{pc}; matsaṃpat B^{ac}; (matsaṃpa)$^{corr.}$+rkkā+ C; satsamparkkāt DE tvayā] ABC; tvayo DE 19d aśeṣaś cā°] ADE; aśeṣatvā° B; aśeṣa+ñ cā+ C^{pc}; °aśeṣa(- ā?) C^{ac} 20a tatas tvayā] A; tatas +tvayā+ B; tasta+s tva+yā C^{pc}; tata(s taṃ?)yo A^{ac}; tatas tvayo DE 20b priye] ABCD; priya C 20c parijanasya] BCDE; parijānasya A samākhyātuṃ] *em.*; samākhyātaṃ ABCE; samokhyātaṃ D 21a viplāpyamānaṃ] *em.*; viplāpyamāna ABCDE 21b mahātantraṃ] B; mahātantra ACDE 21c °āviṣṭena] ABC; °āviṣṇena DE śaptāsi] *corr.*; saptāsi ADE; saptā(ṇi)$^{err.}$ B; (maṃ?)trāni C 21d jñānaṃ te nāśitaṃ] *corr.*; jñānaṃ te nāsitaṃ A; jñānan tenānitaṃ B^{pc}; jñānan tu nānitam B^{ac}C; stenattenoditaṃ DE yayā] ABCD^{pc}E; yathā D^{ac}

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tatas tvayā mahābhāge trastayā kampamānayā |

sāśrulocanayā caiva bhūmyāṃ gatvātha daṇḍavat || 22 ||

karāñjaliputaṃ kṛtvā bhītayā jñānaviplave |

vijñapto 'haṃ mahādevi śokādhiṣṭhitayā punaḥ || 23 ||

tatas tvāṃ vihvalāṃ dṛṣṭvā gṛhītaḥ karuṇayā hy aham |

evam uktāsi kāruṇyān mahāmanyubhṛtena tu || 24 ||

bhūrlokaṃ gaccha deveśe avatāraṃ kuruṣva 'tha |

brāhmaṇasya gṛhe deham aparam gṛhṇa suvrate || 25 ||

tatrasthāyās tatas tubhyaṃ bhaktyāhaṃ saṃpracoditaḥ |

anugrahaṃ kariṣyāmi tavāhaṃ śakti-r-ājñayā |

mayā sārdhaṃ punas tv aikyaṃ tat sarvaṃ prāpsyasi priye || 26 ||

tato 'vatīrṇā madvākyāt prayāgasya samīpataḥ |

A: f. 2r

22a tatas] ABDE; tata(- ?) C tvayā] ABCD; tvayo E mahābhāge] AB; mahābhāga C; mahābhāro DE 22b trastayā] A; trastayo+ḥ+ B; trastayo CDE kampamānayā] A; kampamānayo(ḥ?) B; kampamānayo CDE 22c sāśru°] *corr.*; sāsru° A; nāśru° B; nāsru° CD; nākra° E °locanayā] AB; °locanayo CDE 22d gatvātha daṇḍavat] *conj.*; gatvā (pa?)daṃḍavat A; gatvā pradaṃttavat B; gatvā padaṃ(bh/na?)vat C; padaṃbhavat DE 23a karāñjaliputaṃ] *corr.*; karāñjaliputāṃ AD; karāñjalipu(-)^{erasure}ṃ B^{pc}; karākṣalip(aṇa?)ṃ B^{ac}; karākṣali(paṇa?)ṃ C; karāñjaliputṭ(- ?)ṃ E 23b bhītayā] AB^{pc}; bhītayo B^{ac}CDE jñānaviplave] A; (- ?)naviplave B^{pc}; kṣanaviplave B^{ac}; kṣ(a/u?)naviplava C; stenaviṣṇave DE 23c vijñapto 'haṃ] BC; vijñāptoham A; vist(- ?)pto ha D; vi(-)^{space}pto E mahādevi] ABC^{pc}DE; mahodevi C^{ac} 23d śokādhiṣṭhitayā punaḥ] *corr.*; sokādhiṣṭhitayā punaḥ A; lokādhiṣṭhitapāvanaḥ B; (-)dhiṣṭhitapovanaḥ C^{ac}; +lokā+dhiṣṭhitapovanaḥ C^{pc}; sokādhiṣṭhitayo punaḥ DE 24a tatas] ABDE; tata C tvāṃ] AB; tva C; tvom DE vihvalāṃ] B; vihvalān A; vihvalā CDE 24b gṛhītaḥ] *em.*; gṛhītaṃ ABCDE karuṇayā] A; karu+ṇa+yā B; karuyo C; karuṇayo DE hy aham] AB; hṛdaṃ CDE 24c uktāsi] A; u(ktā)$^{corr.}$ni B; a(- ?)āni C; rekāni DE kāruṇyān] *em.*; kāruṇyā ACDE; kāruṇyā+(?)+ B 25a bhūrlokaṃ] AB; bhūrlloka C; bhurlloka DE 25b kuruṣvatha] ABCE; kuruṣva(me)$^{err.}$tha D 25c gṛhe] ABC^{pc}DE; gṛha C^{ac} 25d aparam] ABDE; apara C gṛhṇa] AB^{pc}; gṛhna B^{ac}DE; gṛh(ṇ?)a C suvrate] ABC; te vrate DE 26a tatrasthāyās] *em.*; tatrasthāyā AB^{pc}DE; tatracchāyā B^{ac}; tatrasthāyo C tatas] B^{pc}; tatos AB^{ac}C; taton DE tubhyaṃ] ABCD; tu tvaṃ E 26b bhaktyāhaṃ] ABC; bhaktā(d)aṃ DE °coditaḥ] B; °coditaṃ ACDE 26e mayā sārdhaṃ punas] A; nayānorddhvam punas B; nayānorddham punas C; sayonorddhasyanam DE tv aikyaṃ] AB; tv aikyat C^{pc}D; tv ekyat E 26f prāpsyasi] A; prāpsyati B; prā(psya)$^{corr.}$ti C; propsy(ani?) D; prāpsāne E priye] ABDE; priy(a?) C 27a madvākyāt] *em.*; madvākyo A; madvākyā B^{pc}; madbāhyo B^{ac}C; sadvākṣo DE 27b prayāgasya] A; prayogasya BCDE samīpataḥ] A; namāvataḥ B^{ac}C; nenīvataḥ B^{pc}; nemīvataḥ D; nemīvrataḥ E

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kaṇavīre mahāgrāme meghadattagṛhe śubhe || 27 ||

chandogasya mahādevi utpannā lakṣaṇānvitā |

sattikā tatra saṃjātā tava nāmaṃ na saṃśayaḥ || 28 ||

tato mahā tvayā bhaktyā buddhisampannayā hy ahaṃ |

ārādhito mahādevi satataṃ liṅgapūjayā || 29 ||

tatra trayodaśe varṣe siddhā tvaṃ śaktyanugrahāt |

khecaratvam avāpnoṣi saṃprāptā ca mamāntikam || 30 ||

sā śaktis tvaṃ mahābhāge yā śaptā viplave kṛte |

purā mayā smarātmānam aghorī nāma te 'dhunā || 31 ||

madīyā tvaṃ mahāśaktiḥ sarvānugrahakārikā |

tat pravakṣyāmi te jñānaṃ yad bhraṣṭaṃ viplave kṛte || 32 ||

śrīkaṇṭhena mahān proktaṃ bhūtvā sadāśivāt padāt |

sarahasyaṃ mahādevi śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā || 33 ||

acintyasya parā śaktiḥ śivasya paramātmanaḥ |

A: f. 2r

27c kaṇavīre] ACD; karavīra° B^{pc}; kaṇavīra° B^{ac}E 27d meghadatta°] A; medhyadatta° B; madhyadatta° C; me(gh?)e datta° DE 28a chandogasya] A; cchandogamye BDE; cchandogamya C mahādevi] E^{ac}; mahādevī ABCDE^{pc} 28c sattikā] BDE; sa(n/t)tikā A; sa(tvi)$^{corr.}$kā C saṃjātā] ABC; saṃyāta DE 28d nāmaṃ] AC; nāma BDE 29a mahā tvayā] C; mahā(n/t)vayā A; mahāt tvayā B; mahānvayo DE bhaktyā] ABC; bhaktā DE 29b hy ahaṃ] AB^{pc}D; hṛdaḥ C; hṛtaṃ E 29d °pūjayā] ADE; °pūjay(- ?) B^{pc}; °pūjay(et?) B^{ac}; °pūjaye C^{pc}; °pūjay(an/et?) C^{ac} 30a tatra] ABCD; taḥtra E 30b siddhā tvaṃ] B^{pc}; siddhās tvaṃ AB^{ac}DE; siddhāstra° C śaktyanugrahāt] B^{pc}; śaktinugrahā ACDE 30c khe°] ABCD^{pc}E; kheḥ D^{ac} avāpnoṣi] *corr.*; avāpnosi AC; a+vā+pnosi B; avāpnoti DE 30d saṃprāptā] B; saṃprāpto ACD; sa prāpto E mamāntikam] A; mamāntikaḥṃ B; mamāntikaḥ C; samottikaḥ DE 31a sā] ABC; so DE tvaṃ] ADE; ca BC mahābhāge] ABDE; mahābhāga C 31b yā śaptā] *corr.*; yā saptā A; yā (sa)$^{err.}$ptā B; yā(m?) aptā C; yonepto DE viplave kṛte] AB^{pc}CD; vipnave kṛte B^{ac}; viplavakṣataṃ E 31c purā mayā] ABC; puro mayo D; puro meyo E °ātmānam] *em.*; °ātmānāṃ A; °ātmānām B; °ātmānā C; °onmānāṃ DE 31d aghorī] ADE; akārī BC nāma] ABDE; nānāma C 32a madīyā] ABC; sadīyo DE 32b °kārikā] ADE; °kārik(oḥ?) B; °kārikāḥ C 32c tat] ADE; taṃ BC te] AD; t+e+ B; ta(n?) C; ta E jñānaṃ] AB; jñāna C; stenaṃ DE 32d viplave kṛte] ABC; viplavakṣate D; viplavakṛte E 33a mahān] *em.*; mahā ABCDE proktaṃ] BCDE; prokta(?) A 33b sadāśivāt] *conj.*; sadāśiva+ḥ+ AB; sadāśiva° C; sadāśivaḥ DE 33d °ekāgramānasā] *corr.*; °ekāgramānasāḥ ACDE; °aikāgramānase B^{pc}; °aikāgramānasā B^{ac} 34a acintyasya] ABDE; acintanya C parā śaktiḥ] ADE; parā śakti+ḥ+ B; parā śakti(ḥ?) C

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icchā nāmena saṃjātā tayā binduḥ prabodhitaḥ || 34 ||

prabuddhasya tato bindor jñānaughaṃ niṣkalaṃ tataḥ |

abhivyakto mahādevi akasmān mantravigrahaḥ |

jñānasaṃpūrṇadehas tu sadāśivapade sthitaḥ || 35 ||

tasmāt sadāśivānujñā tataḥ sṛṣṭir abhūt punaḥ |

hūhukāntāvadhūtasthā tattvamālā svabhāvataḥ || 36 ||

lokasya hitakāmyāyā -m- amṛtākhyena suvrate |

nibaddhaṃ tu samāsena jñānaughaṃ vimalātmakam || 37 ||

anuṣṭhupchandabandhena sapādena mahātmane |

lakṣasaṃkhyena saṃkṣepān mantrajñānakriyātmakam || 38 ||

nirācārapade bhūtvā punaś cobhayadarśanāt |

parāpareṇa devena śrīkaṇṭhāya prabhāṣitam || 39 || *

A: ff. 2r–*2v

34c nāmena] ABCD; nāma na E saṃjātā] *em.*; saṃjātaḥ A; saṃjāta+s+ B; saṃjāta CDE 34d binduḥ] *corr.*; bindu ABCDE tayā] A; tayor B; tayo CDE 35a prabuddhasya] ABE; pratattasya C; pra(bu - ?)sya D bindor] *em.*; bindo ACDE; bindau B 35b jñānaughaṃ] AD^{pc}; jñānānya° C; (sta)$^{corr.\ mark?}$naughaṃ D; ṣṭanaughaṃ E 35c abhivyakto] ABC; abhivyaktā DE 35d mantra°] ABDE; yantra° C 35e jñānasaṃpūrṇadehas] A; jñānena pūrṇadehas BC^{pc}; jñānene pūrṇadehas C; stenasaṃpūrṇṇadehan DE 36a tasmāt] A; tasyā BC; tasmān DE sadāśivānujñā] A; sadāśivā(d ra)$^{corr.}$kṣ+ā+ B; mahāśivā rakṣa C; sadāśivātrasta DE 36b tataḥ] ABDE; tata C sṛṣṭir] A; śṛṣṭir BCDE 36c hūhukā°] A; huhukā° BC; hṛhukā° D; hṛhrakā° E °ntāvadhūtasthā] *em.*; °ntāvadhūtasthāṃ ACDE; °ntāṃ vadhūtasthāṃ B 36d °mālā] *em.*; °mālāṃ A; °sālāṃ BC; °solāṃ DE 37a °kāmyāyā -m] A; °kāmyāyā B^{pc}; °kāmyāyo B^{ac}DE; °kāsyāyo C 37b amṛtākhyena] A; na mṛtākhyā na BC; na mṛtā(śye)$^{err.}$na D; na mṛtākhyena E suvrate] A; ced vrate B; ced vrata C; ce vrate D; sūvrate E 37c nibaddhaṃ] *conj.*; nibandhas A; nibandha+s+ B; niba(ntaṃ)$^{err.}$ C; nivattan DE 37d jñānaughaṃ vimalātmakam] *corr.*; jñānoghaṃ vimalātmakaḥ A; jñānaughaṃ visalātmakam B^{pc}; jñānaughaṃ vimalātmakam B^{ac}; jñānāṃjanasalātmakaḥ C; stenoghyem vimalātmakaḥ D; stonoghyem vimalātmakaṃḥ E 38a anuṣṭhupchanda°] *em.*; anaṣṭhucchanda° AD; anuṣṭhuccha+nda+° B; anuṣṭucchanda° DE; anaṣṭhaccha° C °bandhena] A; °vaṃcena B; °vacana° C; °vatvena D 38b mahātmane] *em.*; mahātmanā ABDE; mahā(tmanā)$^{corr.}$ C 38c °saṃkhyena] ABC; °samkhyā na DE saṃkṣepān] A; saṃkhyayā BC; saṃkṣeyo DE 38d mantra°] ADE; netra°$^{corr.}$ B; (nn/tr?)etra° C °jñāna°] ABC; °stena° DE °kriyātmakam] °kriyātmakaḥ ABDE; °kri+yā+nmakaḥ C 39a °pade] ACDE; °+pade+ B bhūtvā] ABCE; (kṛ)$^{err.}$tvā D 39b punaś cobhaya°] A; puna(ś cābhaya)°^{corr} B; puna+ḥ+ sadbhiya° C; punarś ca bhaya° D; punarś cābhaya° E 39c devena] ABC; deveṇa DE

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asmāj jñānān mahādevi śrīkaṇṭhena hitāya vai |
koṭikoṭipravistārair lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā || 40 ||
pṛcchakāśrayabhedena kriyābhedavibhāgaśaḥ |
śuddhāśuddhena mārgeṇa asattvena ca suvrate |
vistāritāni tantrāṇi jñātvā sadāśivāt padāt || 41 ||
ayaṃ tu jñānasandohaṃ svarūpāvasthitaṃ priye |
sapādalakṣasaṃkhyātaṃ mayā jñātaṃ yathārthataḥ || 42 ||
tavāpi jñānabhraṣṭāyāḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi sāmpratam |
sapādalakṣabhedena ślokānāṃ saṃsthitaṃ tu yat || 43 ||
asmād vinirgataṃ sarvaṃ trailokyaṃ sacarācaram |
tvayāpi kathanīyaṃ hi lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā || 44 ||
divyādivyasvabhāvena sthitayā śaktyanujñayā |
krodhabhairavadevasya siddhasyaiva śivecchayā |
sapādalakṣasaṃkhyātam evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt || 45 ||
sapādañ caiva lakṣañ ca krodhabhairavasaṃjñakāt |

A: f. 2v

40a asmāj jñānān mahādevi] *em.*; (- mā?) jñān(ā) mahādev(i) A; +tasmā jñānī mahādevi+ B^{pc}; śrīkaṇṭhena samātmānaṃ B^{ac}C; asmā steno mahādevi DE 40b śrīkaṇṭhena] ABC; śrīkaṇṭh+e+na D; śrīkaṇṭhasa° E vai] AB^{pc}DE; ca B^{ac}C 40c koṭikoṭi°] BCDE; koṭhikoṭhi° A pravistārair] *corr.*; pravistār(e?)r A; pravistāraṃ B; pravistāra C; pravistārai DE 41b kriyā°] ABC; kriyo° DE °vibhāgaśaḥ] ABC; °vibhāga( )ḥ D; °vibhāgataḥ E 41c °āśuddhena] ABDE; °āśuddha na C mārgeṇa] BC; mārgena A; morrona DE 41d suvrate] ABC; sevrate D; s(- ?)vrate E 41e tantrāṇi] ABC; tantrāni DE 41f jñātvā] ABC; statvā DE sadāśivāt padāt] *conj.*; sadāśivaḥ padāt ABCDE 42a jñāna°] ABC; stena° DE °sandohaṃ] ABDE; °mando haṃ C 42b svarūpā°] AB^{pc}; svakāyo° B^{ac}C; svakāyā° DE priye] ABDE; priya C 42d mayā] ABC; sa yo DE jñātaṃ] A; jñā+taṃ+ BC; stenaṃ DE °ārthataḥ] ABDE; °āthata C 43a tavāpi jñāna°] *em.*; tayāpi jñāna° A; tayā vijñāna° BC; tayāpi stena° DE °bhraṣṭāyāḥ] BC; °bhraṣṭāyās A; °bhraṣṭāyāṃ DE 43d ślokānāṃ] BCDE; slokānāṃ A 44a asmād] ADE; asmā+d+ B; asmār C 44b trailokyaṃ] ABDE; trailokaṃ C sacarācaram] ABDE; me carācaraṃ C 44c tvayāpi] AB; tvayopi CDE 45a °svabhāvena] ABC; °tvabhāvena DE 45b sthitayā śaktyanujñayā] AD; sthitayā śaktyaṃnujñayā B; sthitayā śaktanujñayā° C; sthitapāśakṣyanujñayā E 45d siddhasyaiva] ABDE; siddhasyeva C 45e sapāda°] ABDE; mayāda° C °saṃkhyātaṃ] ADE; °saṃkhyāta(m)$^{corr.}$ B; °saṃkhyāta(- ?) C 45f evaṃ] ABC; sevaṃ DE 46a sapādañ] A; sapādaś BCDE lakṣañ] AB; lakṣaś CDE

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kapālabhairavasyaiva kathayiṣyasi suvrate || 46 ||

brāhmaṇasya kurukṣetre utpannasya mahāmate |

śrīdharetyabhidhānasya adhikārasthitasya vai || 47 ||

śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittasya asiddhasya na saṃśayaḥ |

kapālabhairavo devi lakṣañ caiva sapādakam || 48 ||

caturviṃśatibhiś caiva sahasraiḥ saṃgharisyati |

mūlatantravidhānaṃ tu svarūpeṇa vyavasthitam || 49 ||

lokānām alpacittānāṃ catuṣpīṭhādivarjitam |

asminn eva hy asau tantre siddhiṃ prāpsyati nānyathā|| 50 ||

kapālabhairavāt siddhād asiddhasyaiva vakṣyasi |

padmabhairavasaṃjñasya evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt || 51 ||

oḍradeśe tu jātasya devadattasya saṃjñayā |

caraṇā bahvṛcāsyātha ādeśena na saṃśayaḥ || 52 ||

asiddhas tv eva deveśi padmabhairavasaṃjñakaḥ |

A: f. 2v

46d kathayiṣyasi] A; kathayiṣyāmi BC; kathayiṣyeni DE suvrate] ABC; sevrate D; s(e/u)vrate E 47a °kṣetre] ABD; °kṣatre CE 47b utpannasya] ABC; utpannasye DE 47c śrīdharety] AB; śrīdharaty CD; śrīdharabhy E abhidhānasya] ABC; abhidhānasye DE 47d adhikārasthitasya] ACDE; adhikāra(dhi)$^{err.}$+sthi+tasya B 48a śaktyā°] AD; śa(jyā)$^{err.}$+(- y?)ā+° B; śajyā° C; śakṣyā° E 48b saṃśayaḥ] ABCD; (śa)$^{err.}$ṃśayaḥ E 48d lakṣañ] A; lakṣaś BCDE sapādakam] A; sapādakaḥ BDE; na pādakaḥ C 49a °viṃśatibhiś] BE; °viṅsatibhis A; °viśatibhiś D; °vidrābhiś C 49b sahasraiḥ] *corr.*; sahasrais A; sahasrai+ḥ+ B; sahasrai C; sahasrain D; sahasain E saṃgharisyati] A; saṃ(- ?)(ri)$^{err.}$+ghi+ṣyati B; ma(thya?)risyati C; saṣyarisyati DE 49d svarūpeṇa] AE; (svarūpe)$^{corr.}$ṇa B; sva(- ?)peṇa D; cakrāyaṇa° C vyavasthitam] *em.*; vyavasthitaḥ ABCDE 50a lokānām] BE; lokānāṃm ACD 50b catuṣ°] *corr.*; catuḥ° ABCDE °pīṭhādi°] ABCE; °pīṭh(o)$^{err.}$di° D °varjitam] AB^{pc}; °vartitaḥ B^{ac}; °va(t?)ita(-?) C; °varjjitaḥ DE 50c asminn] B; asmiṃn ACDE eva] *conj.*; eka ABCDE hy asau] A; (kra)$^{err.}$+hy a+sau B; kramau C; hy amau DE tantre] AB; tatra C; tantra DE 50d siddhiṃ] *em.*; siddha ACDE; siddh+(i?)+ṃ B prāpsyati] *conj.*; prāpsyasi ABDE; prāpsyaśi C 51a °bhairavāt] A; °bhairavā BC; °bhairavot D; °bhairavon E siddhād] *conj.*; siddho] ADE; siddhā BC 51b asiddhasyaiva] ADE; asi(-ai)^{erasure}+ddha+syaiva B; atisaumyaiva C 52a oḍra°] A; uḍra° B; uddra° C; utra° DE tu jātasya] ADE; tu j+ā+tasya B; bhuje tasya C 52b °dattasya] ADE; °dantasya BC 52c bahvṛcā] *em.*; (v)ahvajāsyātha A; va(- ?)manyātha B; vahvajāny(o) tha DE; vakramanyātha C 52d ādeśena na] ABC; ādeśe na DE 53a asiddhas tv eva] ADE; asiddhas (tv)$^{corr.}$ eva B; aniddhastha ca C 53b °saṃjñakāḥ] ADE; °saṃjñayā B; °saṃjñayāḥ C

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caturviṃśatisāhasraṃ granthaṃ dvādaśabhiḥ punaḥ || 53 ||

saṃghāraṃ tu sahasrais tu kariṣyati śivecchayā |

anenaiva tu tantreṇa tataḥ siddhiṃ prayāsyasi || 54 ||

etat tantram asiddhasya sakāśāt tava eva hi |

śruṇviṣyanti mahābhāge śiṣyāś caiva caturdaśaḥ || 55 ||

raktabhairavako nāmnā jvālābhairavako 'paraḥ |

helābhairavakaś caiva trayo 'py ete mahāyaśe |

madhyadeśasamutpannāś caraṇātharvaṇaṃ tathā || 56 ||

vāmabhairavako devi vijayabhairavako 'paraḥ |

saurāṣṭrāyāṃ samutpannau śūdrau jātyā prakīrtitau || 57 ||

bhībhatsabhairavo devi gajakarṇas tu bhairavaḥ |

caṇḍabhairavakaś caiva sindhuviṣayasambhavāḥ || 58 ||

A: f. 2v

53c °viṃśati°] BDE; °viṅsati° A; °vi(ṃ?)śati° C °sāhasraṃ] ACDE; °s+ā+hasraṃ B 53d granthaṃ] ACDE; (gucchaṃ)$^{err.}$+granthaṃ+ B 54a saṃghāraṃ tu] A; saṃkhyā catu+ḥ+° B; saṃkhyā catu° C; saṃpyarin tu DE sahasrais] ABC; sahasran DE 54b śive°] ABC; sive° DE 54c anenaiva tu] ABDE; anena vartta° C tantreṇa] *conj.*; mantreṇa ABCDE 54d siddhiṃ] B; siddhiḥ ACDE prayāsyasi] ADE; praya(ccha)$^{err.}$+sya+si B; prayāsyati C 55a etat] ABC; etan DE tantram] B; tatram AC; tatra DE asiddhasya] ABC; sasiddhasya DE 55b sakāśāt tava] *corr.*; sakāsāt tava A; nekānānte ca BC; nekānottava DE 55c śruṇviṣyanti] ADE; (śruci)$^{err.}$+śro+ṣyanti +ca+ B; śrucisyanti C mahābhāge] AB; śadābhoga C; mahābhāro DE 55d śiṣyāś] *corr.*; śiṣyās A; śikhyāś BC; śiṣyoś D; śiṣyoñ E 56a rakta°] A; ra(kta?)° B^{pc}; r(- - ?) B^{ac}; rukṣa° C; rakṣa° DE °bhairavako ACDE; °bhaira+va+ko B nāmnā] ABC; nāmno DE 56c °bhairavakaś] B^{pc}; °bhairavak(oś?) B^{ac}; °bhairavakoś C; °bhairavakāś ADE 56d trayo 'py ete] A; trayo (py? e)$^{corr.}$te B; trayā preta C; trayo py eta DE mahāyaśe] *corr.*; mahāyase A; mahopame B^{pc}; mahopam(- ḥ?) B^{ac}; mahoyamaḥ C; mahāyame DE 56e madhyadeśa°] A; madhyadeśe BD; madhyadese C; madhy(e?) dese E °samutpannāś] *corr.*; °samu(tp)annā A; (samupte?)$^{corr.}$nnā B; mahānetrā C; sam(reś ca)nnā DE 56f caraṇātharvaṇaṃ] *conj.*; caraṇaṃ parvaṇaṃ A; caraṇaṃ va(rddhan?)$^{corr.}$aṃ B; caraṇaṃ varddhaṇaṃ C; caraṇaṃ sarvvaṇaṃ DE 57a °bhairavako] ABDE; °bhairavakā C 57b vijayabhairavako] ADE; vijayabhairavo B; vijayaṃ bhairavā C 57c saurāṣṭrāyāṃ] ADE; saurāṣ(ṭr - - ?)$^{corr.}$ B; saurāṣṭrāya C samutpannau] *em.*; samutpanna ABCDE 57d śūdrau] *em.*; śūdro ADE; śūdrā BC jātyā] A; (jā?)$^{corr.}$tyā B; (- tpa?)$^{corr.}$ C; jatyo DE prakīrtitau] *em.*; prakīrttit(ai?)ḥ A; prakīrttitaḥ BCDE 58a bhībhasta°] ADE; bībhatsa° B^{pc}; (- - - ?) B^{ac}; śrīpadma° C °bhairavo] ABDE; °bhairavā C 58b °karṇas] AB^{pc}; °karṇaṃ B^{ac}CDE bhairavaḥ AB^{pc}DE; bhairavaṃ B^{ac}; bhairava(ṃḥ?) C 58c °bhairavakaś] B^{pc}; °bhairavakāś AB^{ac}CDE 58d sindhu°] A; si(ndu)$^{err.}$+ndhu+° B; mindu° C; sikṣya° DE °sambhavāḥ] *em.*; °sambhavaḥ ABCDE

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kṣatriyau rājaputrau tu caṇḍabhairavakaḥ punaḥ |
brāhmaṇo 'tharvaṇo devi caraṇena na saṃśayaḥ || 59 ||
yajñasomasuto bhavyo bṛhodarīviśabdite |
grāme jāto mahāde*vi nātra kārya vicāraṇāt || 60 ||
grāmabāhye tu deveśi tatra devī bṛhodarī |
tasyā nāmena sa grāmo bṛhodarī prakīrtitā || 61 ||
ārādhayitvāsau vipras tato devīṃ bṛhodarīm |
vidyāmātraṃ tu saṃprāpya japaṃ tatraiva suvrate || 62 ||
kariṣyati mahāsattvas tatas tasya bhaviṣyati |
ādeśaś cāsya śāstrasya śravaṇāya na saṃśayaḥ || 63 ||
śruṇviṣyati mahādevi padmabhairavapārśvataḥ |
tatra siddhas tv asau vipras tantrakartā bhaviṣyati || 64 ||
gālayitvā imaṃ cārthaṃ śatair aṣṭādaśair mitaiḥ |

A: ff. 2v–*3r

59a kṣatriyau] *em.*; kṣ(e)triyo A; kṣatriyā BC; kṣatriyo DE °putrau] ABD; °putrau(+ḥ+?) C; °putr(o) E 59b caṇḍa°] ACDE; vaṇḍa° B °bhairavakaḥ] *em.*; °bhairavakā ABCDE 59c brāhmaṇo 'tharvaṇo] ABDE; brāhmaṇātharvvaṇā° C 59d caraṇena] AB^{pc}DE; caraṇāna B^{ac}C 60a yajñasomasuto bhavyo] A; ya(kṣa)$^{err.}$+jña+(so)$^{corr.}$ (mahā)$^{err.}$+(- - ?)+bhavyo B; yakṣa nāma mahā-bhavyā C; yajñasāsa(s/m)rato bhavyā D; yajñasāsamrato bhavyā E 60b bṛhodarī°] AB^{pc}D; vṛkodarī° B^{ac}C; bṛhodar(i)$^{err.}$ī° E °viśabdite] *corr.*; °visabdite ABDE; °visabdita C 60c grāme jāto] AE; grām(e)$^{corr.}$(kṣa)$^{err.}$+jā+t(o)$^{corr.?}$ B; grāmakṣatāṃ C; grāmajāto D 60d kārya vicāra-ṇāt] AB^{ac}CDE; kāryyā vicāraṇā B^{pc} 61a °bāhye tu] AB^{pc}DE; (- - ?) B^{ac}; vā hṛta C deveśi] CDE; devesi A; deve(si)$^{err.}$ B 61b bṛhodarī] ADE; vṛkodarī BC 61c tasyā] *em.*; tasya ABCDE nāmena sa grāmo] B^{pc}; nāmena so grāmo A; nām(a?)na(-) grām(o) B^{ac}; nāmanamā grāmā C; nāmanamogrā(- ?) D; nāmanamogrāpi E 61d bṛhodarī] AB^{pc}DE; vṛ(-)odarī B^{ac}; vṛkodarī C prakīrtitā] B^{pc}; prakīrttitāḥ AB^{ac}CDE 62a ārādhayitvā] ACDE; ārādhayi(tya?)$^{corr.}$ B vipras] A; viprah BC; vipran DE 62b devīṃ bṛhodarīṃ] *em.*; devī bṛhodarī AB^{pc}DE; devī vṛ(-)odarī B^{ac}; devī vṛkodarī C 62d japaṃ] A; japet BCDE suvrate] AB; suvrata C; ca vrate DE 63a kariṣyati] *em.*; kariṣyāmi ABCDE mahāsattvas] AB^{pc}DE; mahāsatv(-) B^{ac}; mahāsatvaḥ C 63b tasya] ABCD; tasyai E 63c ādeśaś] *em.*; ādeśo ABCDE śāstrasya] AD; (ṇaṃta?)say B; gātrasya C; śāstre sya E 64a śruṇviṣyati] *em.*; śruṇviṣyanti ADE; (bhavi)$^{err.}$ṣyanti +(- ?)+ B; bhaviṣyanti C 64b °pārśvataḥ] B^{pc}; °pārsvataḥ A; °(- -)taḥ B^{ac}; °pūjitaḥ C; °yottataḥ DE 64c tatra] B; tatraḥ ACD; tataḥ E tv asau] ABDE; n(v)asau C 64d tantra°] A; +ta+(tu?)° B; ṛtu° C; tatra DE 65a imam] AB^{ac}CDE; imāṃ B^{pc} cārthaṃ] *conj.*; cārthā(n/t) A; vārthā B; cārthī C; cārth(ā/ī?)t D; cārthīt E 65b śatair] B; satair ADE; matair C aṣṭādaśair] *corr.*; aṣṭādasair AD; aṣṭā(ṃ)da(sai)$^{err.}$r B; aṣṭodanai C; aṣṭādasai E mitaiḥ] A; mmitai BC; smitaiḥ DE

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saṃhariṣyati tattvajñas tathā caiva trayodaśaiḥ || 65 ||

saptabhiś ca tathā caiva saṃghariṣyati suvrate |

lokānāñ ca hitārthāya nātra kārya vicāraṇāt || 66 ||

nādhikārād yataḥ kṛtvā jñānaprāptir na jāyate |

vidyāmātravidhānaṃ tu saṃkṣepeṇa hitāya vai |

śrāvayiṣyati lokānāṃ tatra tritayakena tu || 67 ||

kumārabhairavo devi aṣṭādaśaśataṃ tathā |

caṇḍabhairavakasyātha śrutvā vistārayiṣyati || 68 ||

krodhabhairavako devi trayodaśaśataṃ tathā |

caṇḍabhairavakāc caiva jñātvā vistārayiṣyati || 69 ||

tejabhairavanāmānas tathā saptaśataṃ punaḥ |

caṇḍabhairavakāc caiva śrutvāsau vistariṣyati |

avatāre tu saṃproktaṃ śiṣyāṇāṃ tritayaṃ tathā || 70 ||

bhaviṣyakīrtitā hy atra ye caturdaśamadhyataḥ |

A: f. 3r

65c saṃhariṣyati] A; saṃhariṣyanti BC; saṃdariṣyati DE tattvajñas] *corr.*; tatvajñ(ā?)s A; tatvajñā B^{pc}; tadvajña $B^{ac}C$; tatvajñan DE 65d tathā] B; tathāś ACDE trayodaśaiḥ] B^{pc}; trayodasaiḥ ADE; trayoda(- -) B^{ac}; trayodanaḥ C 66a saptabhiś] B^{pc}; saptābhiś $AB^{ac}CDE$ ca tathā] B^{pc}; cas tathāA; cat tathā $B^{ac}C$; can tathā DE 66b saṃghariṣyati] A; saṃcariṣyati BC; saṃpyariṣyati DE suvrate] ABCE; s(re)vrate D 66c lokānāṃ] BCE; lokāṇāñ AD 66d vicāraṇāt] $B^{ac}CDE$; vicāraṇā(t?) A; vicāraṇā B^{pc} 67a nādhikārād] *conj.*; (na?)dhikārā A; adhikārā BC; nadhikārā DE 67b jñāna°] ABC; stena° DE °prāptir na jāyate] B^{pc}; °prāptin na jāyate ADE; °prāpti(nn arja?)yate B^{ac}; °prāptinn arjayate C 67d saṃkṣepeṇa] ADE; saṃkṣepaṇa BC vai] ADE; ca BC 67e lokānāṃ] $AB^{pc}DE$; lokānāṃn $B^{ac}C$ 67f tritayakena] *corr.*; tṛtayakena $AB^{pc}CDE$; tatayakena B^{ac} 68a °bhairavo devi] *em.*; °bhairavaṃ devi ABCD; °bhairavavande E 68b °śataṃ] *corr.*; °satan A; °matan BCDE 68c °bhairavakasyātha] A; °bhairavakanyātha BC; °bhairavakas(y?)ātha D; °bhairavakasyārtha E 68d śrutvā] BCDE; srutvā A 69a °bhairavako] $AB^{pc}DE$; °bhairavakā $B^{ac}C$ 69c °bhairavakāc] *em.*; °bhairavakāś A; °bhairavakaś $B^{pc}DE$; °bhairaṃvakāś $B^{ac}C$ 69d jñātvā] ABC; statvā DE 70a °nāmānas] *em.*; °nāmānaṃ ABDE; °nāmāna C 70c caṇḍa°] ACDE; caṃ(- ?)° B °bhairavakāc] *em.*; °bhairavakāś ACDE; °bhairava+ka+ś B 70d śrutvā] BCDE; srutvā A vistariṣyati] ABCE; vistari(ṣya?)ti D 70e avatāre] A; avatāraṃ BCDE saṃproktaṃ] B^{pc}; s(a)proktāṃ B^{ac}; saṃproktāṃ AD; sa proktāṃ C; saṃproktā E 70f tritayaṃ] *corr.*; tṛtayan $AB^{pc}CDE$; t(- ?)tayan B^{ac} 71a bhaviṣya°] ACDE; bhaviṣya+(t?)+° B kīrtitā hy atra] $AB^{pc}DE$; kīrttitād yatra $B^{ac}C$ 71b ye] AB; ya CDE catur°] ABDE; catu(?)° C

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karālabhairavo nāma tathā ucchuṣmabhairavaḥ |
mātaṅgajātisaṃbhūtau padmabhairavaśiṣyakau || 71 ||
yamabhairavakaś cānyaḥ kāśmīre saṃbhaviṣyati |
chandogo brāhmaṇo devi tathā anyo bhaviṣyati || 72 ||
viṣṇubhairavanāmāno lampāyāṃ viṣaye tathā |
vājimadhyaṃdino vipro bhaviṣyati tathāparaḥ || 73 ||
dakṣiṇabhairavaḥ kāśyām utpanno brāhmaṇas tathā |
bahvṛcaś cāparaḥ śiṣyo bhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ || 74 ||
oḍḍiyāne mahādevi tathā śekharabhairavaḥ |
brāhmaṇas taittirīkaś ca apastambho bhaviṣyati || 75 ||
caturdaśa samākhyātāḥ padmabhairavaśiṣyakāḥ |
jñātvā dvādaśasāhasraṃ siddhiṃ prāpsyanti suvrate || 76 ||
vyākhyāṃ caiva kariṣyanti śiṣyāṇāṃ siddhikāṅkṣiṇām |
śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittānāṃ caturdaśa tu saṃjñakāḥ || 77 ||

A: f. 3r

71d ucchuṣma°] AB^{pc}DE; ucch(va?)ṣma° B^{ac}; ucchvaṣma° C 71e °saṃbhūtau] *em.*; °saṃbhūto ABCDE 71f °śiṣyakau] *em.*; °śiṣyagau AB^{pc}; °śiṣya(-)au B^{ac}; °śiṣyasau CDE 72a °bhairavakaś] *em.*; °bhairavakāś ABDE; °bhairavakāṃ C cānyaḥ] *em.*; cānyāḥ ABCDE 72b kāśmīre] B; kāsmīre AD; kāśmīra C; kāsmire E saṃbhaviṣyati] ADE; (te bhav?)$^{corr.}$iṣyaṃti B; nan(- ?)riṣyati C 72c chandogo] ABD; chaṃdogā C; cchandaśo E brāhmaṇo] AB^{pc}E; brāhmaṇ(-) B^{ac}; brāhmaṇā CD 73a °nāmāno] ADE; °nāmān(ā?)$^{corr.}$ B^{pc}; °nāmāna B^{ac}C 73b lampāyāṃ] AD; lasyāyām B^{pc}; vasyāyām B^{ac}C^{pc}; vasyāyom C^{ac}; lamyāyām E 73c °madhyaṃdino] *em.*; °madhyaṃdine ABC; °madhyadine DE vipro] ABDE; viprā C 74a °bhairavaḥ] BC; °bhairavaiḥ AD; °bhairaviḥ E kāśyām] *corr.*; kāsyām AB^{pc}C^{pc}; kāsyom B^{ac}C^{ac}; kātyām DE 74b utpanno] B^{pc}; utpannau ADE; (u?)tpannau B^{ac}; anyatrau C brāhmaṇas] B^{pc}; brāhmaṇan ACDE; brāhmaṇa(-?) B^{ac} 74c bahvṛcaś] *em.*; bahvayo ADE; bahavaś B^{pc}; ba(- - ?) B^{ac}; bahvayā C cāparaḥ] *em.*; cāparās A; cāparā BC; cāparān DE śiṣyo] AE; śiṣyā BC; śi(ṣyo?) D 74d bhaviṣyati] AC; bhaviṣyanti BE; bhavi(- ?)ti D 75a oḍḍiyāne] A; uḍḍiyāne B^{pc}; uḍḍiyāna B^{ac}CDE 75b śekharabhairavaḥ] A; (se)$^{corr.}$kharabhairava B; satvabhairavaṃḥ C; mekharabhairavaḥ DE 75c brāhmaṇas] B^{pc}; brāhmaṇo ADE; brāhmaṇ(-?) B^{ac}; brāhmaṇā C taittirīkaś] B; tettirīkaś A; tattirīkaś C; tentirīkaś DE 75d apastambho] A; (apast)$^{corr.}$ambo B; (śru?)pantastā C; ayastambho DE 76a samākhyātāḥ] B^{pc}; samākhyātā AB^{ac}C; samo khyāto D; samākhyāto E 76d siddhiṃ] AB^{pc}DE; siddhi B^{ac}C suvrate] ABCE; nuvrate D 77a vyākhyāṃ] BE; vyākhyā ACD kariṣyanti] ABCE; kari(ṣya?)nti D 77b śiṣyāṇāṃ] *corr.*; siṣyāṇāṃ ACE; (si)$^{err.}$ṣyāṇāṃ B; (si - āṇāṃ?) D 77c śaktyā°] AB^{pc}; śa(- ?)° B^{ac}; śajyā° C; śakṣyā° DE 77d caturdaśa] B; caturddaśaṃ (*unmetrical*) ACDE saṃjñakāḥ] A^{pc}; saṃjñakā A^{ac}BCDE

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padmabhairavakaṃ caiva ṣaṣṭhaṃ vai sthānam āśritaḥ |
svacchandabhairavaḥ śrutvā sakāśāt krodhabhairavaḥ || 78 ||
atha dvādaśasāhasraṃ sahasrair daśabhiḥ punaḥ |
saṃhariṣyati deveśe śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasā || 79 ||
tantrāvatāravicchinnaṃ yoginīnāṃ prabhāvataḥ |
kathayiṣyati lokānāṃ daśasāhasrakaṃ* priye || 80 ||
ujjainyāyāṃ tu saṃjāto viprajo †ukaputrakaḥ† |
deikā tasya vai mātā bahugarbhaprasāritā || 81 ||
snātācāmati mātṛṇāṃ puratah putrakāṅkṣiṇī |
japtavidyo mahāvīryaḥ samayalaṅghaprabhāvataḥ || 82 ||
kṣipiṣyanti hy asiddhatvān mātarāḥ śakticoditāḥ |
tasyā garbhe mahābhāge amantrīnāmakas tathā || 83 ||
tatas tasya mahādevi tāsāṃ caiva prabhāvataḥ |

A: ff. 3r–*3v

78a °bhairavakaṃ caiva] *conj.*; °bhairavakāś caiva ABCDE 78b vai sthānam] ABCD; vai(ṣ-ṭhā)$^{err.}$vam E āśritaḥ] B^{pc}; āśṛtaḥ ACDE; āś(- ?)taḥ B^{ac} 78c °bhairavaḥ] B^{pc}; °bhairavā B^{ac}C; °bhairavo ADE śrutvā] *corr.*; srutvā ACDE; (sru)$^{err.}$tvā B 78d sakāśāt krodha°] A; sakopāt krodha° B; sakopā(kr?)odha° C; sakāśā(ttro?)dha° D; sakāśā krodha° E 79b sahasrair] ABC; sahas-rai DE daśabhiḥ] B^{pc}C^{pc}; ddaśabhi (*unmetrical*) AB^{ac}C^{ac}E; daśabhi D 79c deveśe] ADE; deveśi BC 79d śaktyā°] AE; śa(jjā)$^{err.}$+ktyā+° B; śajjā° C; śa(-)° D °dhiṣṭhita°] *conj.*; bhūtas tu AE; bhūtan tuBCD 80b yoginīnāṃ] ABDE; yoginānāṃ C 80c kathayiṣyati] ABC; kathayiṣyanti DE 80d priye] ABDE; priya C 81a ujjainyāyāṃ] *A*; ujja(yīnyā?)$^{corr.}$n B; ujjanyāyān CDE saṃjāto] ADE; saṃjātā BC 81b viprajo] AB^{pc}D; viprajñ(ā/o) B^{ac}; viprajñā C; piprajo E 81c deikā] A; daïkā BCD; daïkāṃ E vai] ABCD; cai E mātā] A^{pc}; mātrā A^{ac}BDE; mātro C 81d °prasāritā] *em.*; °prasāritāḥ ADE; °prasāditāḥ B; °pramāditāḥ C 82a snātā°] ABCE; s(nā?)tā° D °cāmati] *em.*; °cāmanti AB; vāsanti C; cāmantri DE mātṛṇāṃ] AD; māt(ṛ)$^{corr.}$ṇāṃ B; sotṛṇāṃ C; māttṛṇāṃ E 82c °vidyo AB^{pc}] ; °vidyā DE; °vidy(ā/o?) B^{ac}C °vīryaḥ] *corr.*; °vīrya ADE; °vīdya+ḥ+ B; °vīdya C 82d samaya°] A; s(ai?)ma+ya+° B; masalaṃ C; samaye DE °la-ṅgha°] DE; laṃghe A; laṃ(- ?) B; saṃ° C 83a kṣipiṣyanti] *corr.*; kṣipiśyanti AD; (- ?)idhinyatti B^{pc}; kṣidhinārtti B^{ac}; kṣiṃdhinārtti C; kṣipaśyanti E hy asiddhatvān] D; hy asiddhatvā(t/n) A; ha siddhatvān BC; hy a+si+ddhatvān E 83b mātarāḥ] *corr.*; mātarā AD; mātaraḥ B; mātaro CE 83c tasyā] *em.*; tasya ABCDE garbhe] AB; garbha° CDE mahābhāge] AB; mahābhārā C; mahābhāro DE 83d °nāmakas] AB^{pc}; °nāmakan B^{ac}CDE 84a tasya] A(ta+sya+); tatra BC; te sā DE 84b tāsāṃ] A; (tā?)sāṃ B; bhāṣāṃ C; tāsā DE prabhāvataḥ] ABDE; prabhāvata C

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vidyāṃ prāpya japaṃ kṛtvā tataḥ śāstraṃ sa vetsyati || 84 ||

tato nibaddhagranthaś ca divyasaṅgānubhāvataḥ |

daśasāhasrakenārtham aśeṣaṃ kathayiṣyati || 85 ||

tatas tenaiva jñānena paścāt siddhiṃ sa lapsyati |

caṇḍabhairavanāmānaḥ sahasraiḥ saptabhiḥ punaḥ || 86 ||

tad eva daśasāhasraṃ kariṣyati mahādhipe |

dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi kartuvāñchā bhaviṣyati || 87 ||

na cārthaṃ divyaśiṣyāṇāṃ saṃhartuṃ saḥ kariṣyati |

saptabhiś ca sahasrais tu vighnaṃ tasya bhaviṣyati || 88 ||

anayā vāñchayā devi bindubhairavasaṃjñakaḥ |

saptabhiś ca sahasrais tu tasya vighnam bhaviṣyati || 89 ||

anayaiva mahādevi vāñchayā daśasaṃjñake |

māyābhairavanāmāno na ca siddhiṃ prayāsyati || 90 ||

saptabhiś ca sahasrais tu vighnaṃ tasya bhaviṣyati |

anantabhairavaś caiva vistaraṃ kartuvāñchayā || 91 ||

A: f. 3v 90a–91b omitted in E

84c vidyāṃ] B; vidyā ACDE japaṃ] ADE; jayaṃ B; (ja)$^{corr.}$yaṃ C 84d sa vetsyati] *conj.* (Isaacson); bhavetsyati A; bhaviṣyati BC; bhavatsyati DE 85a °granthaś ca] *conj.*; °granthasya ABCDE 85b °saṅgānubhāvataḥ] ADE; °sagātrabhāvataḥ B^{pc}; °sadbhāvabhāvataḥ B^{ac}C 85c °sāhasrakeṇārtham] *corr.*; °sāhasrakenārthaṃ] AB; °sāhasrakenāthaṃ DE; °sāhasrakaṃ nāthaṃm C 86b lapsyati] BC; lapsati ADE 86c °nāmānaḥ] *corr.*; °nāmāna ADE; °nāmānaṃ BC 86d sahasraiḥ] ABC; sahasrai DE saptabhiḥ] ABC; saptabhi DE punaḥ] ABCD; pu(-ṇa)$^{err.}$ḥ E 87a eva] ADE; (evaṃ?) B^{pc}; °arddhaṃ B^{ac}C 87b kariṣyati] ABCD; kariṣyaṃti E mahādhipe] ABDE; mahādhipa C 87c dvādaśaiva] DE; dvāda(śai?)va A; dvāda(sai)$^{err.}$(va)$^{corr.}$ B; dvādasaṃ ca C 87d kartu°] B^{pc}; karttā° ADE; kantā° B^{ac}C 88a na cārthaṃ] *em.*; na cārtha ADE; na cārthe B; tatrārtha C śiṣyāṇāṃ] BC; siṣyāṇāṃ ADE 88b saṃhartuṃ] *conj.*; sa marttuṃ AB^{pc}; na narttuṃ B^{ac}C; mamantraṃ DE saḥ kariṣyati] *em.*; so kariṣyati A; nākariṣyati B^{ac}DE; no kariṣyati B; nākatiṣyati C 88d vighnaṃ] AD^{pc}DE; vi(- ?) B^{ac}; viṣyā C 89b bindu°] ABCD; bindra° E 89d tasya vighnam] A; (bhaviṣyati)$^{err.}$+tasya vighnaṃ+ B; bhaviṣyatiḥ C; tasya vighna DE 90a anayaiva] ABD; anenaiva C 90b vāñchayā] BC; vācchayā AD °saṃjñake] *conj.*; °saṃjñakaḥ ABCD 90c °nāmāno] AD; °nāmānaṃ BC 90d na ca] BC; nava° AD siddhiṃ] C; siddhi AD; siddhi+ḥ+ B prayāsyati] ABC; prayāmyati D 91a sahasrais] ABC; sahasr(- ?)s D 91b vighnaṃ] AD; (- na?)n B^{pc}; vipran B^{ac}C

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sahasraiḥ saptabhiś caiva vighnaṃ tasyāpi suvrate |
bhaviṣyati na sandeho evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt || 92 ||
sadāśivena devena dvāpare bhāṣitaṃ mahān |
tato divyena mānena tasmāt saptatime yuge |
tava devi mayākhyātaṃ tantraṃ bhairavapūjitam || 93 ||
kalau yuge na sandehaḥ śrīkaṇṭhasyājñayā tathā |
asmād vai saptame caiva kapālīśasya suvrate || 94 ||
tvaṃ vakṣyasi mahādevi tretāyāṃ bhairavo 'bravīt |
dvāpare kalisandhau tu padmabhairavasaṃjñakaḥ || 95 ||
sapādalakṣasaṃkhyātaṃ saṃgharisyati nānyathā |
kalau caturthapāde tu tathā svacchandabhairavaḥ || 96 ||
saṃgharisyati deveśi evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt |
caṇḍabhairavakaś caiva tathā ca vibhubhairavaḥ || 97 ||
māyābhairavakaś caiva vistāraṃ kartuvāñchayā |
kalau caturthapādānte bhaviṣyanti varānane || 98 ||

A: f. 3v

92a sahasraiḥ] B^{pc}; (sahasrais?)$^{bottoms\ damaged}$ A; sahasrai B^{ac}CDE 92b vighnaṃ] AB^{pc}DE; vi(- ?)n B^{ac}; vi(ppra?)n C tasyāpi] ABC; tasyo pi DE suvrate] AB; suvrata C; nuvrate DE 92c sandeho] ADE; sandeha BC 92d evaṃ vai] A; evaiś vai B^{pc}; evaiś ca B^{ac}C; eva(ś cai?) DE 93b bhāṣitaṃ] ACD; bhāṣito B^{pc}; bhāṣit(- ?) B^{ac}; bhāṣitaṃn E mahān] AB^{pc}DE; mahat B^{ac}C 93c divyena mānena] AB; divyanamānena C; divyanamonena DE 93d tasmāt] ADE; tasmān BC saptatime yuge] A; (me brūhi?) sat purā B; me (bru?)hi sat purā C; saptatima purā DE 93e tava] ADE; tadva BC °ākhyātaṃ] ABC; °ā(gyā?)$^{err.}$+khyā+tat D; °ākhyāta E 93f tantraṃ] ABC; tatra D; tat tatra E °pūjitaṃ] AB^{pc}; °pūjita(- ?) B^{ac}; pūjitaḥ CDE 94a yuge] AB^{pc}; purā B^{ac}CDE sandehaḥ] DE; sandeheḥ A; saṃdeha BC 94c saptame] AB; saptama C; saptase DE 94c suvrate] ABCE; nuvrate D 95a tvaṃ] AD; tvad BC; tv(am?) E vakṣyasi] *em.*; vakṣyāmi ABCDE 95b tretāyāṃ] ABCD; tre(ttā?)yāṃ E 95c °sandhau] *corr.*; °saṃdhaus ADE; °saṃkhaus B; °sakhyaus C 95d padmabhairava°] ABCD; yadā bhairava° E °saṃjñakaḥ] *em.*; °saṃjñakau ABCDE 96b saṃgharisyati] A; saṃ(ka?)$^{corr.?}$risyati B; saṃparisyati C; saṃpyarisyati D; sapyarisyati E 96c °pāde] ABDE; °pādan C 96d °bhairavaḥ] BC; °bhairava ADE 97a saṃgharisyati] AB^{pc}; saṃpyarisyati B^{ac}CDE deveśi] CDE; devesi A; deve(si)$^{err.}$ B 97b evaṃ vai] ABC; evaṃś cai DE bhairavo] ABDE; bhairavā C 97c °bhairavakaś] ADE; °bhairavaka+ś+ B; °bhairavakaṃ C 97d vibhu°] ABDE; bindu° C 98b vistāraṃ] ABDE; vistāra° C °vāñchayā] ABDE; °vāchayā C

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anantabhairavaś caiva kalpānte vistaraṃ sadā |
na śaknoṣyati vai kartuṃ bhaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasaḥ || 99 ||
caturviṃśatisāhasraṃ mānayiṣyati suvrate |
caṇḍabhairavako devi vibhubhairavam eva ca || 100 ||
māyābhairavakaś caiva tathā cānantam eva ca |
etad apaścimā vīrās tantraṃ jñātvā na saṃśayaḥ || 101 ||
siddhiṃ prāpsyanti deveśi kalpānte bhairavo 'bravīt |
etac chāstraṃ kalau cānte yo*ginyaḥ śakticoditāḥ || 102 ||
apahṛtya prayāsyanti sampradāyañ ca suvrate |
śaktyantaṃ nātra sandeha evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt || 103 ||
kṛte yuge mahādevi tretāyāṃ dvāpare tathā|
nāvatāro 'sya śāstrasya sūcito bhairaveṇa tu || 104 ||
kalau yuge punaś caiva evam eva mahādhipe |
avatāro 'sya śāstrasya kariṣyasi na saṃśayaḥ || 105 ||
dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi nādhikāni manāg api |

A: ff. 3v–*4r

99b kalpānte] ABDE; kalpānta° C 99c śaknoṣyati] *conj.*; śakyoṣyati A; śaktyāṣyati B^{pc}; śaktyāṣyabhiḥ B^{ac}C; śa(ṣko?)ṣyati DE 99d bhaktyā°] ABC; bhakṣyā° DE °cetasaḥ] ADE; °cetanaḥ BC 100a °viṃśati°] BC; °viṅsati° A; °vinsati° DE 100b suvrate] ABE; suvrata C; nuvrate D 100d vibhu°] ADE; bindu° BC 101a °bhairavakaś] ABC; °bhairavakañ D; °bhaira+va+kaś E 101b cānantam] ABC; cāntam DE 101c etad] ADE; eta(- ?)$^{corr.}$ B; etat C apaścimā] A; (-?)paścimā B; tapaścimā C; apaści E vīrās] AB^{pc}DE; vīrā B^{ac}C 101d tantraṃ] ABCD; tantra E saṃśayaḥ] AB^{pc}DE; saṃśayan B^{ac}C 102a deveśi] BCDE; devesi A 102b kalpānte] ABDE; kalpānta° C 102c chāstraṃ] BC; chāstra ADE cānte] ADE; cā(nte)$^{corr.}$ B; nāntu C 102d yoginyaḥ] ADE; (v?)yoginyaḥ B^{pc}; (- - - ?) B^{ac}; vyāśenaḥ C 103a apahṛtya] ABCD; apahṛta E 103b sampradāyañ] *em.*; sampradāyaś ADE; saṃpradā+ya+ś B; saṃpradāś C 103c śaktya°] *em.*; śaktyā° AB^{pc}; śa(- ?)ā B^{ac}; śa(r - ?)ā C; śakṣyā° DE sandeha] *em.*; śandeho A; sandeho BCDE 104a kṛte] B^{pc}; kṛtau ADE; kṛtvā B^{ac}C yuge] AB^{pc}; purā B^{ac}CDE 104c nāvatāro 'sya] AB^{pc}D; nāvatārānya B^{ac}C; nāvatārasya E śāstrasya] BC; sāstrasya ADE 104d sūcito] ABCD; sucito E bhairaveṇa] ABCD; bhairavena E 105a yuge punaś] AB^{pc}; purā (nata?)ś B^{ac}; purā +(na?)+taś C; purā punaś DE 105b °ādhipe] AB^{pc}DE; °ādhipa B^{ac}C 105c avatāro 'sya] AB^{pc}; avatārānya° B^{ac}C; avatārāsya DE 105d kariṣyasi] $A^{(darkened)}$; kariṣyati BCD; kariṣyaṃti E 106b nādhikāni] ADE; nādhikā(n?)i B^{pc}; nādhikāri B^{ac}C manāg api] ABC; manāśapi DE

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kathayiṣyasi deveśi lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā || 106 ||

kumārīdvīpavāstavyā ye lokāḥ saṃsthitāḥ priye |

teṣāṃ śāstrasya nānyasya prāptiś caiva bhaviṣyati || 107 ||

kalāpagrāmake devi tataḥ saḥ saṃghariṣyati |

kaliyugasya ādau tu avatāraṃ kariṣyati |

dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi nātra kārya vicāraṇāt || 108 ||

sapādalakṣaṃ deveśi kathayiṣyasi suvrate |

svacchandabhairavasyaiva evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt || 109 ||

dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi saṃhṛtāni mahādhipe |

yena tasya mahābhāge nātra kārya vicāraṇāt || 110 ||

daśabhis tu sahasrais tu -m- uktvā vīracatuṣṭayam |

tato 'sau codito devi tvayaiva varavarṇini || 111 ||

kalāpagrāmake sthitvā viṣṇubhairavakasya tu |

asiddhaś caiva deveśi śāstraṃ dvādaśasaṃmitam || 112 ||

sahasrair nātra sandehaḥ kathayiṣyati suvrate |

A: f. 4r

106c kathayiṣyasi] ADE; kathayiṣya+ti+ B; kathayirṣya+mi+ C deveśi] BCDE; devesi A 107a °dvīpavāstavyā] ADE; °(- īpavāsta)$^{corr.}$vyā B; °ddhī vaco mṛṣyā C 107b ye] ABC; ya DE lokāḥ] *corr.*; l(o?)kā A; lokā BC; laukā DE saṃsthitāḥ] *corr.*; saṃsthitā ABCDE 107c śāstrasya] A; śāstra+sya+ B; śāstra C; śāstranya DE 108a kalāpa°] A; kalā(pa)°$^{corr.}$ B; kalāva° C; kalāpe DE 108b tataḥ saḥ] A; ta(ta saḥ)$^{corr.}$ B; tat tasyaḥ C; tatasmaḥ DE saṃghariṣyati] A; saṃ(ha)$^{corr.}$riṣyati B; saṃbhariṣyati C; saṃpyariṣyati DE 108c kali°] ABDE; (ka)$^{corr.}$li° C 108f kārya] AB^{ac}DE; kāryyā B^{pc}; kāyya C vicāraṇāt] ACDE; vicāraṇā(t)$^{err.}$ B 109a sapāda°] ACDE; sa(pā?)da° B 109b kathayiṣyasi] AB^{pc}; kathayiṣyāmi B^{ac}C; kathayiṣyeśi DE 109c °bhairavasyaiva] ADEB^{pc}; °bhairavaś caiva B^{ac}C 109d evaṃ vai] AD; evaṃ ca BC; evaś cai E bhairavo] AB^{pc}DE; bhairavā B^{ac}C 110b saṃhṛtāni] ABCD; saṃhṛtāṇi E mahādhipe] ADE; mahādhip(e)$^{corr.?}$ B; mahādhipa C 110c yena] ADE; ye+na+ B; pura C tasya] *em.*; tasyā AC; tasmā+t+ B; tasyo DE mahābhāge] AB; mahābhāga C; mahābhāro DE 110d kārya] AB^{ac}CDE; kāryyā B^{pc} vicāraṇāt] ACDE; vicāraṇā(t)$^{err.}$ B 111b muktvā] AB^{pc}; (vaktā?) B^{ac}C; nuktā D; nuktvā E °catuṣṭayam] A; °catuṣṭaya(- ?) B; °catuṣṭayaḥ CDE 111c codito] ABDE; coditā C 111d °varṇini] ADE; °varṇinī BC 112a kalāpa°] ABC; kalāya° DE 112b viṣṇu°] ABDE; viṣṇa° C °bhairavakasya tu] ABD^{pc}E; (- - - -)$^{corr.}$ tu D^{ac}; °bhairavakampatu C 112c deveśi] BCDE; devesi A 112d śāstraṃ] B; śāstra ACDE °saṃmitam] A; sammita(m)$^{corr.}$ B; °sammitaḥ DE; °saṃsmitaḥ C 113a sahasrair] ABDE; sahasrai C sandehaḥ] ADE; sandeha+ḥ+ B; saṃdeha C 113b suvrate] ABCE; nuvrate D

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viṣṇubhairavako devi kumārīdvīpavāsinām || 113 ||

kathayiṣyati lokānāṃ śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasām |

sahasrāṇi daśa dve ca evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt || 114 ||

gṛhe gṛhe mahādevi yathā saptaśatāni ca |

tathā dvādaśasāhasro bhaviṣyati na saṃśayaḥ || 115 ||

śaktyādhiṣṭhitacittānāṃ nātra kārya vicāraṇāt |

gṛhe gṛhe mahādevi ye puṃsāḥ siddhibhājanāḥ || 116 ||

striyo vā siddhibhāginyas teṣām api gṛheṣv atha |

pracariṣyati deveśi evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt || 117 ||

asiddhibhājanā ye tu puruṣo 'tha striyo 'tha vā |

vidyāmātram api caiva na prāpsyanti mahādhipe |

sarahasyaṃ mahādevi jñāsyante siddhibhājanāḥ|| 118 ||

etat tantrāvatāraṃ tu śrīkaṇṭhena yathāsthitam |

kathitaṃ mama deveśi tathāpi kathitaṃ mayā || 119 ||

sāmprataṃ sarahasyaṃ tu sarvasandohalakṣaṇam |

mahābhairavanāmānaṃ śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā || 120 ||

A: f. 4r

113c °bhairavako] AB^{pc}DE; °bhairavakā B^{ac}C 113d °dvīpavāsinām] AB^{pc}; (- ?)īpavā(- ?)nāṃ B^{ac}; °ddhīya yoginām C; °dvīpavāsināḥ DE 114b śaktyā°] AE; śa(- yā?)°$^{corr.}$ B; śajyā° C; śakṣyā° D 114d vai] ADE; ca BC 115b sapta°] ABDE; maṣṭa° C 115c sāhasro] AB; °sāhasrā CDE 115d bhaviṣyati] ABCD; bhaviṣyaṃti E saṃśayaḥ] BCDE; saṃśaya(ḥ?) A 116a śaktyā°] ADE; śa(ktyā?)° B^{pc}; śarpyā° B^{ac}C 116b kārya] AB^{ac}CDE; kāryyā B^{pc} vicāraṇāt] ACDE; vicāraṇā(t)$^{err.}$ B 116d ye puṃsāḥ] *corr.*; ye puṁsā A; (ma)$^{err.}$ ye puṃsaḥ B^{pc}; ma yat prajñā B^{ac}C; ya punsā D; * E 117a °bhāginyas] AB^{pc}D; °bhāginy(a - ?) B^{ac}; °bhāminyaṃn C 117b teṣām] C; teṣāṃm AD; teṣā(m?) B api gṛheṣu] *em.* (Isaacson); adhigṛheṣv A; adhi(gṛheṣv)$^{corr.}$ B; adhimṛduṣv C; adhigṛhesv D 117c pracariṣyati] AB^{pc}D; pracariṣyaṃti B^{ac}C 118a asiddhi°] *em.*; asiddha° ABCD °bhājanā] AB^{pc}D; °bhāvanā B^{ac}C ye tu] AD; +ye+ tu B; tu C 118b puruṣo 'tha striyo] AD; puruṣārth(e?) striyā° B; puruṣārthaistriyoḥ C 118c api] ABD; ayi C 118d mahādhipe] ABD; mahādhipa C 118f jñāsyante] A; jñānānte BD; jñānan tu C 119a tantrā°] BC; tatrā° AD 119b °sthitam] A; °sthita(m?)$^{corr.}$ B; °sthitaḥ CD 119c kathitaṃ mama] ABC; kathitasmeśa D 119d kathitaṃ mayā] ABC; kathitayā D 120a sāmprataṃ] ABC; sānprataṃ D sa] AB^{pc}D; (me?) B^{ac}; me C 120b °sandoha°] AD; °saṃdeha° BC 120d °śṛṇuṣvekāgra°] AD; °śṛṇuṣvaikāgra° B^{pc}; °śṛṇuṣvakāgra° B^{ac}C

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yā sā śaktiḥ purākhyātānantādyānantasambhavā |

tasyā bhedaṃ mahābhāge kathayāmi yathākramam || 121 ||

yo 'sau acintyam ity āhuḥ śi*vaḥ paramakāraṇaḥ |

niḥsaṃjño nirvikāraś ca vyāpī śāntas tathaiva ca || 122 ||

niḥsvabhāvo mahādevi kriyākāraṇavarjitaḥ |

niṣkalo nirvikalpas tu arūpo guṇavarjitaḥ || 123 ||

nirmamo nirahaṃkāra advaitapadasaṃsthitaḥ |

yogināṃ dhyānagamyo 'sau jñānarūpo mahāyaśe || 124 ||

nirācārapadāvasthaḥ saṃjñāmātraḥ prabhuḥ paraḥ |

tasyāparājyotirūpaṃ sarvānugrahakārakaḥ || 125 ||

vyāpī hy avyaktarūpī ca amanasko mahātmanaḥ |

tasya śaktir mahādevi svabhāvotthā akṛtrimā || 126 ||

jyotsnārūpā svarūpeṇa sphāṭikasyeva raśmayaḥ |

A: ff. 4r–*4v

121a śaktiḥ] *corr.*; śakti AD; (sa)$^{err.}$kti+ḥ+ B; sakti C 121b °ānantādyānanta°] AD; °ānantāś cānanta° BC 121c mahābhāge] AB^{pc}; mahābhāga B^{ac}C; mahābhāro D 121d °kramam] AD; °krama(- ?) B; °kramaḥ C 122a acintyam] ABD; acityaṃm C āhuḥ] AB^{pc}D; āhu B^{ac}C 122b °kāraṇaḥ] AB^{pc}D; °kā(- ṇaḥ) B^{ac}; °kā(- ?)ṇaḥ C 122c niḥsaṃjñō] AB^{pc}D; niḥsaṃskā B^{ac}; niḥsaṃṣkā C 122d vyāpī śāntas] AB^{pc}; vyā(yā - ?)s B^{ac}; vyāyā sāntus C; vyāpau śāntan D 123a niḥsvabhāvo] B^{pc}; nisvabhāvo A; niśvabhāvā B^{ac}C; nimbabhāvo D 123b kriyā°] ABC; kriyo D 123c niṣkalo] B^{pc}; niskalo AD; niṣkalā B^{ac}C °vikalpas] ABC; °vikalpan D 123d arūpo guṇa°] AB^{pc}; aṃkā(ṇ - āste?)ṇa B^{ac}; aṃkāṇ(y/p)āstreṇa C; a(ṅkā?)po guṇa° D 124b advaitapada°] AB^{pc}D; advaita(- ?)da° B^{ac}; advaitadbheda° C 124c yogināṃ] *em.*; yoginyāṃ AD; yoginy+āṃ+ B; yoginā C °gamyo 'sau] AB^{pc}; °(mānyā - ?) B^{ac}; °mānyā(sau?) C; °gamyāsau D 124d jñānarūpo] AB^{pc}; jñānakāya° B^{ac}C; jñāna(ṅ kā)$^{err.}$+rū+po D mahāyaśe] *corr.*; mahāyase A; mahā(ya[se]$^{err.}$)$^{corr.}$ B; mahāmaya C; mahāyame D 125a °āvasthaḥ] AB^{pc}; °āva(- ?) B^{ac}; °āvastha C; °āvastheḥ D 125c °jyotirūpaṃ] *em.*; °jyotirūpa AB^{pc}; °(jo?)tibhā(p/y)a B^{ac}; °jotibhāya C; °ṣkotirūpa D 125d sarvānugraha°] AB^{pc}D; saccīntagraha° B^{ac}C 126a hy avakta°] AB^{pc}; hṛvakta° B^{ac}C; h(y a?)vyakta° D °rūpī] AB^{pc}D; °kā(- ?) B^{ac}; °kāṣī C 126b amanasko] A; anavastho B; ananasthā C; anenasko D mahātmanaḥ] A; mahā(- - ḥ) B^{pc}; mahā(śrayaḥ?) B^{ac}; mahā(a/śra?)yaḥ C; mahānsanaḥ D 126c śaktir] AD; śakti+r+ B; śakti(ḥ?) C 126d svabhāvotthā] AB^{pc}D; svabhāvāsthā B^{ac}C akṛtrimā] B^{pc}; akṛttimā AB^{ac}D; akṛttimā C 127a jyotsnārūpā] AB^{pc}; śāntākāyo B^{ac}; kṣāntākāyo C; (ṣko?)nsnārūpo D svarūpeṇa] AB^{pc}D; svakoṣeṇa B^{ac}C 127b sphāṭikasyeva] *em.*; sphāṭikasyaiva] AB^{pc}D; sphāṭikasyava B^{ac}C raśmayaḥ] B^{pc}; rasmayaḥ AD; ra(- ?)mayaḥ B^{ac}; rammayaḥ C

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tasyecchā nirgatā śaktir jñānarūpā manonmanī || 127 ||

pravartate nirābhāsā avadhūteti sā smṛtā |

prabodhayati sānantā bindunādau kṣaṇena tu || 128 ||

kuṇḍalākṛtisaṃsthānā svarādau saṃvyavasthitā |

caturbhāgavibhaktā sā caturbhāgavibhājitā || 129 ||

evaṃ kuṇḍalinī śaktiḥ svaraiḥ ṣoḍaśabhiḥ sthitā |

catuṣkapathakopetā pañcavyoma-alaṃkṛtā || 130 ||

evaṃ pañcavidhā sā tu śaktir ādyā manonmanī |

navākṣaravidhānena punaś caiva prajāyate || 131 ||

svaravyañjanasaṃyuktā pañcāśākṣarasaṃyutā |

avadhūtā mahādevi navabhedair vyavasthitā || 132 ||

atra devyo 'tha dūtyaś ca yoginyocchuṣmamātarāḥ |

samastān śṛjate devi śivecchām anuvarttinī || 133 ||

iti mahābhairave tantre

dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne

sambandhapaṭalaḥ prathamaḥ || 1 ||

A: f. 4v

127c tasyecchā nirgatā] AB^{pc}; tasya dvāra mahā° B^{ac}C; tasyacchā nirgatā D śaktir] B; śakti ACD 127d °rūpā] B^{pc}; °rūpo AD; °(kāyā?) B^{ac}; °kāyā C 128a pravartate] AB^{pc}D; prava(n/t - a?) B^{ac}; pravattana C 128b avadhūteti sā] AB^{pc}D; avadhūt(a - mā?) B^{ac}; avadhūtabhimā C 128c sānanta] AB^{pc}D; sāran (tu?) B^{ac}; sāran tu C 128d kṣaṇena] AB^{pc}D; kṣa(-)na B^{ac}; kṣareṇa C 129a °saṃsthānā] AB^{pc}D; °saṃtthānā B^{ac}; °maṃ(tthā?)nā C 129c °vibhaktā sā] AD; °vibha(- ā sā?) B^{ac}; °vibhajyānā C 129d °vibhājitā] AD; °vibh+ā+jitā B; °vibhaṃjitā C 130a °śaktiḥ] ACD; °śakti+ḥ+ B 130b sthitā] *em.*; sthitāḥ ABCD 130c catuṣkapathakopetā] AB^{pc}; catu(- - ?)thako(-)tā B^{ac}; catuṣṭhayathakoṣatā C; catuṣkapathako(- -)^{erasure} D 131a pañca°] AB^{pc}D; (eṇpa?)° B^{ac}; pa(ṇya?)° C °vidhā sā] AB; °vidhānān C; °vidhā mā D 131b ādyā] ABC; ādyo D 131d punaś caiva] AB^{pc}D; puna(- va?) B^{ac}; pranayaiva C prajāyate] AB^{pc}D; praja(-)ya(-) B^{ac}; prajaptayat C 132a °saṃyuktā] AD; °saṃ(pu/pra - ā?) B^{pc}; °saṃprekṣyā B^{ac}C 132b pañcāśā°] *corr.*; pañcāsā° AD; paścā (sā)$^{err.}$ B; paścā sā° C °saṃyutā] *conj.*; sāmprataṃ ABCD 132d °bhedair] AB; °bhedai C; °bhe(dy)air D 133a devyo 'tha] AB^{pc}; devyātha B^{ac}CD dūtyaś] AB; dutyaś C; d(- ty)aś D 133b yoginyocchuṣma°] AB^{pc}; yoginyācchuṣma° B^{ac}C; yo(- i - ?)cchuṣma° D °mātaraḥ] A^{pc}; °mātarāḥ A^{ac}D; °mātarā B^{pc}; °mātar(aḥ?) B^{ac}; °(sobharā?) C 133c samastān] AD; samastā+n+ B; samastā C 133d śivecchām anuvartinī] A; śive(- āma -?)vartinī B^{pc}; śivakāmena varttinī B^{ac}C; śivecchā sa(- ?)varttinī D

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COLOPHON: bhairave tantre] A; bhairavataṃtre BCD picumate] AB^{pc}D; pi(- ?)mate B^{ac}; bi(ndu)-mata C °vidhāne] AD; °vidhāna BC sambandha°] A; sambaddhaḥ BC; savatta° D °paṭalaḥ prathamaḥ] ACD; paṭalaḥ ‖ 1 ‖ B

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II

BRAHMAYĀMALE MANTRODDHĀRAPAṬALAḤ DVITĪYAḤ

athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi aghoryarcanam uttamam |
nirācāro yadā mantrī avadhūtatanuḥ sthitaḥ || 1 ||
tadā tu kurute pūjāṃ yogeśīnāṃ śivasya ca |
avadhūtā tu sā śaktir nirācārapadaḥ śivaḥ || 2 ||
eteṣāṃ tu vidhiṃ jñātvā tato mantrī prasidhyati |
atas teṣāṃ pravakṣyāmi mantroddhāram anukramāt || 3 ||
śuklāmbaradharo mantrī śuklagandhānulepanaḥ |
bhūpradeśe śucau divye divyapuṣpair alaṃkṛte || 4 ||
tatra devyaś ca dūtyaś ca yoginyo mātaras tathā|
uddhareta sadā prājñaḥ kapālīśapuraḥsarāḥ || 5 ||
ādimaṃ tu dvitīyasya prathamaṃ tu vyavasthitam |
eṣā devī smṛtā raktā bindumastakayojitā || 6 ||

CODICES: ABD A: f. 4v

1b aghoryarcanam] *corr.*; aghoryārcanam AD; āgh(- ?)rccanam B^{pc}; ā(ghosyāṃcca?)na° B^{ac} uttamam] $AB^{pc}D$; suttamaḥ B^{ac} 1d °tanuḥ] B^{pc}; °tanu°] $AB^{ac}D$ 2a tu] AD; $tu^{corr.?}$ B 2c avadhūtā] $AB^{pc}D$; avadhūta B^{ac} sā] AD; +sā+ B śaktir] B; śakti AD 2d °padaḥ] *conj.*; °paraḥ ABD 3c teṣāṃ] AD; tayoḥ B 3d anukramāt] $AB^{pc}D$; a(- ?)kramāt B^{ac} 4a °dharo] AD; °dha(ro)$^{corr.?}$ B 4b °nulepanaḥ] $AB^{pc}D$; °nulepanaṃ B^{ac} 4c bhū°] $AB^{pc}D$; (- ?)° B^{ac} 4c divye] *conj.*; divyair ABD 5a devyaś] B^{pc}; devyāś $AB^{ac}D$ dūtyaś ca] AD^{pc}; (tusraṃ ca)$^{err.}$ +dūtyaś ca+ B; śūdra(- ?) D^{ac} 5c sadā prājñaḥ] A; mahāprājña+ḥ+ B; sadā prājña D 5d kapālīśa°] AB; kapālīṃśa° D °puraḥsarāḥ] B^{pc}; °puraḥśarāṃ A; °(parapaṇaṃ?) B^{ac}; °puraḥśarāḥ D 6a ādimaṃ tu] AB^{pc}; ādisaṃ tu B^{ac}; ādimantr(a?) D 6b vyavasthitam] AB^{pc}; vyavasthitaḥ $B^{ac}D^{pc}$; vyavasthitā D^{ac} 6c eṣā] AD; (e)$^{corr.}$ṣā B raktā] AD; ra(kṣā)$^{crr.}$+ktā+ B 6d °mastaka°] AD; °ma(sta)$^{corr.}$ka° B

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tṛtīyasya tṛtīyaṃ tu svaraikādaśabhūṣitam |

eṣā devī smṛtā ghorā karālīti ca viśrutā || 7 ||

ādimaṃ tu dvitīyena ūrdhvanādena yojitam |

ekaviṃśat parā yonir dvitīyasvarayojitā || 8 ||

aṣṭāviṃśa tṛ*tīyena viṃśamaṃ tu tathāpunaḥ|

dvātriṃśaikūnatriṃśena ūrdhvanādena yojitam || 9 ||

haṃsa eṣa dvitīyena praṇavādisamanvitam |

etad guhyaṃ mayā proktaṃ mantrabhedavyavasthitam || 10 ||

athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi yogeśīnāṃ tu lakṣaṇam |

praṇavādinamaskāraṃ vidyāṃ saṃyojya yatnataḥ || 11 ||

eṣā te prathamā proktā kroṣṭukī ca mahodayā |

svāhākārāntasaṃyuktaṃ dvitīyā yoginī smṛtā|| 12 ||

hūṃkāreṇa tṛtīyā tu vauṣaṭkāre caturthikā |

pañcamī vaṣaṭkāreṇa phaṭkāre ṣaṣṭhikā bhavet || 13 ||

A: ff. 4v–*5r

7b °bhūṣitam] AB^{pc}; °bhūṣitaḥ B^{ac}D 7c eṣā] AB^{pc}D; eṣo B^{ac} ghorā] AD; (gho?)rā B 7d karālīti] AB; karīti D 8a ādimaṃ tu] AB^{pc}D; ādimaṃtra B^{ac} 8b °nādena] AB; °nāde(na?) D yojitam] AB^{pc}; yojita(ḥ?) B^{ac}; yojita D 8c °viṃśat parā] *corr.*; °viṅśat (p)arā A; viṃ(śasva)rā B; °viṃsat panā D yonir] *corr.*; yoni AB; yo(ni?) D 8d dvitīya°] A; dvitīyaṃ B; dvitīye D °svara°] AD; (pu)$^{err.}$+sva+ra° B 9a aṣṭāviṃśa] B^{pc}aṣṭāviṅsa A; aṣṭāviṃ(-?) B^{ac}; aṣṭāvinsa D 9b viṃśamaṃ tu] *corr.*; viṃsaman tu A; viṃ(- - - ?) B; viṃsamantra D 9c dvātriṃśaikūnatriṃśena] *conj.*; dvātriṃśakonatṛṃśena AD; dvātriṃśakonatriṃśena B 9d yojitam] AB^{pc}; yojitaḥ B^{ac}D 10a haṃsa] AB^{pc}D; haṃse B^{ac} 10b praṇavādi°] AD; praṇa(vādi)°$^{corr.}$ B °samanvitam] AB^{pc}; °samanvitaḥ B^{ac}D 10c etad guhyaṃ] AD; etan tu hṛn B proktaṃ] *em.*; proktāṃ AD; proktā B 10d mantra°] AB; se(?)tu° D °vyavasthitam] AB^{pc}; °vyavasthitaḥ B^{ac}D 11a athātaḥ] AB^{pc}; athātaṃ B^{ac}; athāta D saṃpravakṣyāmi] AB; saṃprava(kṣy - - ?) D 11b lakṣaṇam] AB^{pc}; lakṣaṇaḥ B^{ac}; lakṣaṇa(ṃ?) D 11c °namaskāraṃ] AB; na saṃskāraṃ D 11d vidyāṃ] B; vidyā AD saṃyojya yatnataḥ] A; saṃyojay+e+t tataḥ B; saṃyokṣayen nataḥ D 12a eṣā] *em.*; eṣa ABD 12b kroṣṭukī] A; kro(ṣṭu)$^{corr.}$kī B; kroṣṭrekī D 12c °kārānta°] AB^{pc}; °kārātra° B^{ac}; °kārā tu D °saṃyuktaṃ] D; °sa(ṃ)yukta(ṃ?) A; °saṃyu - - ?) B^{pc}; (yaṃprakṣā?) B^{ac} 13a hūṃ°] A; hū(ṃ?)° B; huṃ° D tṛtīyā] AB^{ac}; tṛtīyāṃ B^{ac}; tṛtīyo D 13b vauṣaṭkāre] AB^{pc}; vauṣaṭkāraḥ B^{ac}; vau(ṣa - ?)kāre D cathurthikā] B^{pc}; cathurthakā AD; catu(rthakā?) B^{ac} 13c vaṣaṭ°] AB^{pc}D; vaṣat° B^{ac} 13d phaṭkāre°] AB^{pc}; huṃkāra° B^{ac}; haṭkāre D

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ṣaḍ yoginyaḥ samākhyātā aghoryāṅgaviniḥsṛtāḥ |
athāto mātarāḥ vakṣye tantre ucchuṣmasambhave || 14 ||
praṇave tu sthito devo binduke tu maheśvarī |
ekāre tu sthitā brahmī ākāre caiva vaiṣṇavī || 15 ||
akāre caiva kaumārī īkāre ca vivasvatī |
ikāre vāsavī devī svākāre caiva caṇḍikā || 16 ||
hākāreṇa parā śaktir etā yasyā vinirgatāḥ |
mātaras te mayā proktā yāge ucchuṣmapūjite || 17 ||
yā sā eva mayā proktā mātṝṇāñ caiva pūraṇī |
tasyedaṃ kathitaṃ sarvaṃ yaṃ jñātvā nāvasīdati || 18 ||

iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate
navākṣaravidhāne mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ dvitīyaḥ || 2 ||

A: f. 5r

14a ṣaḍ yoginyaḥ] AD; ṣa(- ?)oginyaḥ B^{pc}; ṣa(- - ?)sinya B^{ac} 14b aghoryaṅga°] *corr.*; aghoryāṅga° A; aghoryā(- ?) B^{pc}; aghā(- ?)rddha° B^{ac}; aghoryā(ṭ ca?) D viniḥsṛtāḥ] *corr.*; viniśṛtāḥ AB^{ac}; viniḥśṛtāḥ B^{ac}; viniśṛtā D 14c athāto] AD; athā(tā?)$^{corr.}$ B^{pc}; athā(ttā?) B^{ac} mātarāḥ] *em.*; mātarāṃ AD; mātaraṃ B^{pc}; so(tta?)rāṃ B^{ac} 14d tantre] AD; tantra B ucchuṣma°] A; ucch(uṣma)°$^{corr.}$ B; ucchumma° D 15a sthito] *em.*; sthitā ABD devo] *em.*; deva ABD 15b binduke] AB^{pc}D; bindukan B^{ac} 15c ekāre] AB^{pc}D; ekār(an?) B^{ac} brahmī] AD; brāhmī B 15d ākāre] AD; oṅkāre B^{pc}; (āṅkāra?) B^{ac} 16a akāre] AB; akā(- ?)re D 16b īkāre] A; ikār+e+ B; ikāre D 16c ikāre] AD; īkāre B 16d svākāre] AB; svokāre D 17a śaktir] *em.*; śakti ABD 17b etā yasyā] *conj.*; etayasya AD; (e?)$^{corr.}$te yasya B 17c mātaras te] AD; māta(ras te)$^{corr.}$ B 17d yāge] A; yoga B; yoge D °pūjite] AB^{pc}D; °pūjitā B^{ac} 18a yā sā] AB; yo nā D mayā] AB; ma(yo)$^{err.}$ D proktā] AB^{pc}D; pre B^{ac} 18b mātṝṇāñ] AB^{pc}; mā(t - - ?)ś B^{ac}; (- ?)tṛṇāṃ D 18c sarvaṃ] BD; sarvvāṃ A 18d yaṃ] A; (ma+j+?) B; ya D nāvasīdati] B^{pc}; nāvaśīdati A; nava(- ?)dati B^{ac}; nāva(ṃ?)śīdati D COLOPHON: mahābhairave] AD; mahābhairava° B °vidhāne] AD; °vidhānaṃ B

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LV

BRAHMAYĀMALE CHOMMĀDHIKĀRAS PAÑCAPAÑCĀŚATIMAḤ PAṬALAḤ (verses 99–156)

devy uvāca ||

cchommakāḥ kīdṛśā deva kulānāṃ sādhakasya ca |

prajñāyate yathā bhrātā bhaginī vā viśeṣataḥ || 99 ||

caryāyuktasya deveśa yathā jñāsyanti yoginīḥ |

parasparañ ca vīrāṇām ekatantrasamāśrayām |

ālāpārthe mahādeva kathayasva prabhāṣataḥ || 100 ||

bhairava uvāca ||

śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi cchomakānāṃ tu lakṣaṇam |

yena vijñāyate bhrātā bhaginī vā maheśvari || 101 ||

jñātvā ca yoginīṃ mantrī śivecchācoditātmavān |

sādhakas tu tato dadyād vācikaṃ mudralakṣaṇam || 102 ||

potaṅgety abhivādanaṃ pratipotaṅge pratyabhivādanam |

yoginīnāṃ tu vīrāṇāṃ nārīṣety abhivādanam |

CODICES: ABC A: f. 234r

99a cchommakāḥ] *em.*; cchommakā ABC kīdṛśā] *em.*; kīdṛśo ABC 100a deveśa] B; devesa AC 100b yoginīḥ] *em.*; yoginī AB; yogini C 100c vīrāṇām] *corr.*; vīrāṇāṃ AC; vīrāṇāṃm B 100d °samāśrayām] *conj.*; °samāśrayaṃ ABC 100e ālāpārthe] AB^{pc}C 100f kathayasva] *corr.*; kathayaśva ABC prabhāṣataḥ] AB; prabhāṣata C 101d maheśvari] *em.*; maheśvarī ABC 102a yoginīṃ] *em.*; yoginī ABC mantrī] AB; mantri C 102b °coditātmavān] B; °coditātmavāṃ AC 102c dadyād] B; dadyā AC 103a potaṅgety] AC; potaṅge(tt?)y B 103b pratipotaṅge] AB; pratipotaṅga° C pratyabhivādanam] B; pratyābhivādanaṃ ABC 103d nārīṣety] AB; nāriṣebhy C

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pratinārīṣaśabdena procyate prativādanam || 103 ||

ekāṅgulidarśanāt svāgataṃ dvābhyāṃ susvāgatam |

koṣṭhapraviṣṭenāṅguṣṭhena kṣemamudrā vidhīyate || 104 ||

śiraṃ darśayate yā tu vārtāṃ sā tu samīhate |

tāṃ diśaṃ vīkṣya dātavyā mudrā deśāgamā tu yā |

aṅgulyā saṃspṛśet pādaṃ kathitā tu na saṃśayaḥ || 105 ||

lalāṭaṃ darśayed yā tu kutra yāsyasi -m- ādiśet |

vīkṣya sūryaṃ spṛśed vaktraṃ yatheṣṭaṃ kīrtitaṃ bhavet || 106 ||

śikhāṃ darśayate yā tu kutra sūto 'si suvrate |

anusmṛtya bhavaṃ liṅgaṃ yoniṃ spṛṣṭvā śivātmakam || 107 ||

vaktraṃ darśayate yā tu gotraṃ te kīdṛśaṃ giri |

smṛtvā devīṃ spṛśed bāhuṃ vāmaṃ vāmena pāṇinā |

vāmācāras tu me gotraṃ śaktayo vardhamānajāḥ || 108 ||

daśanaṃ darśayed yā tu kiṃ pūrvaṃ te niketanam |

anusmṛtya śivaṃ so hi spṛśate -m- udaraṃ priye |

māyodarād idaṃ prāptaṃ dvitīyaṃ tu śivāśrayam || 109 ||

karṇaṃ darśayate yā tu kiṃ śrutaṃ tu samādiśet |

nabhaṃ saṃ*vīkṣya hastañ ca pañcasrotasamāgamam |

A: f. 234r–*234v B: 104ab missing; 104cd in lower margin, possibly by original scribe. C: skips from 103c (pratinā(śa?)...) to 105c (...smṛse pādaṃ) C: skips 107b–109a. At 112b, it skips back to 107b and resumes, copying 109b–112a a second time (C_1 = 1st reading, C_2 = 2nd reading).

104c koṣṭha] B; koṣṭa A 105b vārtāṃ sā tu samīhate] *conj.*; vārttā sa tu mahīyate AB 105d deśāgamā tu yā] B; deśāgamānuyā A 105e saṃspṛśet] B; sa spṛset A; smṛse C 105f kathitā] *em.*; kathitās ABC 106b yāsyasi] AB; yāsyaśi C ādiśet] *corr.*; ādiset ABC 106c sūryaṃ] *em.*; sūrya ABC spṛśed] B; spṛsed AC 106c vaktraṃ] AB; vaktuṃ C 106d yatheṣṭaṃ] AC; yatheṣṭhaṃ B 107a śikhāṃ] *em.*; śikhā ABC 107b sūto 'si] *conj.* (Isaacson); sūtro 'si ABC 107d yoniṃ] AB; yāni C 108b giri] C; giri+ḥ+ A; giriḥ B 108c devīṃ] *em.*; devi ABC spṛśed] *corr.*; spṛsed ABC 108d vāmaṃ vāmena] AB; vāsaṃ vāsena C 108e me] AB; sa C 109a darśayed] B; darśaye A; darśa C 109d spṛśate] B; spṛsate AC_1C_2 -m- udaraṃ] *conj.*; sodaraṃ AB; sodanaṃ C_1; saudaraṃ C_2 109e māyodarād] *em.*; māyādarād ABC idaṃ] AB; ida C_1; itaṃ C_2 110a karṇaṃ] B; karṇa AC 110b samādiśet] *corr.*; samādiset ABC

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visṛtāṅgulikaṃ kṛtvā darśayec †chata†pāṇinā || 110 ||

jihvāṃ darśayate yā tu rasituṃ sā samīhate |

mṛtuñjayaṃ smaritvā tu darśayīta kamaṇḍalum || 111 ||

grīvāṃ darśayate yā tu supriyo 'si mahātmana |

ātmane tu parāṃ mūrtiṃ smṛtvā tv atyanta me priyā || 112 ||

skandhaṃ darśayate yā tu svasthānaṃ kutra cādiśet |

svagotrasyāśrayaṃ jñātvā sa diśām avalokayet || 113 ||

bāhuṃ saṃspṛśate yā tu bhrātāsi mama suvrate |

vāmahastasya saṃsparśād bhaginīti samādiśet || 114 ||

vāmāṅguliṃ yadā vaktre prakṣipyan tu pradarśayet |

tadā sā bhojanaṃ sveṣṭaṃ prārthayed vīrapuṅgavam || 115 ||

tenāpi pañcabhūtātmaṃ yuktaṃ sarvārthasaṃyutam |

nānāvidhaṃ rasaṃ vaktre smartavyaṃ tu navātmakam |

bhuktvā tṛptā tu sā bhūtvā vāmena parivartate || 116 ||

hṛdayaṃ spṛśate yā tu †hannāmeta† mahāvratam |

tryodaśāṅgaśivaṃ smṛtvā ātmaliṅgam anuspṛśet || 117 ||

stanaṃ nirīkṣate vāmaṃ spṛśate vā yadā priye |

A: f. 234v

110e visṛtāṅgulikaṃ] *corr.*; viśṛtāṃgulikaṃ ABC_2; viśṛtāṃgulike C_1 111b samīhate] ABC_2^{pc}; samīhato C_1 111c smaritvā] ABC_2; smatitvā C_1 111d kamaṇḍalum] AB; khamaṇḍalu C_1; khamaṇḍaluṃ C_2 112a grīvāṃ] AB; grīvā C_1C_2 112b supriyo 'si] AB; kiṃ śruta kutra sūtro si C_1; supriyāsi C_2 mahātmana] *em.*; mahātmanaḥ ABC_2; suvrate C_1 112c mūrtiṃ] AB; mūrtti C 112d tv atyanta me] *conj.*; tudyanta me ABC priyā] C; priyo AB 113a skandhaṃ] *em.*; skandha AB; skadha C 113b °sthānaṃ] *em.*; °sthāna (*unmetrical*) ABC kutra] AB; ku(ru?) C ādiśet] *corr.*; ādiset ABC 113c °gotrasyāśrayaṃ] *corr.*; °gotrasyāsrayaṃ AB; °gātrasyāśrayaṃ C 113d sa] *conj.*; sā ABC diśām] *corr.*; disām AB; disā C 113d avalokayet] AB; savaloktayet C 114a saṃspṛśate] B; saṃspṛsate A; saṃ(smṛ)sate C 114c saṃsparśād] B; saṃsparsād AC 114d samādiśet] *corr.*; samādiset ABC 115a vāmāṅguliṃ] *em.*; vāmāṅguli ABC 115c bhojanaṃ] *em.*; bhojana° AB; (hī?)jana° C 115d prārthayed] AB; prāṣṭhaṃyed C 116c °vidhaṃ rasaṃ°] AB; °vidharasaṃ C 117a hṛdayaṃ] AB; hṛdaṃya C 117b hannāmeta] AB; ha(tt/nn)āmete C 117d °liṅgaṃ] AB; liṅga C anuspṛśet] *corr.*; anuspṛset AB; tu spṛset C 118a nirīkṣate] B; nirīkṣyate A; nirojyate C 118b spṛśate] *corr.*; spṛsate AB; spṛte C vā] AB; vī C

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prasārya sādhako vaktraṃ putro 'haṃ te prabhāṣitam || 118 ||

jaṭharaṃ spṛśate yā tu rakṣitavyo 'si suvrate |

sārasena praṇāmaṃ tu kartavyaṃ tv ātmarakṣaṇam || 119 ||

nābhiṃ saṃspṛśate yā tu mahāmelāpam ādiśet |

madhyadeśe mahāvīra kulasaptādaśasya pi || 120 ||

kaṭiṃ saṃspṛśamānā tu yāṃ diśāṃ cāvalokayet |

tatkulasya samākhyāti melakaṃ tu na saṃśayaḥ || 121 ||

guhyaṃ saṃspṛśate yā tu sā tu putra kṛtātmavān |

manasā cintya svaṃ yāgaṃ tvatprasādāt kṛtaṃ bhavet || 122 ||

ūruṃ saṃspṛśate yā tu kṣīṇāhaṃ sā samādiśet |

anusmṛtya tu manthānaṃ tasyā dehe niyojayet |

tanniyogāt suviśrāntā manthānīśavimardanāt || 123 ||

jānu saṃspṛśate yā tu kriyākṣūṇā tu sā bhavet |

kroñcabījaṃ tatoccārya akṣasūtraṃ tu saṃspṛśet |

lakṣajāpād vimucyeta kriyākṣūṇaṃ tu yojayet || 124 ||

jaṅghāṃ ca spṛśate yā tu sā priyān tu niyacchati |

vimocayet tato muṣṭiṃ vāmahastasya mocane || 125 ||

A: f. 234v

118d putro] AB; putroṃ C prabhāṣitaṃ] AB; prabhāṣite C 119a jaṭharaṃ] AB; jaṭhara C 119b rakṣitavyo] AB; rakṣitapo C 119d °rakṣaṇam] *conj.*; °lakṣaṇaṃ AB; °takṣayaṃ C 120a nābhiṃ] *em.*; nāmbhiṃ B; nābhi AC 120b mahāmelāpam] BCA^{pc}; mahāmelāpakam A^{ac} ādiśet] BC; ādiset A 120c °deśe] AB; °deśa° C 121a saṃspṛśamānā] *em.*; saṃspṛsamānas ABC 121b yāṃ diśaṃ cāvalokayet] *conj.*; yān diśis(v/c) āvalokayet A; yān diśaś cāvalokayet B; yān diśisv āvalokayat C 122a guhyaṃ] AB; guhya C saṃspṛśate] *corr.*; saṃspṛsate ABC 122b kṛtātmavān] B; kṛtātmavāṃ AC 123a ūruṃ] *em.*; ūru AC; (u)rūṃ B saṃspṛśate] B; saṃspṛsate AC 123b samādiśet] B; samādiset AC 123d tasyā] *em.*; tasya ABC dehe niyojayet] AB; dehaniyojayat C 123e suviśrāntā] B; suvisrāntā A; suvibhrāntā C 123f manthānīśavimardanāt] AB; manthāniśamardanāt C 124a jānu] AC; jānuṃ B saṃspṛśate] B; saṃspṛsate A; saṃpṛte C 124b kriyākṣūṇā] *conj.*; kriyākṣūṇan] AB; kriyā(kṣ - ?)ṇan C sā bhavet] A; so bhavet B; śobhayet C 124c kroñcabījaṃ] AB; krāñcavī(ryya) C 124d saṃspṛśet] B; saṃspṛset AC 124e lakṣajāpād] AB; lakṣan tā(py/pp)ad C 124f kriyākṣūṇaṃ] *conj.*; kriyākṣūṇā AB; kriyākṣūnān C 125a jaṅghāṃ] *corr.*; jaṃghā AC; jaṅghā B ca spṛśate] *em.*; tu spṛśate B; ca spṛsated AC

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pādaṃ saṃspṛśate yā tu padabhraṃśaṃ tu sādiśet |
na sthātavyaṃ tadā tena tasmin sthāne vipaścitā |
praṇavaṃ tu samuccārya gantavyaṃ nānya me gatiḥ || 126 ||
nakhaṃ pādasya yā devi spṛṣṭvā yāti parāṅmukhī |
khecaratvācireṇaiva* kathate sādhakasya tu |
tataḥ prabhṛti so 'py evaṃ nityaṃ vai saṃyato bhavet || 127 ||
ātmapādatalaṃ yā tu samutkṣipya pradarśayet |
pātālasiddhir vīrasya kathate sācireṇa tu || 128 ||
ākāśe mocayen muṣṭiṃ dhunate ca svakaṃ tanum |
tadā tu svargavāsīnāṃ †melakāmyas tu saṃyutaṃ† || 129 ||
ūrdhvaṃ saṃvīkṣya yā paścād diśālokanam ācaret |
caturṇāṃ melakaṃ sā tu kathayec cārdharātrataḥ || 130 ||
nitambasthau tu yā hastau kṛtvā prahasate muhuḥ |
melakaṃ ṣaṭkasaṃghasya dvyardhayāme 'ti sā kathet || 131 ||
nāsāgre tu yadā hastau kṛtvā cālayate śiraṃ |
navakasya tathākhyāti melakaṃ tu mahāvane || 132 ||
adhomukhī tu yā bhūtvā bhūmilekhanam ārabhet |
pātālacāriṇīnāṃ tu melakaṃ mātṛmandire || 133 ||

A: ff. 234v–*235r

126a saṃspṛśate] *corr.*; saṃspṛsate AB; saṃspṛśave C 126b °bhraṃśaṃ] B; °bhraṃsan A; °bhraṃsaṃ C tu sādiśet] *em.*; tu mādiset AC; samādiśet B 126c tadā] *conj.*; yadā ABC 126d tasmin] *corr.*; tasmiṃ ABC vipaścitā] *em.*; vipaścitaḥ B; vipascitaḥ AC 126e samuccārya] AB; samucārya C 126f gantavyaṃ] AB; saṃntavyaṃ C me] AB; se C 126f gatiḥ] *em.*; gati ABC 127b parāṅmukhī] *corr.*; parānmukhī AB; parānmukhi C 128a °talaṃ yā tu] AB; ta(-) C 128b samutkṣipya] B; samukṣipya A; samukṣi C pradarśayet] AB; pradarśaya(ṃt) C 128c °siddhir] *em.*; siddhi ABC 129a ākāśe] *corr.*; ākāse AB; ākāsa C mocayen] A; mocayet BC 129c svargavāsīnāṃ] *conj.*; sarvavāśīnāṃ ABC 129d melakāmyas] AC; melakās(y/p)an B 130a ūrdhvaṃ] B; ūrddhaṃ A; ūrddha C saṃvīkṣya] AB; saṃvījya C 130b paścād] B; paścā A; (-)ścā C 130c caturṇāṃ] B; caturṇā AC 130d kathayec] *corr.*; kathaye ABC 131a nitambasthau] AB; nitambe sthau C 131b muhuḥ] AB; muhu C 131d dvyardhayāme 'ti sā kathet] *conj.*; dya(dva/ddha)yāmedimekathe A; dyadvayāmedi(m/s)ekathe B; yaddhayāsedimekathe C 132d melakaṃ tu mahāvane] AB; malakaṃ tu mahābale C 133a yā] AC; yo B 133b bhūmi°] *em.*; bhūti °ABC

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svajihvālokanaṃ yā tu kṛtvā paścāt prakampate |
jalāntarvāsinīnāṃ tu melakaṃ kathate tu sā || 134 ||
ā pādān mūrdhaparyantaṃ kṛtvā hastaprakampanam |
yā sā śivāditattvasthā tatsthaṃ melakam ādiśet || 135 ||
so 'pi mudrāpatiḥ pūjya tathā manthānabhairavam |
bhaktyā paryaṭanaṃ kuryād yathātantraprabhāṣitam || 136 ||
namo 'stu digbhyo devebhyaḥ pūrvasiddhavināyakān |
dattvārghaṃ parayā bhaktyā tato melāpakaṃ bhavet|
tatsāmānyaṃ mahādevi sarvakalyāṇasaṃpadaṃ || 137 ||
sādhakasya pravakṣyāmi maunasthasya yadā bhavet |
akṣūṇaṃ tu mahābhāge śṛṇuṣvekāgramānasā || 138 ||
tarjanyāṅguṣṭhakāgre tu puṣpamudrā prakīrtitā |
mūlaparvabhramāṅguṣṭhe prārthitaṃ tu vilepanam || 139 ||
uttānahaste sollole dhūpamudrā suśobhane |
adhomukhapracālena aṅgulīn argham ādiśet || 140 ||
kumbhamuṣṭir jalaṃ vindyād dhūpāṅgārordhvagāṅgulīḥ |
dṛgbhramān mārjanaṃ viddhi jihvā lolopalepanam || 141 ||

A: f. 235r

134b prakampate] AB; prakalpayet C 134c jalāntar°] *corr.*; jalānta° ABC 135a ā pādān] *em.*; ā pādā AB; ā pāda° C 135b °prakampanam] *em.*; °prakampane AB; prakalpate C 135c yā] AB; cā C 135d ādiśet] B; ādiset AC tatsthaṃ] *em.*; tasthaṃ AB; taṃ C 136a °patiḥ pūjya] *em.*; °patipūjyaṃ (*unmetrical*) AC; °patiḥ pūjyaṃ B 136c bhaktyā] AB; bhakṣyā C 137a namo 'stu] AB; namāstu C digbhyo] AB; digbhā C 137a devebhyaḥ] B^{pc}; devebhya B^{ac}AC 137b °siddha°] AC; °siddhi° B °vināyakān] *corr.*; °vināyakāṃ ABC 137c °ārghaṃ] AB; °ārghas C 137d tato] AB; teto C 137e °sāmānyaṃ] *em.*; °sāmānyo AB; °sāmānyā C 137f °kalyāṇa°] B; °kalyāna° AC °saṃpadaṃ] AB; °saṃpadaḥ C 138b yadā bhavet] AB; padā (- -)vet C 138c akṣūṇaṃ] AB; akṣaṇan C 139a °āṅguṣṭhakā°] B; °āṅguṣṭakā° AC 140a °haste] *conj.*; hasta ABC sollole] *conj.*; sollola ABC 140b suśobhane] *corr.*; susobhane A; suśobhabe B; suśobhanā C 140c °pracālena] AB; °pracāreṇa C 140d aṅgulīn argham] *em.*; aṅgulīnārgham ABC ādiśet] B; ādiset AC 141a °muṣṭir] *em.*; °muṣṭi° ABC vindyād] B; viṃdyā A; vidyā C 141b °ordhvagāṅgulīḥ] *em.*; °orddhagāṃgulī AB; °ārdhagoguli C 141c °bhramān] A; °bhramāt B; °bhramā C mārjanaṃ] AB; mārjjana C 141d jihvā lolopalepanam] *conj.*; jihvāllolopalepane ABC

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hastamātrendhanānāṃ tu jānukurparasaṃgamāt |
naivedyañ ca vijānīyād uttānādhomukhaṃ karam || 142 ||
kanyasāprasṛtā muṣṭir adhovaktrā tu śastrikā |
muṣṭiṃ badhvā khagālokāt khaḍgaprārthanam ādiśet || 143 ||
tiryakprasādadeśinyā darbhamudrā prakīrtitā |
mṛgī tilāṃ yavānān tu sūkarī prasṛtiḥ punaḥ || 144 ||
dhānyānāṃ bilvapadmānāṃ sarvāṅguliprasāraṇāt |
bilvamadhyasṛtāṅgulya dvitīye prasṛtaṃ talam || 145 ||
pañcāṅgula*samāgrās tu ūrdhvavaktrā phalātmakam |
†muṣṭyārdhātmasa†mudrā tu ṛjus tiryakprahāraṇe || 146 ||
saṃhatāṅguṣṭhayogena matsyakān tu vinirdiśet |
proktaṃ lokavisargaṃ tu svanāsāgranirīkṣaṇāt || 147 ||
nāsāghrāyaṇarūpeṇa kṛṣṇādyā madirāsavāḥ |
vāmakarṇaṃ spṛśan devi guḍājyamadhu kīrtitam|| 148 ||
śirasaṃsparśanāt proktaṃ phalajaṃ tu mahāsavam |
ghṛtādimadhu dugdhānāṃ sruvayogo yathāvratam || 149 ||
muṣṭiṃ mūrdhni vinikṣepād bhasmamudrā varānane |

A: ff. 235r–*235v

142a °mātrendhanānāṃ] B; °mātre(ndh?)ānān A; °mātrandhanānān C 142c vijānīyād] B; vijānīyā AC 143a kanyasāprasṛtā] *conj.*; anyasāprakṛtā ABC muṣṭir] *em.*; muṣṭi ABC 143b śastrikā] B; sastrikā A; maṃtrikā C 143c °ālokāt] *em.*; °ālokā ABC 143d khaḍga°] AB; kha° C ādiśet] *corr.*; ādiset ABC 144a °deśinyā] B; °desinyā AC 144b prakīrtitā] *em.*; prakīrtitāṃ AC; prakīrttitāḥ B 144c mṛgī tilāṃ] AB; mṛgilāṃ C 144d prasṛtiḥ] *conj.*; prasatī ABC punaḥ] AB; puna B 145b °āṅguli°] AB; °āṅgali° C 145c °sṛtā°] *corr.*; °śṛtā° ABC 145d dvitīye] AB; dvitiyā C prasṛtaṃ] B; praśṛtaṃ AC 146a °āṅgulasamāgrās] *em.*; °āṅgulaṃ samāgrā(n/t) A; °aṅgulaṃ samāgrān BC 146b °vaktrāḥ] *corr.*; °vaktrā ABC 146d ṛjus] *conj.*; ṛju° B; riju° AC °prahāraṇe] *em.*; °prahāraṇet A; °prahāraṇāt B; °prahāreṇet C 147a saṃhatāṅguṣṭha°] B; saṃghatāṅguṣṭa° AC 147b vinirdiśet] C; vinirddiset AB 147d °nirīkṣaṇāt] AB; °(ni?)rikṣaṇāt C 148b madirā°] AB; sadirā° C °āsavāḥ] *em.*; °āsavāt ABC 148c °karṇaṃ spṛśan] *em.*; °karṇaspṛśaṃn B; °karṇaspṛsaṃ AC 149a śira°] AC; śiraḥ° B 149b phalajaṃ] AB; phalan tu C °āsavam] AB; °āśavaṃ C 149d sruvayogo] AB; bhruvayāgā C 150a muṣṭiṃ] AB; muṣṭi C mūrdhni] AB; mū(- -)ni C 150a vinikṣepād] AB; vinikṣepā C

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pṛṣṭhasaṃsparśanāt proktaṃ yogapaṭṭakam ādiśet || 150 ||

sphicasaṃsparśanād devi āsanañ ca vinirdiśet |

anāmāmadhyamāṅguṣṭhacālanāc cākṣasūtrakam |

kakṣasaṃsparśanenaiva smṛto †bokānako† 'naghe || 151 ||

mūrdhnādikaṭiparyante haste mudrāsu pañcakam |

bhṛtaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ devi ḍamaruṃ rocanāpi ca || 152 ||

adhomukhaprakampena vāmena tu kareṇa tu |

ghaṇṭamudrā vinirdiṣṭā vīṇā vīṇākṛtiṃ karaṃ || 153 ||

etānyam api vīrāṇāṃ saṅketaṃ śāstracoditam |

svecchayā vā prabodhyādau paścān maunaṃ samācaret || 154 ||

lokasaṅgaviraktātmā maunī dhyānaparāyaṇaḥ|

ekāntarataśīlas tu sidhyate vigatāmayaḥ || 155 ||

anyonyasaṃmataṃ jñātvā vākyālāpaṃ tathaiva ca |

cchommakān bhāṣamudrābhir yojayīta vicakṣaṇaḥ || 156 ||

iti cchommādhikāras pañcapañcāśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ || 55 ||

A: f. 235v

150c pṛṣṭha°] C; pṛṣṭa° AB 150d ādiśet] *corr.*; ādiset ABC 151a °saṃsparśanād] B; °saṃsparśanā AC 151b vinirdiśet] *corr.*; vinirddiset ABC 151c °ṅguṣṭha°] B; °ṅguṣṭa° AC 151d °cālanāt] *em.*; °cālanā AB; °bālanā C cākṣa°] AB; vākṣa° C 151f bokānako 'naghe] AB; vākāmakoraye C 152a mūrdhnādi°] *corr.*; mūdhnādi° ABC 152c bhṛtaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ] *conj.*; bhṛtakamaṇḍale ABC 152d ḍamaruṃ] AB; (ḍaman)uṃ C 153b vāmena] AB; vāmeṇa C 153c vinirdiṣṭā] *em.*; vinirdiṣṭo ABC 153d vīṇākṛtiṃ karaṃ] C; vīṇākṛtikaram (*unmetrical*) A; vīṇākṛtiḥ karaṃ B 154a etānyam] AB; etān(me)m C 154c svecchayā] AB; svecchayo C 154d paścān maunaṃ] AB; pacāt mauna C 155a lokasaṅga°] AB; lokam aṅga° C 155b maunī] AB; mauli C °parāyaṇaḥ] AB; °parāyaṇaiḥ C 155d vigatāmayaḥ] AB; vigatāmaya C 156a °saṃmataṃ AB; °saṃ(p/y)ataṃ C 156c cchommakān] *corr.*; cchommakāṃ AB; cchosmakāṃ C 156c °mudrābhir] B; °mudrābhi AC 156d vicakṣaṇaḥ] AB; vicakṣaṇa C 157a iti] C; *absent in* AB COLOPHON: cchommādhikāras] AB; chosmādhikās C pañcapañcāśatimaḥ] *em.*; tṛpañcāsatimaḥ ABC

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LXXIII

BRAHMAYĀMALE
CHOMMAKĀDHIKĀRO NĀMA TRISAPTATIMAḤ PAṬALAḤ

bhairava uvāca||

athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi chomakānāṃ yathā vidhiḥ |

rūpalakṣaṇakarmañ ca kulācāraviceṣṭitam || 1 ||

yathā vijñāyate vīro yoginī vā kulodbhavā |

siddhāsiddhavibhāgā tu samañ cottarasādhakaiḥ |

yāgacaryāviśeṣasthais tan me nigadataḥ śṛṇu || 2 ||

nā pumān strī nikāreṇa bhū śmaśānaṃ kṛ ḍākinī |

bhrū lāmā raudrikā ghrū ca khiḥ syān mātṛkulodbhavā || 3 ||

akāratritayenaiva śivānāṃ kulajā smṛtā |

deti ḍāmarikā proktā hiś ca ḍāvyā varānane || 4 ||

sāmṛtaṃ brūś ca vāmākhyaṃ heti māṃsaṃ varānane |

yo bhāryā bhaginī yena makārotpattir ucyate || 5 ||

likāreṇa smṛtaṃ bhakṣaṃ vakārāt pānakaṃ priye |

him appā bhājanaṃ kena gena vācyaṃ tu bhojanam || 6 ||

CODICES: ABD A: f. 278r

1b chomakānāṃ] AB; cchomenāṃ D yathā vidhiḥ] AD; yathāvidhi] B 2a vīro] AB; (de)$^{err.}$vī(r?)o D 2c °vibhāgā] *conj.*; °vibhāgas ABD 2e °viśeṣasthais] B; °viśeṣasthai AD 2f tan me] AB; tan ma D 3a nā pumān] AB; nā (- ?)umāṃ D 3b śmaśānaṃ] B; śmasānaṃ AD 3b kṛ] AD; (hṛ?) B 3c bhrū] AB; (gr?)ū D 3c raudrikā ghrū] *em.*; raudrikā ghrūñ AB; raudrik(āṣkrā?)ñ D 3d khiḥ syān] *corr.*; khi+ḥ+ syān AB; khiḥ syāt D 4a °tritayenaiva] B; °tṛtayenaiva AD 4b kulajā smṛtā] *em.*; kulajaḥ smṛtaṃ A; kulajā smṛtaṃ B; kulajaḥ nmṛtaṃ D 4c deti] *conj.*; devi ABD 4d ca ḍāvyā] *em.*; caṇḍāvyā ABD 6c him appā] *conj.*; hisappā ABD

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phakāreṇa vijānīyāt suratārthe prabhāṣaṇam |
raktaṃ vasā tathā śukraṃ śeṣavarṇaiḥ krameṇa tu || 7 ||
kṣakāreṇāṭitaṃ proktaṃ jakāreṇa vivarjitam |
pakārād dhṛdayaṃ proktaṃ vāsanaṃ sakhisaṃgame || 8 ||
nakāreṇa tu naivedyaṃ puṣpadānaṃ tasaṃjñayā |
yācanaṃ tu dakāreṇa thakāreṇa pratiṣṭhanam || 9 ||
kapālaṃ tu ṭam ity uktaṃ ṭhaḥ spharo vai varānane |
śastriko ḍākṣareṇaiva pheti pātādivandanam || 10 ||
mudrālaṅkaraṇaṃ nena cena proktaṃ tu cumbanam |
viruddhakaraṇaṃ sena jhakāreṇa tu karṣaṇam || 11 ||
†pañcanan† tu ḍakāreṇa gheti ghātanam ādiśet |
vyomavīrāsisaṃjñānāṃ yathākālaṃ kṣakārakam || 12 ||
kulaṣoḍaśakasyoktāḥ svarādyāḥ kramakalpitāḥ |
vīreśabhairavīṇāṃ tu aṃsaṃjñaśvāsapūrvakam || 13 ||
evañ caikā*kṣarāḥ saṃjñāḥ proktā yāḥ saṃkhyayā yutāḥ |
svāṃśadev†ākṣa†varṇādivibhāgena suvistarāḥ || 14 ||
devy uvāca||
jñātā varṇātmikāḥ saṃjñāḥ tathānyā yāḥ śubhā vibho |

A: ff. 278r–*278v 15 jñātā... uvāca] *inserted in lower margin in* B

7a phakāreṇa] AD; hakāreṇa B vijānīyāt] *corr.*; vijānīyā AD; vijānīyāṃ B 7b suratārthe] AB; suratā(r - ?) D 7d °varṇaiḥ] AB; °varṇṇaḥ D 8a kṣakāreṇāṭitaṃ] *em.*; kṣakāreṇāḍitaṃ ABD 8c dhṛdayaṃ] AB; dṛdayaṃ D 8d sakhi°] *conj.*; sukhi° ABD 9b tasaṃjñayā] *conj.*; tu saṃjñayā ABD 10b ṭhaḥ spharo] *em.*; ṭham pharo ABD 10c śastriko] *corr.*; sastriko ABD 10d pheti] AB; phati D 12b ādiśet] B; ādiset AD 12d kṣakārakam] BD; kṣakāraka(ṃ?) A 13a °ṣoḍaśakasyoktāḥ] B; °ṣoḍaśakasyoktā A; °ṣoḍaśakanyāktā D 13b svarādyāḥ] B; svarādyā A; svarādyo D °kalpitāḥ] B; °kalpitā AD 13c vīreśa°] B; vīreṣa° AD °bhairavīṇāṃ] *corr.*; bhairavīnāṃ A; °bhairavānān BD 13d aṃsaṃjña°] *conj.* (Isaacson); haṃsaṃjña° A; haṃsajñaḥ B; haṃ(- ?)jña° D °śvāsa°] B; °svāsa° AD 14a saṃjñāḥ] *corr.*; saṃjñāḥ ABD 14b yāḥ] *corr.*; yā ABD saṃkhyayā] AD; saṃkhyāyā B yutāḥ] *em.*; yutā ABD 14c svāṃśa°] *corr.*; svāṃsa° ABD 14d suvistarāḥ] *corr.*; suvistarā ABD 15a varṇātmikāḥ] *corr.*; varṇātmikā ABD saṃjñāḥ] *em.*; saṃjñā ABD 15b °nyā yāḥ] *corr.*; °nyā yā AD; °jñāyā B śubhā] *corr.*; subhā ABD

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vada tattvena deveśa śarīrāvayavātmikāḥ || 15 ||

bhairava uvāca ||

śṛṇu devi mahābhāge saṃjñā yā dehasaṃbhavāḥ |

vīrayogīkulānāṃ tu īhitārthapradāyikāḥ || 16 ||

śirasaṃsparśanenoktaṃ vandanaṃ prativandanam |

śikhāsaṃsparśanenaiva lalāṭena tu svāgatam || 17 ||

susvāgatam apāṅgasya sparśanāt saṃpratīyate |

kasmād deśād ihāyātaḥ pṛcchito hi bhruvāḥ spṛśan || 18 ||

dakṣottarasabāhyaṃ tu sparśād deśaṃ tadātmakam |

nāsāgraṃ prāgbhavaṃ deśaṃ paścāddeśaṃ kṛkāṭikā || 19 ||

spṛśan saṃdarśayen mudrāḥ prativārttāvidhāyinaḥ |

gantavyaṃ svoṣṭhasaṃsparśāt kṛte taddiśi vīkṣaṇāt || 20 ||

kṛtaṃ bhavati suśroṇi pratimudrāvidhānakam |

kṣīṇā svabhujasaṃsparśād ūrvoḥ sparśāt tu viśramet || 21 ||

upaviśya jānusaṃsparśāt sphicenaiva karomy aham |

na karomi tadā yāyā spṛṣṭā jaṅghā tu bhāṣitam || 22 ||

A: f. 278v

°tmikā AB; °(- ?)ikā D 16b °saṃbhavāḥ] *em.*; °saṃbhavā ABD 16d °pradāyikāḥ] *em.*; °pradāyikā ABD 17a śira°] AD; śiraḥ° B °ktaṃ] *em.*; °ktā ABD 17b vandanaṃ] AB; candanaṃ D 17b prativandanam] AB; prati(c?)andanaṃ D 17c śikhā°] B; śikha° AD 18a susvāgatam apāṅgasya] B; susvāgataṃ rapāṅgasya AD 18b sparśanāt] AB; sparśanān D 18c kasmād] *conj.*; tasmā AD; tasmād B ihāyātaḥ] *corr.*; ihāyāta ABD 18d bhruvāḥ] *em.*; bruvā ABD spṛśan] *em.*; spṛsaṃ ABD 19a °ttara°] AD; °ttaraḥ B °sabāhyaṃ] B; °sabāhyān AD 19b deśaṃ] *em.*; veśaṃ ABD 19c nāsāgraṃ] *em.*; nāsāgrā A; nāsāgrāt B; nāśā(- ?)rā D prāgbhavaṃ] B^{pc}D; progbhavaṃ A; progbhavaṃ B^{ac} deśaṃ] *corr.*; desaṃ AB; de(- - ?) D 19d paścāddeśaṃ] *em.*; paścād veṣaṃ ABD 20a spṛśan] *em.*; spṛsaṃ AD; spṛśaṃ B saṃdarśayen] AB; sandarśayet D mudrāḥ] *corr.*; mudrā ABD 20c gantavyaṃ] AB; garttavyaṃ D svoṣṭha°] B; svoṣṭa° AD °saṃsparśāt] B; °saṃsparśā AD 20d taddiśi] *corr.*; tadvisi AD; taddisi B 21a suśroṇi] B; susroṇi A; susrāṇi D 21c kṣīṇā] *em.*; kṣīṇo ABD °sparśād] B; sparśā AD 21d sparśāt] *corr.*; urvvo sparsā A; urvo sparśā B; urvvāmparso D viśramet] B; visramet A; vi(- r - ?)met D 22a upaviśya] B; upavisya AD °saṃsparśāt] B; °saṃsparśā AD 22c karomi] *conj.*; karoti ABD 22d spṛṣṭā] AB; spṛṣṭo D jaṅghā tu] *conj.*; jaṅghānu° AB; jaṅghonu° D

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karṇaśaṣkulikāṅgulyā śrutaṃ te mātṛmaṇḍalam |
tatpārśvasparśanāt siddhaṃ sphuṭamelāpakāśrayaḥ || 23 ||
na caivāmocayen muṣṭiṃ gaganaṭstvāhyasaṃgameṭ |
hṛdayaṃ tu spṛśed yā tu vāmahastena bhāvitā || 24 ||
bhaginī sā vinirdiṣṭā sādhakānāṃ phalapradā |
vāmahastāgrasaṃsparśān mātṛmadhye tu nāyikā || 25 ||
garuḍasya tu saṃsparśāt ḍākinīti vinirdiśet |
tiryakcakṣusvadṛṣṭyā tu rudraḍākinilakṣaṇam || 26 ||
svāṃsadeśakareṇaiva ḍāmaritvaṃ tu sādiśet |
kṛkāṭikākareṇaiva dakṣiṇena varānane || 27 ||
kulaṃ tu sādhakācāryāṇ ḍāvyātmānaṃ tu sā kathet |
nāsāgradṛṣṭirodhena ūrdhvaśvāsena sā śivā || 28 ||
samastadehabhaṅgena svahastabhramaṇena ca |
miśrāṇāṃ lakṣaṇaṃ devi svarūpakathane smṛtam || 29 ||
māṃsaṃ kapolahastena jihvādṛṣṭyā tu matsyakam |
daśanāṅguliyogena bhakṣyaṃ bhojyaṃ tu cehitam || 30 ||
nāsāsparśanayogena gandhā proktā tu mudrayā |

A: f. 278v 30d–31a: AD *repeat* 30d *and* 31a, *reading* bhakṣaṃ *for* bhakṣyaṃ *the second time. After* 30d, B *inserts* nāsāsparśanayogena bhakṣyaṃ bhojyan tu cehitam *in the upper margin, resuming with* 31a

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23a °śaṣkulikā°] *corr.*; °saṣkulikā° AB; °sa(-)^{erasure}ṣkulikā° D 23b śrutaṃ] B; srutan AD 23c °sparśanāt] B; sparśanā AD 23d sphuṭamelāpakāśrayaḥ] *conj.*; sphuṭā melāpakāṃśrayam ABD 24a caivāmocayen] *em.*; cevāmaicayen A; cevāmocayen B; cevāmācaye D muṣṭiṃ] AB; aṣṭiṃ D 24b gaganas] BD; gaga+na+s A 24c spṛśed] B; spṛsed AD yā] AB; yān D 25a vinirddiṣṭā] AB; vinirddiṣṭo D 25c °hastāgra°] B; °hasta(rā)$^{err.}$gra° A; °haste gra° D 26b ḍākinīti] *em.*; kākinīti ABD 26c tiryakcakṣu°] B; tiryakcakṣū° A; tirya(- cūkṣū?)° D 27a svāṃsa°] AB; svāsa° D 27b tu sādiśet] *em.*; tu m ādiset AD; tu ādiśet B 27c kṛkāṭikā°] AB; kṛkoṭikā° D 28a °cāryāṇ] *em.*; °cāryā ABD 28b ḍāvyātmānaṃ] *em.*; ḍāpyātmānan ABD tu sā kathet] AB; tu -m- ākathet D 28c °dṛṣṭi°] AB; °(- ṣṭi?)° D 28d °śvāsena sā] B; °svāsena sā A; °svāsana so D 29a samasta°] AD; samastaṃ B °bhaṅgena] AB; °bha(- -) D 29d svarūpa°] AD; svarūpaṃ° B 30a māṃsaṃ] B; mānsaṃ AD kapola°] AB; kap(ā?)la° D 30b jihvā°] AD; jihvāṃ° B °dṛṣṭyā] AB; dṛ(-)^{erasure}ṣṭyā D 30b mastyakam] *em.*; matsyakāṃ ABD 31b gandhā] *corr.*; ga(ndh/tv)ā A; gatvā BD

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vāmasṛkvinikā jihvā bhaved vāmāmṛtaṃ tu tam |
*dakṣiṇāsṛkvinīyogād vijñeyaṃ dakṣiṇāmṛtam || 31 ||
vasā hastatalasparśān majjā kurparadarśanāt |
jaṭhare tu kṛte haste dakṣe putratvam ādiśet || 32 ||
vāme tu duhitā proktā pitā mūrdhni nirīkṣayet |
mātā tu kathitā sā tu vāmakukṣipradarśanāt || 33 ||
saṃgṛhītaṃ smṛtaṃ nābhau pṛṣṭhe kṣiptaṃ tu lakṣayet |
bhāryā nitambahastena vāmena pati dakṣiṇe || 34 ||
dūtaḥ pādaspṛśāt siddho mitro vāmabhujaṃ spṛśet |
prakuñcakagrahenaiva kulaṭābhāvam ādiśet || 35 ||
guptaṃ kakṣākareṇoktaṃ na guptaṃ digalokanāt |
siddhaṃ vāmākṣisaṃkocāl luptācāraṃ tu dakṣiṇāt || 36 ||
sādhikārapade vāme pūrvo kṣiptaṃ tathottaram |
dakṣiṇe tu vijānīyān melakaṃ vāmake kare || 37 ||
evaṃ yogeśivīrāṇāṃ saṃmatottarasādhakam |
mudrālāpaṃ samākhyātaṃ yadanantaravistarāt || 38 ||
anyonyasaṃmataṃ kṛtvā vākyālāpātha vā priye |
svamudrālāpayogād vā gopayed vāmaśāsanam || 39 ||
devy uvāca||

A: ff. 278v–*279r

31c °sṛkvinikā] A°sṛkkiṇikā B; °śṛnkinikā D 31e °sṛkvinī°] *corr.*; °śṛkvinī° A; °sṛkkiṇī° B; °śṛnkinī° D 32a °tala°] *em.*; °talā° ABD 32b majjā] A; majjāṃ BD 32c jaṭhare tu] AB; ja(ṭh - - ?) D 32d dakṣe] AB; dakṣa° D ādiśet] B; ādiset AD 33b mūrdhni] AB; mūdhni D 34b pṛṣṭhe] B; pṛṣṭe A; pṛṣṭeṣṭe D 34d dakṣiṇe] AB; dakṣiṇ(a?) D 35a dūtaḥ] *corr.*; dūto ABD °spṛśāt siddho] *conj.*; °spṛśaṃ siddhaṃ B; °spṛsaṃ siddhaḥ AD 35b vāma°] AB; vām(e)° D spṛśet] B; spṛset AD 35c °graheṇaiva] B; °grahenaiva AD 35d kulaṭābhāvam ādiśet] *conj.* (Isaacson); kulaṭābhāvinādiset AD; kulaṭhābhāvanādiśet B 36a °oktaṃ] *em.*; °oktāṃ ABD 36c °saṃkocāl] *em.*; °saṃkoccā ABD 36d luptācāraṃ] AB; luptocāran D 37b pūrvo] AD; pūrvvā D 37c vijānīyān] B; vijānīyā AD 37d vāmake] AD; +vāmake+ B 38a yogeśi°] *corr.*; yogesi° AB; yogrami° D 39a °saṃmataṃ] A°saṃnmataṃ B; °setmataṃ D 39b vākyā°] *em.*; bāhyā° ABD °lāpātha] AB; °lāpo tha D 39d °śāsanam] B; °sāsanam AD

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caryāyogakriyāyogāc chivecchā sādhakasya tu |
yadā dṛṣṭivaśaṃ yātā yoginyo martyasaṃgatāḥ |
kathaṃ jñeyāḥ svarūpeṇa rūpaṃ tāsāṃ tathā vada || 40 ||
bhairava uvāca ||
ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi yoginīnāṃ tu lakṣaṇam |
yena vijñātamātreṇa trailokyaṃ vaśagaṃ bhavet || 41 ||
vijñāyate sudūre 'pi kṣetramārge viśeṣataḥ |
bhūtale caiva vartante śivecchāsvādhikārikāḥ || 42 ||
caryāyuktasya deveśi dṛṣṭer āyānti gocaram |
tasmāj jñeyaṃ tu vīreṇa yogeśīnāṃ tu lakṣaṇam || 43 ||
tisro rekhā lalāṭe tu ūrdhvasīmantam āśritāḥ |
gaurī campakagandhī ca brahmacaryaratā sadā || 44 ||
vedaghoṣapriyā nityam akṣobhyā satyavādinī |
daṇḍaṃ kamaṇḍaluñ caiva ajinaṃ yogapaṭṭakam || 45 ||
srucīdarbhopavītaṃ tu padmañ ca likhitaṃ gṛhe |
lakṣitavyā prayatnena brahmāṇyaṃśā varānane || 46 ||
tadarcanaṃ tu vīreṇa khecaratvajigīṣayā |
brahmāṇīkulajā devi svāṃśasiddhipradāyikā || 47 ||
gaṇḍayoḥ kūpake yasyāḥ kuṇḍalāgrāgrakeśinī |

A: f. 279r

40a °kriyā°] B; °kṛyā° AD 40c °vaśaṃ] *corr.*; °vasaṃ ABD 40d °saṃgatāḥ] *em.*; °saṃgatā] ABD 40e jñeyāḥ] *em.*; jñeyā ABD 40f rūpaṃ] AB; rūpet D vada] B; vadaḥ AD 41d vaśagaṃ] B; vasagaṃ AD 42b kṣetra°] AB; kṣatra° D 42d °dhikārikāḥ] *em.*; °dhikārikā ABD 43b dṛṣṭer] *em.* (Isaacson); dṛṣṭir ABD āyānti] AB; āyātti D 43c tasmāj] B; tasmā AD jñeyaṃ tu] AB; (- - - ?) D 44a tisro] AB; tisrā D 44b °sīmantam āśritāḥ] *em.*; °śīmantagāśṛtā A; °sīmantagāsṛtā B; °śīmattagāśṛtā D 44c °gandhī] AB; °gatvī D 45a °ghoṣapriyā] AB; °ghāṣapriyo D 45c kamaṇḍaluñ] AB; kamaṇḍaluś D 46c lakṣitavyā] AB; lakṣitavyo D 46d brahmāṇyaṃśā] *corr.*; brahmaṇyansā AD; brahmaṇyaṃsā B 47a tadarcanaṃ] *conj.* (Isaacson); tadarśanan AD; taddarśanan B 47c devi] *em.*; devī ABD 47d svāṃśa°] *corr.*; svāṃsa ABD 48a gaṇḍayoḥ] B; gaṇḍayo AD kūpake] AB; (- ?)pake D yasyāḥ] B; yasyā AD 48b °grāgrakeśinī] *em.*; °grāsrakesinī ABD

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prottuṅganāsikā sā tu pā*ṇḍugaurī sulocanā || 48 ||

triśūlaṃ †sulalāṭeṣu† lalāṭādiṣu bhūṣiṇī |

trikālajñānasampannā śūlañ ca likhate gṛhe || 49 ||

vṛṣaṃ kapālam atha vā anyaṃ vā yad varāyudhaṃ |

daśanaiś cātijyotsnābhair brahmacaryaparāyaṇā || 50 ||

śivārādhanasaṃyuktā śivaliṅgini vatsalā |

aṣṭamyāṃ sā caturdaśyām upavāsaratā bhavet || 51 ||

īdṛśīṃ pramadāṃ dṛṣṭvā sādhako vīrasādhanī |

lakṣayet svāṃśasaṃyukto māheśvaryāḥ kulodbhavā |

ṣaṇmāsārādhyamānā tu yogamokṣaphalapradā || 52 ||

kṛśāṅgī raktagaurā ca haripiṅgalalocanā |

suvarcā dīrghasaṃgrīvā romaśā barbaroruhā || 53 ||

bālakrīḍāratā nityaṃ hasate gāyate muhuḥ |

dhāvate valgate caiva akasmāc ca prakupyate || 54 ||

daṇḍahastā bhaven nityaṃ śaktiñ ca likhate gṛhe |

kaumārīkulasaṃbhūtā lakṣayet sādhakottamaḥ || 55 ||

ārādhayed vidhānena bhūtale siddhikāṅkṣayā |

yat kiñ cit prārthitaṃ bhogaṃ sādhakasya dadāti sā || 56 ||

A: ff. 279r–*279v

48c prottuṅga°] B; protuṅga° A; prātuṅga° D 48d pāṇḍu°] AB^{pc}D; pā(- ?)° B^{ac} 49b lalāṭādiṣu] AB; lalāṭādi(- ?) D 49c trikāla°] B; tṛkāla° AD °saṃpannā] AB; °saspannā D 49d śūlañ] B; sūlañ AD likhate] *em.*; likhite ABD 50a atha] AB; artha D 50b yad varāyudhaṃ] BD; yad (v/dh)arāyudham A 50c cātijyotsnābhair] B; cātijotsnābhai AD 51a śivārādhana°] *em.*; śivārāvaṇa° ABD 51c sā] *em.*; sa ABD caturdaśyām] B; caturddasyāṃm AB 51d upavāsa°] AB; (-)pavāse D °ratā] *em.*; °rato ABD 52c lakṣayet] B; lakṣaye A; lakṣaya D svāṃśa°] *corr.*; svānsa° A; svāṃsa° B; svānsa° D °saṃyukto] *em.*; °saṃyuktā ABD 52d māheśvaryāḥ] *corr.*; māheśvaryā AB; māhesvaryyā D 52e °rādhyamānā] *em.*; °rādhyamānā-(n/t) A; °rādhyamānān B; °rādhyamonān D 53b hari°] AD; harit° B 53d romaśā] *corr.*; romasā ABD 54b hasate] AB; hansate D 54d akasmāc] AB; aka(r)smāc D 55a °hastā] A; °hasto BD 55b likhate] *em.*; likhite ABD 56b bhūtale] AB; bhūtala° D

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chattrākāraṃ śiro yasyā dṛśyate lakṣaṇānvitā |
kṛṣṇendīvaravarṇābhā śūlāsyadaśanā tu yā || 57 ||
vāmenācāraceṣṭā ca caryā tasyāḥ svarūpakam |
cakramudrā likhet sā tu dṛṣṭiś caivārthavartinī|| 58 ||
śaṃkhamudrā gadā caiva svagṛhe likhate sadā |
sā tena lakṣayed vidvāṃś caryāśīlena cetasā || 59 ||
māyārūpadharā kanyā vaiṣṇavī caryaśīlinī |
sevanāt svakulānāṃ tu siddhidā sādhakeśvarām || 60 ||
lamboṣṭhī ca viśālākṣī piṅgalāgrāgrakeśinī |
citrakarmapriyā nityaṃ nṛtyagandharvapeśalā || 61 ||
māṃsāsavapriyā nityaṃ lolupā †sarva†sāttvikā |
svagṛhe daṃṣṭramudrā tu daṇḍaśṛṅkhalam eva vā || 62 ||
likhate ca tathā ghoṇaṃ koṇaṃ vātha śmaśānakam |
padmaṃ vā karparañ caiva ubhe pakṣe tu parvaṇī || 63 ||
dvādaśī tu vijānīyāt tasyāḥ sā varavarṇini |
vārāhī vaiṣṇavī caiva ekaparvaratā sadā || 64 ||
jñātavyā sādhakendreṇa mantrāviṣṭena cetasā |
īdṛśaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā pratimudrānusāriṇā |
māsaikāt siddhidā devi caryāyuktasya mantriṇaḥ || 65 ||

A: f. 279v

57a chattrākāraṃ] B; cha(trā?)kāraṃ A; cchatrākāraṃ D yasyā] AD; yasyāḥ B 57b °nvitā] B; °nvitāḥ AD 57c kṛṣṇendīvara°] AB; kṛṣṇandīvara° D 57cd °varṇābhā śūlāsya°] B; °varṇṇābhāc chūlāsya AD 58a vāmenācāra°] D; vāmanācāra AB 58b tasyāḥ svarūpakaṃ] AB; tasyā(- a)rūpakaṃ° D 58d dṛṣṭiś] B; dṛṣṭi AD 59a śaṃkha°] B; saṃkha° AD 59c vidvāṃś] B; vidvāṃ AD 59d °śīlena] AB; °śīlana° D 60d siddhidā] AD; siddhidāṃ B 61a lamboṣṭhī] B; lamboṣṭī A; lambāṣṭī D 61d °peśalā] *corr.*; °peśalāṃ ABD 62a °priyā] B; °pṛyā AD 62b lolupā] B; laulupā A; laulapā D 62c daṃṣṭra°] B; draṃṣṭra° A; draṃṣṭa° D 63a likhate] A; likhyate BD 63a ghoṇaṃ] A; ghāṇaṃ BD 63b śmaśānakam] B; śmasānakam AD 63c padmaṃ vā] AB; padmemvā D 63d ubhe pakṣe] AB; ubhe pakṣan D parvaṇī] A; parvaṇi B; parvvaśī D 64a vijānīyāt] B; vijānīyā AD 64b tasyāḥ] *corr.*; tasyā ABD 64d °ratā] AD; °ratāḥ B 65e māsaikāt] *em.*; māsaikā A^{pc}BD; mās(- ?)kā A^{ac} 65f caryā°] AB; (ca)$^{corr.?}$ryyā° D

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śyāmā vaigandhinī caiva dīrghagrīvāṅgulī* tathā |
daśanāś cātikāntābhā nayane cātivartule || 66 ||
raktavastrapriyā nityaṃ skandhavastrāvalambinī |
gandhapuṣpapriyā nityaṃ dhanāḍhyā ca prajāyate || 67 ||
hasate ramate caiva yogāyogānusārataḥ |
vajramudrā likhet sā tu gṛhe tu svayam eva hi || 68 ||
śūrpapiñcchapaṭañ caiva likhate 'nyaṃ mahāyudham |
indrāṇīkulajātānām etad bhavati lakṣaṇam|| 69 ||
ṣaṇmāsārādhanenaiva siddhā dāsyanti melakam |
vicaraty akhilaṃ lokān sarvāścaryapravartakaḥ || 70 ||
śuṣkāṅgī bhagnanāsā ca koṭarākṣī ca daṃṣṭriṇī |
piṅgalāgrāgrakeśī ca ūrdhvadṛṣṭiś ca bhīṣaṇā || 71 ||
mṛte raṇe kathā nityaṃ brahmacaryaratā sadā |
śmaśānaikakathā nityaṃ sādhakānāṃ kathāratā || 72 ||
svagṛhe likhate devi kapālaṃ paṭṭiśaṃ tathā |
madyamāṃsapriyā nityaṃ sā jñeyā mātṛnāyikā || 73 ||
pratimudrāvidhānajñe sādhake dhyānatatpare |
melakaṃ saṃpradāyañ ca varañ ca dadate sadā || 74 ||
saptaitā mātarāḥ khyātā yāmale siddhidāyikāḥ |

A: ff. 279v–*280r

66a śyāmā] *em.*; syāma° AD; śyāma° B 66c daśanāś] *em.*; daśanā ABD 67b skandha°] AB; skaṃva° D °valambinī] AD; °valaṃbini B 67c gandhapuṣpa°] AB; gan(- - ?)ṣpa° D 68a hasate] AB; hansate D 68b yogāyogānusārataḥ] *conj.*; yogayogānusārataḥ AB; yogayogān tu sārataḥ D 68c likhet] AB; likhen D 69a śūrpa°] *corr.*; sūrppa° ABD 69b likhate] *em.*; likhete AB; likhyate D 69c °jātānām] *conj.*; °jāyātā ABD 70a ṣaṇ°] B; ṣaṭ° AD 70c vicaraty] AD; vica(red)$^{corr.}$ B akhilaṃ lokān] *corr.*; akhilaṃ lokāṃ AD; akhilāṃl lokān B 70d sarvāścarya°] AB; sarvvāñ caryya° D 71b daṃṣṭriṇī] B; draṃṣṭiṇī (*unmetrical*) AD 71c °keśī] B; °kesī AD 71d °dṛṣṭiś] AB; °dṛṣṭiñ D 72b °ratā] AD; °ratāḥ B 72d sādhakānāṃ] AB; sodhakānāṃ D 73a devi] B; devī AD 73b paṭṭiśaṃ] B; paṭṭisaṃ AD 73c °māṃsa°] AB; °mānse D 74c melakaṃ] AB; malakaṃ D 75a mātarāḥ] BD; mātarā+ḥ+ A 75b °dāyikāḥ] *corr.*; °dāyikā ABD

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vimiśralakṣaṇāḥ devi etadrūpavimiśritāḥ || 75 ||

siddhāsiddhavibhāgās tu tadicchāyā tu sādhakaḥ |

vetti lakṣaṇato devi bodhāl liṅgavivecanāt || 76 ||

tantrasya sārabhūtaṃ tu siddhidvāraṃ varānane |

kathitaṃ sādhakendrāṇāṃ pratyakṣakaraṇaṃ sadā || 77 ||

iti picumate chommādhikāro nāma

trisaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ || 73 ||

A: f. 280r

75c °lakṣaṇā] *em.*; °lakṣaṇaṃ ABD 75d °vimiśritāḥ] *corr.*; °vimiśritā ABD 76a °vibhāgās] AB; °vibhāgos D 76b sādhakaḥ] AB; sodhakaḥ D 76d bodhāl liṅgavivecanāt] *conj.*; bodhāliṅgavivecanā ABD 77d pratyakṣa°] AB; pra(- ?)kṣa° D COLOPHON: chommā°] *corr.*; cchomā° ABD nāma tri°] *em.*; nāma eka° AD; nāmaika° B

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XCIX

BRAHMAYĀMALE
NAVANAVATIMAḤ PAṬALAḤ

bhairava uvāca||

melāpakaṃ maheśāni yathā vṛttaṃ kulātmakam |

tathā te -m- abhidhāsyāmi śṛṇuṣvāyatalocane || 1 ||

caryayā niyamasthasya japato homatatparaḥ |

dhyānasthasya varārohe kulamelāpakaṃ bhavet || 2 ||

kadācic carumārgeṇa jñānasaṃbodhanena vā |

mantravīryapradhānena dehaśuddhibhavena vā || 3 ||

kulācārapradānena svasaṃskāreṇa vā kvacit |

anugrahaṃ prakurvanti kṛtvā melāpakaṃ priye || 4 ||

yadā tu kulasiddhīnāṃ bhājanas tu mahaujasaḥ |

tadāvalokanaṃ kṛtvā harate prākṛtaṃ bhayam || 5 ||

vīrasattvakṛtasyāsya dṛṣṭer āyānti gocaram |

nānyathā tu mahādevi kliṣṭasyāpi kadācana || 6 ||

samayo hy eṣa yogīnāṃ mandasattve na darśanam |

na vādaṃ snehatā devi na ca bāhye prakāśanam || 7 ||

CODICES: ABD A: f. 353v

1c abhidhāsyāmi] *em.*; avidhāsyāmi AD; sa vidhāsyāmi B 2a caryayā] AD; caryayo B 3d °śuddhi°] D; °suddhi° A; °muddhi° B 5b mahaujasaḥ] B; mahojasaḥ AD 5d bhayam] AB; bhayaḥ D 6b dṛṣṭer āyānti] *em.*; dṛṣṭenāyānti ABD 6d °cana] B; °canaḥ AD 7a samayo] AB; samay(ā?) D 7b °sattve na] AB; satv(-)na D

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janmahīnāpaśutyāgas tiraskāre na mānitā |
nābhimānaṃ svavijñāne nāśivecchā tv anugraham || 8 ||
samayair navabhir yuktāḥ krīḍante svecchayā priye |
dadanti sādhakendrāṇāṃ kāmān śivapadāntikān || 9 ||
melāpakās tathānye ye haṭhāf proktā varānane | *
te tu ḍākinivṛndānāṃ na śuddhānāṃ niyojayet || 10 ||
evaṃ melāpakaṃ prāptāḥ sādhakendrā varānane |
prāpnuvantīpsitān kāmān vilomāt tu viparyayam || 11 ||
yathā devīpadaṃ prāptā vilomāḍ ḍākinī bhavet |
sādhako 'pi tathā devi tanmadhye paśutāṃ vrajet || 12 ||
kiṃ tu tenaiva mārgeṇa śaktivijñānaghātanāt |
prabhāvena kulānāṃ tu so 'pi sāmānyatāṃ punaḥ |
muktvā deham avāpnoti jātijñaś ca prajāyate || 13 ||
yathā melāpake siddhaḥ prabhutvaṃ vrajate priye |
na tathā paśumārgeṇa krūrasattvas tu suvrate || 14 ||
puṣpadhūpasugandhādyaiḥ pūjayan vā śivādhvare |
nityodayād avāpnoti śaktimelāpakaṃ param || 15 ||
evaṃ tu vyaktaśaktīnāṃ sphuṭamelāpakaṃ vinā |
kulasaptādaśaṃ cakraṃ samabhyasyan guhaṃ priye || 16 ||

A: ff. 353v–*354r

8a °hīnāpaśutyāgas] *conj.*; °hīnapaśutyāgā AD; °hīnapaśutyāgāt B 8b tiraskāre na] *em.*; tiraskāreṇa ABD 9a yuktāḥ] *corr.*; yuktā ABD 9b krīḍante] *em.*; krīḍate ABD 9b svecchayā] AB; sv(a?)cchayā D 9d kāmān] *corr.*; kāmāṃ ABD 9d °padāntikān] *corr.*; °padāntikāṃ ABD 10a tathānye ye] AB; tathānye (sye)$^{err.}$ ye D 10b haṭhāf] A (f = *upadhmānīya*); haṭhāt B; ha(ṇ?)āt D 11a melāpakaṃ] *em.*; melāpakaḥ ABD 11b sādhakendrā] BD; sādhakendrāḥ A 11c °īpsitān] *corr.*; °īpsitāṃ ABD 11c kāmān] B; kāmāṃ AD 11d vilomāt] A; vilomān BD 12b vilomāḍ ḍākinī] A; vilomān tāginī BD 12c sādhako 'pi] *em.*; sādhake pi ABD 12d tan°] AB; tat° D 13b vijñānaghātanāt] ABD^{pc}; * D^{ac} 13d so] AB; (-)o D 13f jātijñaś] B; jātijñāś A; jotijñāś D 14a siddhaḥ] *em.* (Isaacson); siddhiḥ ABD 14d krūrasattvas] *corr.*; krūrasatvas AB; krūraṃ satva(s/m?) D 15a puṣpadhūpa°] AD; puṣpaṃ dhūpa° B 15a °ādyaiḥ] B; °ādyai AD 15b pūjayan] *corr.*; pūjayaṃ ABD 16a vyakta°] *em.*; vyakti° ABD 16d samabhyasan] *corr.*; samabhyasaṅ AD; samabhyasya B

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yāḥ kāścit siddhayo devi adhamā madhyamottamāḥ |
melāpake tu tāḥ sarvā labhate sādhakottamaḥ || 17 ||
bhūtaṃ bhavyaṃ bhaviṣyaṃ ca ātmano 'tha parasya vā |
sarvaṃ jānāti deveśe kulacakram anusmaran || 18 ||

iti bhairavasrotasi brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake
navanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ || 99 ||

A: f. 354r

17a yāḥ kāścit] *em.*; yā kaścit ABD 17c tāḥ sarvā] B; tā+ḥ+ sarvvāḥ A; tā sarvvāḥ D

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I

The Chapter of the Connections

oṃ

Homage to the Gurus, who begin with Śiva;

to the Yoginīs.[7]

1 That reality principle (*tattva*) which, consisting of Śiva-with-differentiation (*sakala-śiva*), is the source of mantras, (¿) the [supreme] cause, the embodiment of liberation (?), and bears the form of the *liṅga* sporting with unequalled pleasure in the many lotuses of the Dūtīs; (¿) .....with various points of yogic absorption (*layapada*), in which reside manifold supernatural experiences (?); may that Bhairava-*tattva*, which renders asunder the mountain of *saṃsāra*, sanctify you.[8]

[7] A is damaged beyond reconstruction until *śv*, although the *akṣara* bottoms visible agree with the readings of D and E from *guru°* or perhaps *°bhyo* in *śivādibhyo*. A final *anusvāra* may have been lost. A's poor state of preservation here probably accounts for the fact that B has the generic oṃ namaḥ śivāya as its opening benediction. C has had its benediction blotched over in black; but the space allotted, and the vowel ligature visible around the position of the fourth *akṣara*, suggest that it read oṃ śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ. These two late, closely related *devanāgarī* mss appear to be copies of an exemplar descended from A. As the present and other lacunae suggest, this lost exemplar reflects A in a condition not unsimilar to its present state of preservation—hence the improvised benedictions in some of its descendants. A's vowel ligature to the right of *śv*, the top of which is broken off, could be either *ā* or *ī*; the latter appears more likely, as there is no indication of the leftward curvature which appears at the top in other examples of *rā*. It seems highly likely that D and E preserve something close to A's original reading, given the appropriate number of missing *akṣara*s in A, and their shared endings. On the language, note use of the genitive *yogīśvarīṇām* for the dative *yogīśvarībhyaḥ*. Cf., e.g., 1.6b and 7a.

[8] This verse presents several difficulties of text and interpretation. Its meter is *sragdharā*, and A writes daṇḍas after each pāda. Particularly obstruse are what A transmits as *hetunirvāṇavisv(aṃ?)* (in pāda a) and *śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍe* (in pāda c). This verse is repeated as the *maṅgalaśloka* of another "*Brahmayāmala*," an abridged redaction which also appears to draw material from the *Tantrasadbhāva*. This survives in a single and incomplete Nepali manuscript, NAK 1-1557 (NGMPP Reel A165/16). The present benediction also serves as the model for the *maṅgala* verse of one of the two texts entitled

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Yoginīvijayastava, both of which ascribe themselves to the *BraYā*. One of these survives in a great number of Nepalese manuscripts, e.g. NGMPP Reel E748/10 (private collection). Its opening *sragdharā* benediction ends, *sakalaśivamayaṃ bhairaveśaḥ punātu*. The other *Yoginīvijayastava* opens with a long series of *sragdharā* verses beginning with the present one. This unfortunately seems to survive complete in only a single late and corrupt manuscript, NGMPP Reel E212/7 (private collection). The short *BraYā* mentioned above preserves two significant variants for the present verse: °*kāṇḍaṃ* where A reads *kāṇḍe*, and °*haranaṃ* (=*haraṇaṃ*?) for °*dalanaṃ*. The latter is clearly secondary, reflecting confusion between *h* and *d* in later Newārī; note also the dental *n* rather than *ṇ*.

Regarding A's *hetunirvāṇavisva[ṃ]*, the final lexical element could as readily be *bimba* as *viśva*, given the fluidity of *s* and *ś* in A, and the similarity of *s* and *m* in old Newārī manuscripts. B's hesitation over the ending might derive from the fact that A is no longer securely legible here; an *anusvāra* might just faintly be visible. D and E, which appear also to be descendants of A, support this in reading *viśvaṃ*. For this half-pāda, one somewhat plausible text, here adopted, might be *sakalaśivamayaṃ hetu nirvāṇabimbaṃ*. Note that *BraYā* LXXXIII.3 appears to describe Sakalaśiva (*kalātmakaṃ śivaṃ*), "Śiva in the state of differentation," as both *kāraṇam* (cf. *hetu*) and *sunirvāṇam*. As for *nirvāṇabimbam*, i.e. *mokṣarūpam*, this is certainly an uncommon expression, and no clear parallel is evident. Another possibility might be to take *hetunirvāṇaviśvaṃ* as a *dvandva*: "[that *tattva* which is] the [supreme] cause, liberation, and the universe." We do once find Śiva described in the *BraYā* as *viśva* and *kāraṇa* (*śivaṃ śāntam ajaṃ viśvaṃ kāraṇaṃ vibhur avyayam*, LXXI.58ab); this might also be corrupt for *viśvakāraṇaṃ*. One could also consider the possibility, perhaps remote, of *hetu nirvāṇaviśve*: "the cause of both liberation and the universe [perhaps =*siddhi*?]." Cf. the compound *bhoganirvāṇahetuṃ* in the Śaiva *paddhati Vimalāvatī*, in 6.1d (f. 103v, NAK 1-1536, NGMPP Reel B28/7); this, incidentally, is also a *sragdharā* verse.

In pāda b, as the subject is neuter, one need not read °*vilasal*° in compound with °*liṅgarūpaṃ*, although it seems preferable to do so. The MSS' *sama*° could be interpreted in three manners: *śama*°, *sama*°, or *'sama*° (i.e. *asama*°). In the first case, this compound could mean "sporting with the pleasure of tranquility" (*śama*). Cf. the description of Vajravārāhī as *praśamasukhasamṛddhā* in the so-called *Sādhanamālā* (vol. II, p. 426). It might be possible to interpret *sama* similarly, in the sense of "equanimity." But if the latter reading is correct, the more natural interpretation would be "[sporting] simultaneously/equally [in the many lotuses of the consorts]." The third possibility, *'sama*°, suggested to me by Sanderson (personal communcation, January 2006), is probably to be preferred: "[sporting] with unequalled pleasure." Cf. pāda four of the benediction to chapter 16 in Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Netratantra*: *stumaḥ śārvaṃ netraṃ tadasamasukhollāsasarasam*.

Note that in the same pāda, we find the variant *liṅgakāyam* for °*rūpam* in B and C. This seems to be mere paleographic confusion, for we find the same variation in 41b, with B and C reading *svakāyāvasthitaṃ* where A reads *svarūpāvasthitaṃ*.

The interpretation of what A transmits as *śaktirāvarddhakāṇḍe* remains an intractable problem. If the text is correct, then the compound might modify *padmaṣaṇḍe*, if *kāṇḍa* is here a plural-marker. But it appears unlikely that pāda c construes closely with pāda b, for after a verb and caesura, one would more readily expect a new clause. One should keep in mind the possibilities of reading °*kāṇḍaṃ* or °*kāṇḍaiḥ* as well as °*kāṇḍe* (and *kaṇḍe*, etc., too). Following the short Nepalese *BraYā* in reading °*kāṇḍaṃ*, the following interpretation might be possible: "[the Bhairava-*tattva*?] in which is present (or "which has") a flourishing (*ṛddha*) multitude (*kāṇḍa*) of sounds (*rāva*) of the *śakti*." This set of lexical possibilities is less than convincing, however, especially *ṛddha* and *kāṇḍa*. There is a significant possibility that this problematic passage pertains to the subtle sounds (*rāva*) associated with the yogic ascent of the *śakti*, a subject treated in *BraYā* XCVI and C. Further study of this material is required. This possibility is reinforced by the potential mention of "resting points" (*layapada*) in the *śakti*'s yogic ascent in the compound which precedes this. Alternatively, *śaktir* could be nominative, perhaps construing with a locative *āvardhakāṇḍe*—or *āvardhakā aṇḍe*?—suggesting that this verse praises the *bhairavatattva* as the union (*yāmala*) of Śakalaśiva and the Śakti. A satisfactory interpretation is not presently apparent, however. The possibility that *rddha* reflects normal consonantal gemination after *r* should be kept in mind, which could suggest words such as *vardha*, etc., instead of *ṛddha*. It might also be borne in mind that the language of the *BraYā* allows for vowel hiatus-breaking *r* in compounds; see the annotation

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2–3 Of old, the Goddess listened to the scripture, the glorious Root Tantra,[9] containing a great multitude of *mudrā*s, *maṇḍala*s, and *mantra*s,[10] characterized as a seat (*pīṭha*) of *vidyā*s,[11] having twelve-thousand [verses], a *Bhairava[tantra]* containing [all] four divisions,[12] which had come forth from the *Vimala[tantra]*. Afterwards, the fiercely brave Aghorī replied to the Mahādeva, Bhairava, whose body is mantras:

4 O god, of old [you] had revealed the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣma[bhairava], called by the name the *Vimala*, a great mass of scriptural wisdom, preceded by the *śakti*;[13]

---

below on 1.26. This could allow for possibilities such as *śakti-r-āvardha°*.

The interpretation of *nānābhogādhivāsair vividhanaypadaiḥ* is also uncertain, depending as it seems to upon the uncertain compound which it precedes. Potentially, *pada* could refer to the word-elements of mantras, viz. "mantra words, with various applications (*vividhanaya*)." *nānābhogādhivāsaiḥ* could be an instrumental bahuvrīhi: "[*pada*s] through which take place the *adhivāsa*-rites for manifold supernatural experiences (*bhoga*)." It could possibly be taken as a genitive bahuvrīhi as well, viz. "[*pada*s] associated with manifold supernatural experiences and preliminary rituals." It might also be possible to understand *adhivāsa* in a non-technical sense, construing the compound as a locative bahuvrīhi, viz. "[*pada*s] in which reside (*adhivāsa*) manifold supernatural experiences." However, the emendation *°layapada°* proposed by Sanderson (personal communication, January 2006) seems more satisfactory; adopted in the text and translation, this suggests another line of interpretation, especially in conjunction with the possible reference to subtle sound (*rāva*) in the *śakti*'s yogic ascent mentioned above.

[9] 2ab is largely illegible in A. This surely accounts for the spurious readings of B and C, as well as the lacuna in E, illustrating the dependence of the extant Nepalese MSS on A. Given that *mū* or *sū* is clearly visible as the first *akṣara* of 2b in A, it seems reasonable to follow D and E, but reading instead the accusative *mūlatantraṃ mahodayam*.

[10] In 2c, it is quite possible that A's spelling *°mantroghaṃ* was original; but as A also preserves more correct spellings, e.g. *jñānaughas* in 18a, this has been corrected. It should nonetheless be borne in mind that, if A is a reliable indicator, the original text is likely to have been inconsistent in such matters. However, distinguishing spelling irregularities from common scribal corruptions seems impossible, given that A is the primary witness in a closed recension. It hence seems preferable to error on the side of a degree of regularizing. Cf. Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," xxvii.

[11] Consistent with other passages, incudling 3b, 2cd implies that the Root Tantra belongs to the Vidyāpīṭha in particular, but contains within itself the other three divisions or "mounds" (*pīṭhas*) of the *bhairavatantra*s as well—viz., those of *mudrā*, *maṇḍala*, and *mantra*s. See the discussion in chapter 5, section 4.

[12] Cf. XXXVIII.19cd, *catu[ṣ]pīṭhaṃ samutpannaṃ tantraṃ bhairavasaṃjñitaṃ*. In the latter passage, *"Bhairava"* refers to the Ur-scripture containing the totality of the *bhairavatantra*s—the *dakṣiṇāsrotas* (cf. XXXVIII 20ab, *dakṣiṇāsro[t]lasaṃbhūtaṃ* [em. (Isaacson); *°saṃbhṛtaṃ* cod.] *sarvaṃ asmād* [em.; *sasmād* cod.] *vinirgatam*).

[13] *śaktipūrvakam* in 4d perhaps conveys the idea that the "flood" or mass of scripture (*jñānaugha*), in its prelinguistic form, emerges from the *śakti*—for the *śakti* "awakens" *bindu*, from which emerges scriptural wisdom. See 33–34 below, and the discussion in chapter 5, section 4, in part I of the present thesis. On the *Vimalatantra*, *Ucchuṣmatantra*, and Ucchuṣmabhairava, which the *BraYā* connects intrinsically, see chapter 5, section 6.

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5 in which was present this *Bhairava[tantra]* with four divisions, and from which all of the glorious Mantra-division emerged;[14]

6 which you had revealed to me concerning the four divisions [of scripture], together with the narrative of its revelation;[15] [and] which is the primordial cause for *siddhi*.[16]

7–8ab Together with its secrets, teach me that which is revered (¿) as the utterance of the great mass of scripture (?);[17] and [teach] the divisions of *śiva* and *śakti*, and likewise the divisions of *bindu*, the division of the nine *śakti*s, and the division of creation, in detail;[18]

---

[14] 5b in A is partly illegible, reading *yasmā*.....(*rvvaṃ*?). The text of B and C, *yasmāt pīṭhaṃ tu tat sarvaṃ*, reads as an awkward attempt to remedy a lacunose exemplar. D's reading appears more probable: *yasmā hi nirggataṃ sarvvaṃ*; E differs only in reading *yasmādi*, a case of confusion between the writing of *h* and *d* in later Newārī. Assuming that A read as does D, the question remains as to whether *yasmā hi* is a corruption—for either *yasmād dhi nirgataṃ* or *yasmād vinirgataṃ*. The former appears paleographically unlikely, and indeed, elision of the final *-t*—not only in the ablative of the masculine *a*-stem declension, but also in the optative and other common forms—is frequent in the *BraYā*. Although many apparent instances could arise from scribal negligence, a great many must certainly be original. Expressions such as *kuryātha* (=*kuryād atha*) in XXI.33b and XLIV.303c confirm this. Most probably, the final consonant was seen as desirable, yet optional, perhaps considered a feature of spelling, but not necessarily pronunciation.

[15] Note in 6b the use of the genitive in the sense of the dative, which is more normal than exceptional in the language of the *BraYā*.

[16] Here the syntax is somewhat uncertain: one could interpret 6c, *tantrāvatārasaṃyuktaṃ*, as a separate description of the *mūlatantra*, or else construe it in close connection with either 6d or 6ab. The latter seems slightly preferable, for the narrative of the pedigree of the *tantra*—its *śāstrāvatāra*—might well set out to establish its relation to the four divisions of scripture.

[17] As transmitted, 7b seems unintelligible. It is likely to be a corruption for *jñānaughoccārapūjitam*, a compound which occurs in the closing verses of *BraYā* XXX. The interpretation of this is however uncertain; in the latter verse, the compound seems to express praise of what has just been taught as the highest of scriptural teachings. *BraYā* XXX.63–64:

> *etaj jñānaṃ mahādevi jñānaughoccārapūjitam |*
> *aśuddhāśrayabhedena munibhir jñānabhāvitaiḥ || 63 ||*
> *vistāritāni śāstrāṇi śivarudrādibhedataḥ |*
> *nānātantrapravistāraiḥ śivajñānaṃ mahodayam || 64 ||*
>
> 63a etaj] *em.*; eta A 63b jñānau°] *corr.*; jñāno° A 63d munibhir] *em.*; munibhi A 64a śāstrāṇi] *corr.*; sāstrāṇi A 64d śivajñānaṃ] *em.*; sivajñāna° A
>
> "This wisdom, O Great Goddess, is honoured as the utterance (*uccāra*) of the great mass of scripture. Because of the varieties (*bheda*) of impure recipients, sages cultivated in wisdom have made manifold the scriptures, with the divisions of Śiva, Rudra, and so forth—the glorious Śaiva wisdom, with its multitudes of *tantra*s."

[18] It is possible that *bheda*, "division," here rather refers to sections of the text. But as this is certainly not the case in 8d and 9d, *bheda* here too has been interpreted in the sense of "division."

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8cd–9 [teach] how the sole *śakti* exists with nine divisions: the attendants arising from Ucchuṣma[bhairava], with the attendants of the *guhyakā*s; [and how] the yoginīs for their part exist with many divisions of *lākinī*s.[19]

10 O you honored by the gods,[20] [teach] how the complete rite (*yāga*)[21] of the one,[22]

---

[19] The syntax of 9abcd leaves room for doubt. Were it a single unit, it seems the subject should be *yoginyaḥ*; but *śaktiḥ* could also carry over from 8cd as the subject. This would require emending to *vyavasthitā*, as seems required in 8d. It seems preferable, however, to construe 9ab with 8cd, and 9cd separately, for 9ab seems to elaborate upon the nine divisions of the *śakti* mentioned in 8d. The case endings in 9b remain unclear; °*sambhavaṃ* seems implausible, and should presumably be emended to the feminine nominative plural, °*sambhavāḥ*. As this verse intimates, the principle *śakti*s are divided into two groups of four: the four *devī*s or *guhyakā*s (Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā) and the four *dūtī*s or *kiṃkarī*s (Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā), with the addition of the supreme Goddess, Aghoreśvarī, to make nine. This is clarified in IV.252cd–254ab:

> *raktā karālī caṇḍākṣyā mahocchuṣmā tathaiva ca* || 252 ||
> *ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na saṃśayaḥ* |
> *karālā danturā caiva bhīmavaktrā mahābalā* || 253 ||
> *guhyakānucarā hy etāḥ kiṅkaryo 'nukrameṇa tu* |
>
> 252c caṇḍākṣyā] *em.*; caṇḍākhyāṃ A 254b 'nukrameṇa] *corr.*; nukramena A
>
> "Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and likewise Mahocchuṣmā: these are undoubtedly the names of the *guhyakā*s in the *Ucchuṣmatantra*. Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā: these are the *kiṃkarī*s, the servants (*anucara*) of the *guhyakā*s, in sequence."

9ab has another close parallel in IV.263ab, following a list of the four *dūtī*s: *guhyakānucarā hy etā kiṅkaryācchuṣmasambhavā*, presumably to be corrected to *guhyakānucarā hy etāḥ kiṅkaryocchuṣmasambhavāḥ* ("These *kiṃkarī*s arising from Ucchuṣma are the servants of the *guhyakā*s"). (Most probably, this contains an example of double sandhi, viz. *kiṃkaryaḥ ucchuṣma°* → *kiṃkarya ucchuṣma°* → *kiṃkaryocchuṣma°*).

It is somewhat suprising that *lākinī*s should be listed with such prominence in 9d, given their otherwise near absence in the *BraYā*. Chapter III mentions a set of six *lākinī*s, but does not list the individual goddesses. Note that while here *yoginī* has a broad sense, the term is also used in reference to a specific set of six goddesses. Cf. *BraYā* LXXXVIII.43cd: *guhyakā[ś] caiva yoginyaḥ kiṅkaryo mātaras tathā* ("the *guhyakā*s, and yoginīs, *kiṃkarī*s, and Mothers"). This particular list refers to the four *guhyakā*s, four *dūtī*s, Seven or Eight Mothers, and six yoginīs: Kroṣṭukī, Vijayā, Gajakarṇā, Mahāmukhī, Cakravegā, and Mahānāsā (all members of these groups being listed together in IV.252–57, quoted above, in part).

[20] Here the implausible nominative is emended to the vocative *surapūjita*. This also occurs as a vocative for Bhairava in XXV.3d, where A transmits *surapūjitaṃ*. The feminine vocative appears multiple times.

[21] In 10b, the masculine *tasya* is surely a corruption of the feminine *tasyā[ḥ]*. Moreover, the MSS' *yogam* seems likely to be a corruption for *yāgam*, an emendation trivial enough on paleographic grounds. Here, the neuter *yāgam* or *yogam* appears to occur for the masculine, for avoiding vowel sandhi with *aśeṣaṃ*. Although *yoga* constitutes a topic of considerable importance in this text, it is certainly less prominent than *yāga*, for which the description *aśeṣa* seems especially appropriate. Moreover, *aśeṣayāga* appears to be the name of a specific *yāga* taught in *BraYā* XXXIV, the *aśeṣayāgaśṛṃkhalanapaṭalaḥ*. This is probably alluded to here. Incidentally, the expression *yāgo kṛyate* (=*yāgaḥ kriyate*) also occurs in XV; cf., e.g., *Netratantra* 16.88c.

[22] The non-application of external vowel sandhi in 10a, viz. *ekā eva*, appears to be *metri causa*. In 10b, the reading *śakti cottamā* for *śaktiś cottamā* is not implausible, reflecting *metri causa* ellision of the *visarga*. Cf. XXVIII.17d, where A reads *madhyamā śakti cottamā*. However, it is also possible that underlying this is *śaktir uttamā*, to which the scribe of B appears to correct his text in 10b. Cf. LXXXVII.83b, *jvālinī dūtir uttamā* (with *metri causa* shortening of *dūtī*). It is worth bearing in mind that in writing similar to that of A, *c* and *r* might easily be confused.

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highly powerful, pervasive, and supreme Śakti is performed, O great god, for those aspiring to *siddhi* connected with the yoginīs.[23]

11–12ab When one is devoted to serving the guru,[24] following the Left Way,[25] in a state of non-dual meditation, the mind remaining without dualist thought,[26] tell me, O lord, how there would be *siddhi* for such people, O god. [27]

12cd–13 And yoginīs who have very little intellect, small minds, and little *sattva guṇa*, [but are] intent on serving their husbands, possessing devotion to the gurus;[28] O god, [teach] in brief how they attain *siddhi*.[29]

The Lord spoke:

14 Excellent, O Mahādevī, excellent! I shall expound the entirety of what you have requested me,[30] with all its multitude of characteristics;

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[23] Note the possibility of reading the instrumental singular °*kāṅkṣiṇā* rather than the genitive plural.

[24] In 11a, °*śuśrūṣanirate* is plausible, with *śuśrūṣa* for the feminine *śuśrūṣā*. One might also keep in mind the possibility of emending to *śuśrūṣaṇarate*; cf. *śuśrūṣaṇaparāḥ* in 12c.

[25] Although it could be corrupt, *anuvartine* in 11b appears to be locative (for classical Sanskrit *avuvartini*), a case of optional thematization of *-in* stems to *-ina*. Cf. *tat[a] ekamano bhūtvā lakṣamārgānuvartinaḥ* (XVIII.2ab); here note the thematization of *manas* as well, with °*manaḥ* as nominative (for °*manāḥ*). Cf. *mane* in 11d.

[26] Apparently, *mane* should be considered locative, for *manasi*, formed on the basis of a thematized stem *mana* for classical *manas*. Cf. *anuvartine* above. It seems preferable to emend the MSS' *nirvikalpair* to *nirvikalpe*, although it might be possible to interpret the former in a similar sense.

[27] Although *yathā bhaved eva* is plausible, as read the MSS in 11e, it seems more likely that the original reading was *yathā bhaved deva*. At the end of pādas, *bhavet* plus the vocative *devi* is extremely common in the *BraYā*. Moreover, before a like consonant, A frequently drops a final *t, d*, etc., when this does not affect the meter. Cf. *bhave devi*, as reads A in X.177c. The presence of a second vocative *prabho* in 11f does not speak against this emendation. In the same pāda, one might also consider emending *tadvidhānāṃ* to *tad vidhānaṃ*, as reads B.

[28] It might be possible that here *guru* refers to parents or elders, given the reference to husbands (*bhartṛ*).

[29] This verse appears to refer to female practitioners—in fact householders, according to 13a. Cf. the opening verses of *BraYā* XIV; the present question probably intimates the contents of the latter chapter. 12abcd occurs as *BraYā* XIV.1, as well as 1.7 in the short *"Brahmayāmala"* preserved in a single Nepalese MS, NAK 1-1557; both contain the variant *svalpabuddhyās* where here the MSS read °*buddhās*. What is intended is presumably an irregular plural of °*buddhi* (for °*buddhayaḥ*). While °*buddhyās* is a possible reading, °*buddhyas* seems marginally preferable, by analogy of the feminine *ī*-stem declension. Note the non-application of external vowel-sandhi across the pāda boundary of 12ab, and that 13a possesses a correct metrical variant (*vipulā*). The non-classical *bhavate*, in 13d, occurs with great frequency in the *BraYā*, an irregular *ātmanepada* indicative alternating with *bhavati*. In 13d, the latter would be unmetrical; yet use of *bhavate* is not confined to cases of metrical exigency. The plural *bhavante* occurs in XLV.123d (and, by emendation, LXXXVII.203b).

[30] In 14b, A transmits the apparently masculine *ya [tvayāhaṃ] pracodito*. However, *pracodito* is likely to have been influenced by the corruption of *yat tvayā* to *ya tvayā*; note the poor sandhi, were the latter

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15 and [also] what the true essence of the *tantra*, which has many meanings and concealed power, is like, together with its secrets; Listen, O fortunate one, with single-minded attention![31]

16 O queen of the gods, once in the past, while I was sporting in my own abode,[32] suddenly[33] (¿) there arose in me [the thought], "if only I could know worship (*yāga*)" (?).[34]

17 Propelled by this wish,[35] and preceded by offerings and libations, I worshipped Śrīkaṇṭha, who is affectionate to his devotees,[36] for a thousand divine years, O

masculine. This reflects the tendency in A to omit some final consonants before clusters, when this does not affect the meter. See the notes on I.11. In 6a above, A also transmits the masculine *codito*, but the correct *yat tvayā*. Cf. also A's transmission of LXXXIV.11ab: *kathayāmi mahādevi yat tvayā coditaṃ balaṃ*.

[31] The weight of evidence from A suggests that the spelling *śṛṇuṣvekāgra°* is original, with simplification of the diphthong *ai* to *e*—clearly a Middle-Indicism. This stock phrase occurs at least 29 times in the *BraYā*, with, in this respect, no orthographic variation in A.

[32] *svasthiti* in 16b might have more metaphysical connotations: "my [true] state/condition"?

[33] 16a is not fully legible in A, but the latter might have read as do D and E (*purodakasmā*). The text conjectured involves the minor emendations of *puro* to *purā*, and *akasmā* to *akasmād*. Between these, the *-d-* appears to be a hiatus-breaker, which is extremely common in the language of the *BraYā*. Cf. *nai[rṛ]te -d- acyuteśvaram* in XXX.44b, and *kṛtvā -d- etat*, in LXX.44b. Note, in contrast, that Törzsök finds no conclusive evidence for *-d-* as a hiatus-breaker in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," xxxiv.

[34] 15cd presents several difficulties. Although there is considerable uncertainty concerning the text, the approximate sense, at least, seems to be that the desire to learn *yāga* arose in Bhairava. As transmitted, no subject is present for the likely predicate *utthitā* or *utthitāḥ* in 15d. One possibility is that a nominative *icchā* underlies *icchayā*. This might have become corrupt under influence of *icchayā* in 16a. The basic construction would then be, "as I was sporting, desire ... arose for me." However, *ca* in 15d is problematic, for this suggests that 15ab and 15cd should contain separate clauses. If the correct reading is indeed *icchā*, one might conjecture *yāvat* for what A reads as *yā ca*, viz. *icchā yāvan mamotthitā*. Such has been tentatively adopted. Note also that although A clearly reads *mamotthitāḥ, samutthitā[ḥ]* could also be considered.

It is difficult to interpret what A reads as *yāgaṃ vijānāsyā*. One possible emendation is the common optative *vijānīyād*, or perhaps even a first person *vijānīyām*. Precisely how this would construe with *yadi* is unclear. Perhaps a more paleographically plausible conjecture is *yāgavijñātā syām*, which creates a correct metrical variant (*vipulā*); and pādas containing metrical variants seem unusually susceptible to corruption. This emendation would account for the cluster *āsyā* preserved in A, while being predicated on confusion between *t* and *na* (common enough), and *jñā* and *jā* (less common). This conjecture has been tentatively adopted. One might also conjecture *yāgavijñānaṃ syād*.

[35] *icchayā* might have theological connotations, indicating that the desire to seek initiation has its source in Śiva's *icchā śakti*.

[36] A's *bhaktivatsala* in 15d seems surprising; one would rather expect *bhaktavatsala*, as has been adopted. However, the former does seem to occur in several Tantric sources—e.g. *Kubjikāmata* 22.67 and *Saṃvarodayatantra* 18.31—and might hence be plausible. A transmits the same reading elsewhere: in XLIV.629b, describing consorts, and in XXI.51b, describing the *sādhaka*'s assistants. However, in these cases the implication is that the parties concerned possess devotion, whereas here the sense should rather be that Śrīkaṇṭha is kind to supplicants. The *Matsyapurāṇa* does however apparently support the latter possibility (183.50b; reference courtesy of Isaacson).

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goddess, my mind filled with devotion.[37]

18 Then, because of his supreme compassion, Śrīkaṇṭha taught me (¿) the great (?) mass of scriptural wisdom,[38] in the sequence of its verbal composition.[39]

19 All this was (¿) was absorbed by me (?) by the grace of Śrīkaṇṭha.[40] And you too, through contact with me, learned it in its entirety.[41]

20 Then, my dear, without authorization, you had commenced to teach it to your attendants, desiring their good and being exhilarated with devotion.[42]

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[37] Note the non-application of sandhi across the pāda boundary of 16cd.

[38] *mahat* is difficult to construe. If correct, it could be adverbial, "greatly, a lot," but what it modifies remains unclear. Perhaps one should rather construe it in agreement with *jñānaughaḥ* in 17a, despite the gender disagreement, or even emend to the masculine. It seems that the MSS' *kāruṇayā* is a corruption. If it is instead original, this would suggest confusion between the abstract noun *kāruṇya* and *karuṇā*. But note the correct instrumental *karuṇayā* in 24b. Emended thus, the compound *parākaruṇayā* still seems poor, as though *parayā karuṇayā*. Perhaps *parā* should be considered nominative, in the sense of the instrumental; cf. °*anujñā* below in 36a.

[39] The sense of 18d is perhaps that the scripture was taught entirely, exactly as it was composed.

[40] In 19b, *pariṇata* is not entirely convincing. That it makes the pāda hypermetrical poses little concern (see the annotation ad 20cd); but the sense of the word, "transformed, digested, etc.," seems awkward. Nonetheless, it might yield a plausible sense, and no emendation seems obvious.

[41] One should consider emendation to the adverb *aśeṣaṃ*, "entirely," probably the more natural usage. Note the non-application of vowel sandhi across the pāda boundary of 19cd.

[42] 20c's *parijanasya*, for which A has the unlikely *parijānasya*, seems best construed as a collective singular. It is of course possible to take it as a true masculine singular. The MSS's two past passive participles *samākhyātam* and *prārabdham*, in 20cd, seem impossible to interpret, as the syntax otherwise suggests a single sentence. However, the infinitive *samākhyātum* would construe smoothly with *prārabdham*, constituting also small enough a corruption.

20c is hypermetrical by one syllable. Such hypermetricism occurs frequently in the *BraYā*. Generally, 9-syllable pādas meet the following two criteria: the "cadence" pattern of the final four syllables should not be compromised; and there should be multiple short syllables preceding the cadence. Cf., e.g., *gṛhayāgapūrvakaṃ nyāsaṃ* (XXXIX.9c), with three of the first five syllables *laghu*. Very commonly, hypermetricism occurs in pādas with strings of three short syllables, as when are present such common words as *ḍamaru*, *smaraṇa*, and *praṇava*. Cf., e.g., *ḍamarukaṃ pūjayen mantrī* (IV.796c). Such is the case in both 19b and 20c. One could think of this phenomenon as a principle by which three *laghu* syllables are metrically equivalent to two *guru*, or to one *laghu* and one *guru* syllable. As in 20c, this overrules the requirement that syllables two and three not both be *laghu*. Hypermetricism may also be found in metrically variant (*vipulā*) pādas; cf., e.g., *caturakṣaran tu hṛdayaṃ* (XIV.141a). Although these observations are based on the language of the *BraYā*, they seem relevant to similar Śaiva texts. Note for example the following verse, *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 6.5, with hypermetrical odd-pādas: *paramāṇum ucyate nātho sa śivo vyāpakaḥ paraḥ | sa jīvaḥ parataro yas tu sa haṃsaḥ śakti pudgalaḥ* (NGMPP A48/13). Here, the *visarga* is omitted from *śaktiḥ*, *metri causa*. Cf. the remarks of Dominic Goodall on the constitution of *Parākhyatantra* 1.14 (*karaṇāny etāni tatkartur*): "note that this *pāda* has too many syllables; but this particular type of hypermetry, in which the first two short syllables are probably intended to be read rapidly together and must count for one, appears to be not uncommon in this sort of writing" (p. 143, n. 18,).

Note also the possibility that underlying the hypermetrical *parijanasya samākhyātum* could be *parijanasya m ākhyātum*, with hiatus-breaking *m*—a frequent source of corruption. We would then have the metrical fault of *laghu* syllables in the second and third positions, however, which in the language of

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21 But on seeing that great *tantra* being violated,[43] I was filled with anger and cursed you, by which your scriptural knowledge was destroyed.[44]

22 Then, O fortunate woman, terrified and trembling, and with tears in your eyes, you prostrated on the ground;[45]

23 folding your hands, terrified about your violation of the scriptural wisdom, you entreated me,[46] O Mahādevī, overcome with sorrow.

24 After this, seeing you agitated, I was overcome by compassion.[47] I spoke to you thus—out of compassion, but filled with great anger:[48]

25 "Go to the mundane world (*bhūrloka*), O queen of the gods; incarnate yourself.[49] Take on another body in the house of a brahmin, O pious lady.

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the *BraYā* seems to be a serious fault, in the absence of hypermetricism.

In some cases of hypermetricism, one might wonder whether the phenomenon in question is rather ellision of post-consonantal *a*, as is common in modern Indo-Aryan. Take for example the following odd-pāda: *balavikaraṇī dakṣakukṣau* (XII.46c). Although this appears to be a 10-syllable metrical oddity, when pronounced as it might be in modern Hindī, *balvikarṇī*, we find not only eight syllables, but a correct metrical variant (*vipulā*). Of course, this pāda might be allowed for on the basis of it possessing an unusual five *laghu* syllables. Some cases of hypermetricism might suggest pronunciations such as *ḍamru* for *ḍamaru*, and *praṇva* for *praṇava*. The evidence, however, is inconclusive.

[43] In 21a, the original text probably read *viplāpyamānaṃ* (or the more correct *viplāvyamānaṃ*), which results in a variant metrical pattern (*vipulā*). "Correction" of this *vipulā* to the standard (*pathyā*) pattern accounts for the ungrammatical *viplāpyamāna* transmitted in the MSS.

[44] The feminine instrumental pronoun *yayā* in 21d, apparently in the sense of "such that, by which," is irregular; this usage is generally reserved for the masculine *yena*, which would here be unmetrical. One might consider emending to *yathā*.

[45] Although here broken up for purposes of translation, the string of intrumentals in 22–23ab construe as a unit with *vijñaptaḥ* in 23c. The sense of 22d seems more or less clear, but the same cannot be said for the text of its fifth syllable. A appears to read *bhūmyāṃ gatvā padaṇḍavat*, and concerning its fifth syllable, only B varies in reading *pra* (a diagnostic conjecture?). It might be conceivable that *pradaṇḍavat* is used in the sense of *daṇḍavat* ("like a stick," i.e. prostrate in obeisance), though this is unattested. The conjecture here preferred is however *gatvātha*. In A, the syllable in question is damaged, and could in fact possibly read *tha*.

[46] A's *vijñāpto* might well be original, in the sense of *vijñaptaḥ*, influenced by *ā* in the formation of the indicative (cf., e.g., *vijñāpayati*).

[47] Emendation of *gṛhītaṃ* to the masculine appears necessary, although given the fluidity of masculine and neuter in this material, one can never be certain.

[48] In 24b the adjective °*bhṛtena* agrees with an unstated *mayā*. Note that this pāda is hypermetrical, possessing nine syllables, including the string of three light/short ones in *karuṇayā*. Cf. the annotation ad I.20.

[49] It seems *kuruṣvatha*, if correct, would have to be *metri causa* for *kuruṣvātha*, the imperative plus *atha*. A parallel for this is present in the *Yoginīsañcāraprakaraṇa* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*: *bhedānāṃ tac chṛṇuṣva 'tha* (6.6d; text courtesy of Alexis Sanderson). Note the absence of vowel sandhi across the pāda boundary of 25ab.

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26 "Then, impelled by your devotion while you dwell there, I shall bestow my grace upon you,[50] by command of the *śakti*.[51] Oneness with me again—you will obtain all this, my dear."

27 Then, by my order,[52] you took incarnation near Prayāga in the large village Kaṇavīra,[53] in the good home of Meghadatta.

28 O great goddess, you were beget of *chāndogya* [brahmins] and possessed the marks of auspiciousness.[54] Born there, undoubtedly, your name was Sattikā.[55]

29 Then, endowed with intelligence, you paid reverence to me through constant *liṅga* worship, with (¿) great (?) devotion.[56]

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[50] I.e. bestow initiation.

[51] One might question the syntax of 26abcd. The grammatically preferable interpretation seems to be thus: *tava tatrasthāyā bhaktyā saṃpracoditaḥ, aham tubhyaṃ [=te] anugrahaṃ kariṣyāmi*—assuming that *tatrasthāyā*, as reads A, should be the genitive *tatrasthāyās*. It is possible, though, that *tatrasthāyā* is corrupt for the feminine dative *tatrasthāyai*, or the masculine dative *tatrasthāya*, in the sense of the feminine. This interpretation requires some leniency with the word order. What we could possibly have is instead agreement between the genitive or dative *tatrasthāy[ai/ā/a]* and dative *tubhyam*, both in the sense of the genitive and construing with *bhaktyā*; the genitive *tava* would then express the recipient of *anugraha*. Such casual treatment of the oblique cases is not improbable in the *BraYā*.

Note that *śakti-r-ājñayā* in 26d should be considered a compound, i.e. *śaktyājñayā*. In the *BraYā*, we not infrequently encounter *r* inserted between component words in compounds to prevent internal vowel sandhi, especially after an *i* or *u*. Cf., e.g., *gati-r-āgatiyogena* for *gatyāgatiyogena* (LXIX.71c), and *prabhu-r-icchayā* for *prabhvicchayā* (LXXVIII.100d). Cf. also *dvi-r-aṣṭavarṣākṛtir* in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 10.21. Metrical concerns seem to influence this type of formation.

[52] What A reads as *madvākyo*, emended in B to agree with *avatīrṇā*, surely is a corruption from *madvākyāt*, an ablative of cause. This presumably arises from omission of the final consonant of the ablative, followed by corruption of *ā* to *o*.

[53] It has not been possible to identify this village, assuming the name has been transmitted correctly.

[54] A's *chandogya* could be original, in the sense of *chāndogya*; I have tentatively retained this orthography. Note the non-application of vowel sandhi across the pāda boundary of 28ab.

[55] There is some doubt concerning the name A transmits as Sattikā or Santikā, for *tt* and *nt* are frequently indistinguishable in this MS. This might be Prākṛta for *śaktikā*, or even *śāntikā*. Santikā also seems to occur as a name in *Divyāvadāna* 13 (108.1). It could also, theoretically, be a Prākṛtization of *sāttvikā*, with simplication of the consonant cluster to *tt*, and shortening of the preceding vowel to prevent a double-*guru* syllable. The latter rule would also apply if *sattikā* is formed from *śāntikā*.

It is difficult to decide whether A's *nāman* (=*nāmaṃ*) is original, or whether to follow B, D, and E in emending to *nāma*. Both possibilities are plausible, considering the frequency with which masculine *-an* stems such as *karman* are thematized.

[56] Interpretation is difficult for what A seems to read as *mahā tvayā*, or perhaps *mahānvayā*—although the instrumental pronoun seems necessary. If an adjective, *mahā* (=*mahān*?) lacks a modificand. Cf. the problem in 18b, *parākāruṇayā mahat*, where *mahat* occurs with no noun in clear agreement. Here *mahā* in fact appears to construe with the proximate *bhaktyā*, in relation with which it could be explained as split compound.

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30 There, in [your] thirteenth year,[57] you attained *siddhi* by the grace of the *śakti*. You attained the state of a Sky-traveller,[58] and reached my proximity.

31 You are that *śakti*, O highly fortunate one, whom of old I had cursed when a transgression was made. Remember yourself![59] Your name is now Aghorī.

32–33 You are my Great Śakti, the agent of grace for all. I shall teach you that knowledge which was lost when you made a transgression, (¿) the great [*tantra*] spoken by Śrīkaṇṭha, after it came into being from the *sadāśiva tattva* (?),[60] together with its secrets, O Mahādevī; listen with single-minded attention.[61]

34 From the inconceivable Śiva, the Supreme Self, arose the Supreme Śakti, called

[57] It is not entirely clear whether *trayodaśe varṣe* expresses the duration of worship, which we would expect in the accusative, or rather the age of the goddess when she attained *siddhi*. The latter seems probable; note a similar expression in XIV.267: *parijñānavatī mātā nādhikārī pitā smṛtaḥ | sā bhave[t] tu kulotpannā mātā tasyās tu kārayet | karṇajāpan tu jātāyā[ṃ] ṣaḍmāsaṃ kulavidyayā | caturvi[ṃś]latime varṣe jñānaṃ tasyāḥ prajāyate* ("[If] the mother fully possesses the scriptural wisdom, [while] the father is considered unentitled, she [their daughter] would become a Clan-born [yoginī]. When she is born, her mother should perform *japa* in her ear using the clan-*vidyā* for six months. In [her] twenty-fourth year, the Wisdom arises [in her].").

[58] Note the use of the present indicative *avāpnoṣi* in the sense of past tense, perhaps best considered a sort of narrative present.

[59] A's *ātmānāṃ* in 31c has been emended to the normal accusative reflexive pronoun, *ātmānaṃ*. Nonetheless, *ātmānām* is conceivably original, perhaps influenced by the gender of its referent.

[60] Several aspects of 33ab are unclear. In 33a, A's *mahā* presents the same difficulty as in 29a: it seems to be a form of *mahat*, but has no obvious referent. On might conjecture the masculine nominative *mahān*, given the tendency of A to drop final consonants; however, this would have to agree with the neuter *jñānam*. This might well be acceptable, for later in the chapter we seem to have, in a similar context, *mahān* in grammatical agreement with the predicate *bhāṣitam* (cf. *proktam*, 33b), modifying an unstated *jñānam* or *tantram*: *sadāśivena devena dvāpare bhāṣitam mahān* (1.93ab). In 18bc, we seem also to have *mahat jñānaughas*, unless the gender of one word has been garbled in transmission. Note also e.g. XXXIX.1b, *a[s]idhāravrataṃ mahān*, and XIX.59d, sadāśivapadaṃ mahān.

The text and interpretation of 33b, *bhūtvā sadāśivaḥ padāt* in most of the MSS, are uncertain. It could simply mean that Śrīkaṇṭha redacted and taught the *Tantra*, after learning it from Sadāśiva. Such indeed appears to be the implication of 41d, transmitted as *jñātvā sadāśivaḥ padāt*; but, as with 33b, this too requires emendation for grammatical sense to emerge. Perhaps the most probable text is *sadāśivāt padāt*, in both cases; cf. the compound *sadāśivapada* in 35d. It is difficult to explain why both verses would transmit the nominative *sadāśivaḥ*, however. Another possibility, although paleographically unlikely, could be *bhūtvā sadāśive pade*. This would fit the pattern of 39a, *nirācārapade bhūtvā*, which has a similar context. A final possibility is to understand *sadāśivaḥpadāt* as a compound; the *visarga* could represent a sort of metrical lengthening, necessitated because *sadāśivapadāt* would be unmetrical. In any case, the meaning seems to be, "coming into being from the level of the *sadāśiva tattva*." See below from 35. The undifferentiated mass of scriptural wisdom (*niṣkalaṃ jñānaugham*, 35b), emerging from *bindu*, manifests (cf. *bhūtvā* in 33b) at the level of Sadāśiva (*sadāśivapade sthitaḥ*, 36b), from whence Śrīkaṇṭha redacts and reveals the scriptures. It incidentally seems equally correct to say that Sadāśiva teaches the scripture to Śrīkaṇṭha, and that the scripture emerges from the *sadāśiva tattva* or *pada*.

[61] On *śṛṇuṣvekāgra°*, see the annotation ad 1.15.

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icchā.[62] By her, *bindu* was awakened.

35 Then, from the awakened *bindu*[63] (¿) [emerged] the undifferentiated mass of scriptural wisdom. From this, (?) O Mahādevī, suddenly became manifest a body of mantras at the level of the *sadāśiva [tattva]*, its body completely filled with the scriptural wisdom.[64]

36 (¿) From this, with the authorization of Sadāśiva (?),[65] the creation then took place again,[66] according to its nature, as the series of *tattva*s situated at the [supreme *śakti*] *avadhūtā* down to [the *rudra*] Hūhuka.[67]

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[62] Understanding the genitive *śivasya* in the sense of the ablative, *śivāt*, as below with *bindoḥ* in 35a. Otherwise, the sense would be, "Śiva's *śakti* arose." Note the non-classical instrumental *nāmena*, formed from the thematized stem *nāma* for *nāman*.

[63] The genitive *[prabuddhasya] bindoḥ* clearly has the sense of the ablative in 35a.

[64] *tataḥ* occurs in both 35a and 35b. In 35a, this surely has the sense of "next, then," but its meaning is less clear in 35b. It could be redundant, or corrupt for *tathā* or *yataḥ*, or perhaps ablative (= *tasmāt*) referring to *jñānaughāt*. The latter text could mean, "from the awakened *bindu* [emerged] the undifferentiated *jñānaugha*; from that (*tataḥ*) became manifest a body of mantras." The translation reflects this interpretation. However, reading *yataḥ* seems grammatically superior, as one can construe 35 as a single sentence. In either case, the interpretation requires one to supply the predicate *nirgatam*, and implies that scripture first emerges in an undifferentiated, *niṣkala* form, afterwards taking on a manifest, i.e. *sakala* form at the level of Sadāśiva, a body consisting of mantras. Cf. Bhairava described as *mantravigraha* in e.g. 1.3d. This generates the sequence *parama śiva* → *icchā śakti* → *bindu* → *niṣkala jñānaugha* → *sakala jñānaugha*. A clear parallel for the *jñānaugha* having a *niṣkala* and *sakala* form is not presently evident. In the *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatantra*, for example, the primordial *śāstra* emerges from *parama śiva* in the form of *nāda*; Sadāśiva then teaches this to Īśvara, who creates from it individuated *tantras* (1.22–25).

Should *jñānaugham* instead constitute the subject of a single sentence, with the second *tataḥ* redundant, the doctrinal problems are fewer; but we would have a neuter nominative agreeing with a series of masculine adjectives, beginning with *abhivyaktaḥ* in 35c. This might not be impossible, however. In this case, one could translate, "Then, from the awakened *bindu*, the undifferentiated mass of scriptural wisdom suddenly then became manifest, O Mahādevī, as [or "having"] a body of mantras at the level of the *sadāśiva [tattva]*, its body completely filled with the scriptural wisdom."

[65] As transmitted, it would seem that °*anujñā* (36a) agrees with *sṛṣṭir*. One could interpret this as a *hetugarbhaviśeṣaṇa*, an adjective of cause: "[the creation took place] insofar as it had authorization from Sadāśiva." This seems unlikely, however. More probable is that °*anujñā* is nominative for instrumental, *metri causa*. Indeed, elsewhere we find similar feminine nominatives having an instrumental sense. Cf. *śivecchā* in LXXIII.41b, and several occurrences of the same in LV.

[66] *tasmāt* in 36a would refer to the *jñānasaṃpūrṇadeha*, the embodiment of scripture and mantra. With Sadāśiva as instrumental cause, this embodied, sonic manifestation of the awakened *bindu* appears to function as the immediate material cause for the creation, the central constituents of which are the *tattva*s and mantra, and by extension of the latter, scripture.

[67] It seems impossible to construe the MSS's feminine accusative *tattvamālām* and its adjective *hūhukāntāvadhūtasthām*. Most probably, the nominative underlies these, agreeing with and describing *sṛṣṭiḥ* in 36d. It seems that *hūhukāntāvadhūtasthā tattvamālā* refers to the series of *tattva*s beginning from *śakti*—i.e., the entire creation below *paramaśiva*. In the system of the *BraYā*, *avadhūtā* is a common epithet of the supreme *śakti*; see 1.128 below. By extention, this is also a term for her mantra; cf. XXVIII.47ab (*avadhūt[ā]ṃ nyaset pūrvaṃ śivādyavanivyāpakām*). As for Hūhuka, *Kubjikāmata* 22.8a lists

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37 For the good of people,[68] O pious lady, the great mass of scriptural wisdom, consisting of the *Vimala*, was set down in abbreviated form with the name *Amṛta*.[69]

38–39 And the *parāpara* god [Sadāśiva],[70] moreover, expounded to Śrīkaṇṭha [the scripture] consisting of mantra, doctrine, and ritual, after emerging from the state beyond observances,[71] because of viewing both [the pure and impure] paths.[72]

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him in a series of *bhairava*s. In *BraYā* xxxi, this deity receives little elaboration, but is described as existing below the hell worlds (*naraka*s), which are themselves below the netherworlds (*pātāla*s), above which lies the *bhūrloka*, the world of humans. *Svacchandatantra* 11 describes Hūhuka as the lord (*prabhu*) who supports the entire world (*tasyāśritaṃ jagat sarvam*, 11.23c), and as *śaktyādhāra*, the locus of the (root) *śakti* (11.24b). In the series of deities governing the hierarchical strata of the cosmos, his position appears to be below even that of Kālāgnirudra, i.e. at the very bottom of the universe. Note that in referring to the creation as consisting of the *tattva*s and extending from Hūhuka to the *avadhūtā śakti*, the *BraYā* mixes the terminology of parallel cosmological systems: *tattvamālā* should refer to the system of thirty-six *tattva*s (cf. *BraYā* xi.161ab: *śivādyavaniparyantā tattvamāl[ā] udāhṛtā*), while the *rudra*s such as Hūhuka belong to the system of *bhuvana*s or *loka*s.

[68] Evidently, what A transmits as °*kāmyāyām* must be understood in the sense of *kāmyayā*, the instrumental. The expression *lokānāṃ hitakāmyayā*, an even-pāda, is extremely common; cf., e.g., *Svacchandatantra* 10.484d, *Tantrasadbhāva* 24.236b, and thrice below (1.40d, 44d, and 106d). Although one could interpret °*kāmyāyām* as locative in the sense of the instrumental, perhaps it is better to consider it as an instrumental singular with metrical lengthening, followed by hiatus-breaking *-m-*. Cf. xxxi.1, *yayā vijñātamātrāyā āś[u] karma pravartate*; here we have an instrumental with metrical lengthening, but no hiatus-breaking *m*. See also, e.g., *icchāyā* in lv.33c and lxxiii.76b, and *hitakāmāyā-m-* in 1. This variety of feminine instrumental occurs in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* so frequently that Törszök remarks, "Stems on *-ā* usually have °*āyā* instead of °*ayā* in the singular instrumental." "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," §II.2.b (p. xxxvii). The same cannot be said of the language of the *BraYā*, however, in which these are exceptions.

[69] In the text as transmitted, there is a syntactical problem insofar as no predicate is explicit until *prabhāṣitam* in 39d. The most probable solution seems to be emending *nibandhas* to *nibaddhaṃ*, agreeing with *jñānaughaṃ* in 37d. Cf. the expression *nibaddhagranthasya* below in 1.85a. The question arises whether to take 37 and 38 together, or rather 38 and 39, as has been preferred here. In favor of the latter, *samāsena* (37c) and *saṃkṣepāt* (38b) would be tautologous; but otherwise, it might seem preferable that the instrumentals in 38 construe with *nibaddhaṃ* in 37c. In any case, the three verses seem to form a unit.

[70] *parāpareṇa devena*, 39c, refers to Sadāśiva, who is intermediate with respect to *para śiva* and *īśvara*. Cf. xxxviii.84, which specifies Sadāśiva as the teacher of the primordial scripture to Śrīkaṇṭha: *ādimo jñānasand[o]has tribhiḥ srotrair vinirgataḥ | sadāśivena devena śrīkaṇṭhāya prabhāṣita[ḥ]*.

[71] In the *BraYā*, *nirācārapada* ("the state beyond conduct") signifies the condition of the supreme Śiva, with *avadhūtā* as the corresponding term for the supreme Śakti. These terms are discussed in the annotation on *BraYā* ii.1cd–2. Normally, these terms find application less in cosmology than in ritual: e.g. the *sādhaka* is to perform *nyāsa* of the *avadhūtā*, that is, create for himself a *śakti*-body (*avadhūtatanu*), and remain in the meditative condition beyond ritual activity (*nirācārapadāvastha*). The implication here seems to be that Sadāśiva emerges from the state of non-dual yogic absorption.

[72] In 39b, the elliptical *ubhaya* appears to mean *ubhayamārga*; Sadāśiva is described as *ubhayamārgānuvartin* in xxxii.323d. The two "paths" are the "pure" and "impure" (*śuddha* and *aśuddha*), and by extension the *śuddhāśuddha* or mixed (*miśra*). These are categories relevant to the classification of scriptures and their corresponding practitioners; it is unclear whether they also pertain to the cosmological division between the pure and impure 'courses' (*adhvan*). Much relevant material from the *BraYā* is quoted and discussed in chapter 5, section 4.

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He did so by composing in the *anuṣṭhubh* meter,[73] abbreviated, with [verses] numbering one and a quarter-hundred thousand, O great woman.[74]

40–41 From this scripture,[75] O Mahādevī, seeking the good, Śrīkaṇṭha made manifold the *tantra*s, learnt from the state of Sadāśiva,[76] with millions and millions of elaborations for the good of all, because of differences in the interlocuters and recipients,[77] on account of the divisions of types of ritual, because of the pure and impure paths,[78] and because of lack of *sattva*,[79] O pious lady.

42 But this mass of scriptural wisdom,[80] existing in its true form, my dear, numbering one and a quarter hundred-thousand verses, was learnt by me as it really is.

43 I shall now also teach you, whose knowledge of scripture was lost, that which was arranged by division into one and a quarter hundred-thousand *śloka*-verses.[81]

44–45 From this emerged the entire universe, animate and inanimate. Out of desire

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[73] Compare 38a with 1.24ab of the *Uttarasūtra* in the *Niśvāsatantra*: *anuṣṭupchandabandhena devebhyaḥ pratipāditam*. Note in both instances thematization of *chandas* as an *a*-stem; *chando°* would be unmetrical.

[74] If correct, *mahātmanā* in 38b would have to modify *devena*, despite its syntactical distance. However, it seems more likely to be a corruption of the vocative *mahātmane*, for classical *mahātman*, based on a thematized feminine stem *ātmanā*; *mahātmane* occurs at the end of even pādas no fewer than thirty-seven times in the *BraYā*.

[75] 40a in A is damaged. From what can be discerned, and from the readings of D and E, it seems A would have read *asmā jñānā mahādevi*, presumably meaning (and perhaps originally reading) *asmāj jñānān mahādevi*. Even if A elided the ablative endings, it seems impossible to know whether this is original.

[76] 41d, *jñātvā sadāśivaḥ padāt* in the MSS, presents the same problem as 33b, for which see the annotation thereon. The most probable text seems to be *sadāśivāt padāt*.

[77] *pṛcchakāśraya* seems to mean "interlocuters and recipients"; it might otherwise be a karmadhāraya compound meaning, "the interlocuters who are recipients [of the *tantra*s]." The phrase *pṛcchakāśrayabhedena* occurs as XXXVIII.14a and 30c as well. Note also that 40c occurs again as XXXI.29c and XXXVIII.96a.

[78] On the division *śuddha* and *aśuddha*, see the annotation ad 39.

[79] In the *BraYā*, *sattva* ("spirit" or "heroic spirit") is a quality of vital importance for carrying out extreme rituals. Cf. especially *BraYā* XIV.212ab–219ab, quoted in chapter 1, part 1 (n. 44). What appears relevant here is that not all *tantra*s teach such rituals, since many practitioners lack *sattva*.

[80] Evidently the masculine *ayam* must be understood as neuter, in agreement with *°sandoham*, although the latter should in classical Sanskrit be masculine. It seems evident that *jñānasandoha=jñānaugha*.

[81] The feminine instrumental *tayā* transmitted by the MSS in 43a seems implausible. What underlies this is likely to be *tava*, i.e. *tavāpi*. This would agree with *°bhraṣṭāyāḥ* (*bhraṣṭāyās* in A) and express the indirect object of *saṃpravakṣyāmi* in 43b.

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for the good of people and with authorization from the Śakti, (¿) abiding with a nature semi-divine (?),[82] you too should teach the [*tantra*] numbering one and a quarter hundred-thousand [verses] to the venerable Krodhabhairava, who attains perfection by the will of Śiva.[83] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*[84]

46 (¿) After the one named Krodhabhairava (?), you shall speak the *[Tantra of] One and a Quarter Hundred-thousand* to Kapālabhairava, O pious lady.[85]

47–48ab He is a brahmin named Śrīdhara born in Kurukṣetra, O intelligent woman,[86] who possesses entitlement to the teachings and whose mind is empowered by the *śakti*, and who has not reached perfection, undoubtedly.

48cd–50ab Kapālabhairava, O goddess, will contract the *[Tantra of] One and a Quarter Hundred-thousand* using twenty-four thousand [verses],[87] for [the good] of people

[82] Here, *sthitayā* has been construed with *tvayā*, with °*kāmyayā* and °*anujñayā* taken separately as instrumentals of cause. The expression *divyādivyasvabhāvena* elsewhere finds application in classifying deities. *BraYā* IV categorizes divine beings and their ritual icons into the categories of *divyādhika*, *divya*, *divyādivya*, and *adivya*. In the *divya* category fall the Yoginīs, *guhyakās*, Mothers, and *kiṃkarīs*, along with their consorts (*patayaḥ*), the sixty-eight *rudras*, yoginīs of sacred fields (*kṣetrasaṃsthitāḥ*, and *lokapālas*. In the *divyādivya* category come the hundred *rudras*, the *lāmās*, and *rākṣasas*. Perhaps in the present case, the implication is that the Devī should remain among mortals in a merely semi-divine state, teaching the *tantra* for the good of humankind.

[83] Although he is referred to as *deva*, this is an honorific, for "Krodhabhairava" is likely to be the initiatory name of an individual and not a deity; and likewise with Kapālabhairava, Padmabhairava, and so forth. *BraYā* XXXIII (on *abhiṣeka*) describes a system of naming based upon clan or *gotra* affiliation as determined by where lands a flower cast into the maṇḍala. Male initiands receive names in the pattern of maṇḍala deity + *bhairava*, e.g. Raktabhairava, should the flower land upon the goddess Raktā. A total of 23 (male) names in this pattern occur in the present chapter. Many, but not all of these, are based upon the maṇḍala of the *BraYā*, as presented in XXXIII in the context of *abhiṣeka*. Female initiands, it seems, append the designation *śakti* rather than *bhairava*: *nārīnān tu yadā pātaḥ sthānesv eteṣu jāyate || tena gotreṇa tan nāmaṃ śaktisaṃjñaṃ tadā bhavet* (*BraYā* XXXIII.199cd–200ab).

[84] 45d, *evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt*, is a rhetorical phrase that appears always to be an aside, rather than part of what Bhairava speaks to the goddess. It occurs about forty times in the *BraYā*, and nowhere else that I am aware of presently.

[85] It is difficult to interpret the ablative *krodhabhairavasaṃjñakāt*, 46b. The context suggestions a temporal sense, perhaps, "after [teaching] the one called Krodhabhairava, [you shall teach Kapālabhairava]." However, it is possible that this is short for *krodhabhairavasaṃjñakāt jñātvā*; but this would have the goddess learning the same 125,000 verse scripture she had herself taught. Note the parallel construction in 51, with the syntax being *kapālabhairavāt padmabhairavasaṃjñasya vakṣyasi.*

[86] It seems almost equally likely that *mahāmate* in 47b is a vocative addressing the goddess, as has been adopted, or a corruption from the genitive *mahāmateḥ*, modifying *kapālabhairavasya*. As a vocative, *mahāmate* seems to occur only once elsewhere in the *BraYā*, in XCVII.14b.

[87] A has extensive and unsystematic alternation between *ṃh* and *ṅgh* or *ṃgh*, reading in 49b *saṃgharisyati*. This alternation primarily pertains to *saṃhāra* / *saṃghāra* and the verbal forms of *saṃ √hṛ*, but also e.g. *siṃha* and *siṃgha* (the latter preferred; e.g. *siṃghānanī*, XXIX.137a and III.59c). Note in

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of little intelligence, but with the ritual procedure of the Root Tantra remaining in its essential form, without the four divisions [of *mudrā*, *maṇḍala*, *mantra*, and *vidyā*s], etc.

50cd–51 (¿) He will obtain *siddhi* in this very [*tantra*], not otherwise. After Kapālabhairava reaches perfection (?), you will teach [this] to the one named Padmabhairava, who has not attained perfection.[88] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

52 He is born in the land of Oḍra with the name Devadatta, (¿) with authorization [to hear the scripture] (?); his Vedic branch is *bahvṛcā*.[89]

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particular *saṃhariṣyati* and *saṃghariṣyati* both occurring within the space of four pādas, 65c–66b below. This probably reflects the linguistic state of the original text to some degree, and might suggest that, regardless of the orthography, *ṃgh* was pronounced. Insufficient manuscript evidence makes it difficult to distinguish particular inconsistencies from errors in scribal transmission.

[88] 50cd–51ab are problematic. It is likely that *siddho*, as reads A in 50d, is corrupt for *siddhiṃ*, and is the object of the verb in 50d. But this still leaves problems, for we have two second-person singular verbs, *prāpsyasi* and *vakṣyasi*, and the demonstrative pronoun *asau* rather than the second-person *tvam*. Perhaps the best solution is to emend *prāpsyasi* in 50b to *prāpsyati*, with *asau* [Kapālabhairava] as its subject. One reservation is that Kapālabhairava would be obtaining *siddhi* in the *tantra* of his own redaction, whereas in 54, if the text is correct, it is the goddess who achieves *siddhi* in the abbreviated redaction of Padmabhairava. Hence, if we accept the emendation *prāpsyati* here, it might also be desirable to emend *prayāsyasi* in 54d to *prayāsyati*. This might make narrative sense, for we then have accounts of how Kapālabhairava and Padmabhairava, both described as *asiddha*, attain *siddhi*. But in the case of 54, there are factors speaking against this; see the annotation thereon.

In 50c, it is possible or even likely that *eka* is corrupt for *eva*, or else the adverbial *ekaṃ*, both of which could account for A reading *eka* instead of *eko*. In terms of sense, *eva* seems the most natural reading, and has been adopted; *eko* would imply that no one other than Kapālabhairava obtains *siddhi* in his redaction of the *Tantra*, while an adverbial *ekaṃ* does not elsewhere occur in the *BraYā*.

In 51a, *siddho*, as reads A, is difficult to construe. If one retains *prāpsyasi* in 50d, then it seems preferable to read *siddhā* in agreement with an unstated *tvam*. This might mean, "you shall attain *siddhi* in this very *Tantra* ...; [and] having reached perfection, after Kapālabhairava, you will teach Padmabhairava." It is also possible to follow A in reading *siddho*, provided one emends *vakṣyasi* to *vakṣyati*. Otherwise, it seems best to emend to the ablative *siddhād*, in agreement with *kapālabhāiravāt*. With the pattern ablative + genitive + second person future verb, there is a construction parallel to that of 46bcd, which has the syntax *krodhabhairavasaṃjñakāt kapālabhairavasyaiva kathayiṣyasi*. See the annotation ad 1.46. Here also, the context suggests a temporal sense for the ablative, viz. "after [teaching] Kapālabhairava, who has [thus] attained perfection, you will teach Padmabhairava." If one reads *siddho ... vakṣyasi*, the ablative construes more easily, viz. "perfected due to Kapālabhairava, he will speak ...."

[89] The term *caraṇa*, "Vedic school," seems otherwise unattested in the feminine. Here it has perhaps taken on the gender of its predicate—*bahvajā*, as reads A, a term that doesn't match any of the major Vedic schools. This is almost certain to be corrupt for the name of a school of Ṛgvedins, *bahvṛcā*, the vulgate *Ṛgveda* being *bahvṛc*. In 74de, we probably have reference to another brahmin who is *bahvṛcaḥ*; in this case too, A is corrupt, reading *bahvayaḥ*.

The string *atha ādeśena na saṃśayaḥ* in 52cd is syntactically ambiguous. Although its pāda-final position does not suggest such, one might expect *atha* in 52c to point forward, as sentence-initial. But despite the difficulty of construing it with the sentence beginning in 51a, coming as it would near its end, it appears preferable to take it this way. This provides better distribution of sense units with pāda boundaries, and also avoids the problem of an otherwise unusual initial position for expression *na*

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53–54 Then, no doubt, this very Padmabhairava, though he has not reached perfection, will once again reduce the *Tantra of Twenty-four Thousand* using twelve thousand [verses], by the will of Śiva.[90] You will then reach *siddhi* with this very *tantra*.[91]

55 In the presence of the unperfected one [and] you yourself, fourteen disciples will listen to this *tantra*, O woman of great fortune.[92]

56 One by the name Raktabhairava, another one, Jvālābhairava, and also Helābhairava: O woman of great fame, all three of these are born in Madhyadeśa, and [their] Vedic branch is *atharvaṇa*.[93]

57 Vāmabhairava, O goddess, and another, Vijayabhairava,[94] are said to be *śūdra*s by caste, born in Saurāṣṭra.

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saṃśayaḥ. Moreover, if *ādeśena* construes with 53–54ab, it would have to be an instrumental of cause, and hence redundant given *śivecchayā* (54b). Also, the most probable sense for *ādeśa* in this context is *ādeśo 'sya śāstrasya śravaṇāya*; cf. 63cd, which states this meaning explicitly. It hence seems best to construe this as an associative instrumental with 52abc, meaning, "[he is a brahmin born in the land of Oḍra], with authorization [to learn the scripture]." It is also possible that *ādeśena* means *śaktyādeśena*; cf. XXXIII.192d. Note incidentally the absence of vowel sandhi across the pāda boundary of 52cd.

[90] It seems that with Padmabhairava, we finally obtain the *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, i.e. the *BraYā*.

[91] It seems probable that in 54c, *mantreṇa* is corrupt for *tantreṇa*; referring to a textual redaction as *mantra* seems unusual. In 54d, A's *prayāsyasi* arouses the same suspicion as *prāpsyasi* in 50d, as reads A: it might be corrupt for the third person. Here however there is no grammatical compulsion to read thus. In fact, there is also some reason to retain the second person, for 55a still refers to Padmabhairava as *asiddha*. We would not expect this had he attained *siddhi* according to 54d, unless the point is that he was *asiddha* when the text was redacted.

[92] The syntax of 55 leaves room for doubt, with *sakāśāt* construing with either or both of the genitives (*asiddhasya* and *tava*). It is hence unclear whether the fourteen disciples (55d) learn the *tantra* from Padmabhairava or the Goddess—or perhaps both, as I have tentatively conjectured. Whichever be the case, the fourteen are later described as disciples of Padmabhairava, from whom, in 64b, Caṇḍabhairava is specifically said to learn the *tantra*. The form *śruṇviṣyanti* in 55c is unusual, apparently the third person plural future of √*śru*, in the active voice (equivalent to classical *śroṣyanti*). In 55b, note the (*metri causa*) absence of sandhi between *tava* and *eva*.

[93] 65d, which A transmits as *caraṇaṃ parvaṇaṃ tathā*, should provide the Vedic *śākhā* of these three disciples. But there seems to be no Vedic school referred to as *parvaṇa*. Most probably, this is a corruption from *atharvaṇa*; cf. 59cd, referring to Caṇḍabhairava as an *atharvaṇa* brahmin. Confusion between *tha* and *pa* is unsurprising in old Newārī writing. An emended text for 56d might be *caraṇo 'tharvaṇas tathā*, or else *caraṇātharvaṇaṃ tathā*. In the second case, which has been adopted, we would have *metri causa* elision of the case ending, or else the feminine *caraṇā*, as in 52c.

[94] Note that 57b is hypermetrical, and has three initial short syllables. See the annotation ad 1.20. In both names provided in 57ab, as with others below, the final *ka* has no meaning and merely accomodates the name to the meter.

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58 Bhībhatsabhairava,[95] O goddess, Gajakarṇabhairava, and Caṇḍabhairava, originate in the territory of Sindhu.[96]

59 The [first] two are Rājput *kṣatriya*s, while Caṇḍabhairava is, no doubt, a brahmin, an *atharvaṇa* by way of Vedic school, O goddess.

60 He, the excellent son of Yajñasoma, is born in the village named Bṛhodarī,[97] O Mahādevī; in this matter, there is no need for deliberation.[98]

61 O queen of the gods, there outside the village is [a temple of] the goddess Bṛhodarī. Because of her name,[99] that village is known as Bṛhodarī.[100]

62–63 That brahmin of great spirit, after worshipping the goddess Bṛhodarī and then

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[95] The orthography *bhībhatsa* occurs consistently for *bībhatsa* in A, with one exception (LXI.210c).

[96] It seems that *sindhuviṣayasambhavaḥ* must be emended to the plural, for following the pattern of this section, 58d should convey the origins of all three individuals mentioned in 1.58. Note that this pāda has the metrical fault of short syllables in the second and third positions, and is likely to be original.

[97] *bṛhodarī* is probably Middle Indic for *bṛhadudarī*, "She of the Massive Belly," formed with a thematized *a*-stem *bṛha* for *bṛhat*.

[98] 60d, *nātra kārya vicāraṇāt*, is one of the stock phrases most prevelant in the *BraYā*. It stands for what would in standard Sanskrit be *nātra kāryā vicāraṇā*—a phrase common in the epic literature and *purāṇa*s. In its well over one-hundred occurrences, the "correct" form does not appear a single time in A; *nātra kārya vicāraṇā* does occur twice, however (IV.179b and XXIV.44b). The phrase appears in the same "incorrect" form several times in the *Tantrasadbhāva* and a few other Śaiva sources. Although the reason for *kāryā* dropping its case ending is unclear, in *vicāraṇāt*, we see at work the dual linguistic tendencies of dropping some final consonants, influenced by Middle-Indic, and the addition of ungrammatical final consonants in a sort of Sanskritic hyper-correction. Loss of a final consonant occurs most frequently with the *-āt* of the optative third person singular and masucline ablative singular. Correspondingly, the addition of a spurious *-t* seems comparatively common after *-ā*. Cf. *yadṛcchayāt* for *yadṛcchayā* in XXII.3d. At some point, the feminine *vicāraṇā* must have been suspected of being ablative, and its spelling 'corrected'. This situation seems best explained by final *t* being widely omitted in pronunciation, but nonetheless considered a defining feature of Sanskrit spelling, to such an extent that *-t*, and likewise *anusvāra*, was added as a sort of Sanskritic hyper-correction. On the influence of pronunciation in this matter, Edgerton's observations concerning Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit seem quite relevant: "Word-final consonants which would be dropped in all Middle-Indic are often written. But a careful study of the metrical structure of the verses has revealed the fact that in some respects, at least, this Sanskritized spelling is a mere window-dressing, and misrepresents the actual pronunciation, which was Middle-Indic." *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, vol. 1, p. 5. What distinguishes the language of the *BraYā* is misapplication of this orthographic "window-dressing" to the point of grammatical absurdity. Of course, only one layer of this is likely to be authorial, while much is surely scribal.

[99] It seems evident that the masculine *tasya* would be corrupt for *tasyā*, referring to Bṛhodarī. It is conceivable that A's *so grāmo* is original, although here the correct *sa grāmo* in B has been followed.

[100] It has not yet been possible to identify this village of Sindh, or other references to it. Note that while no corruption is evident, 61b has the metrical fault of "syncopation:" the pattern ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑ – in the final six syllables.

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obtaining the *vidyā*-mantra alone,[101] O pious lady, will perform *japa* in that very place.[102] And then, he will receive authorization to learn this scripture, no doubt.

64 He shall learn from Padmabhairava.[103] Having reached perfection there, that brahmin shall become (¿) an author of *tantra*s (?).[104]

65–66 And (¿) melting down this subject matter (?),[105] this knower of the *tattva*s will contract [the *tantra*] using [verses] measuring eighteen-hundred, and likewise he will contract using thirteen and seven [hundred verses],[106] O pious lady, for the good of people.[107] On this matter, one need not deliberate.[108]

67 (¿) Since acting without authorization (?),[109] attainment of scriptural wisdom does not come about,[110] he will teach people the ritual procedure of the *vidyā*-mantra alone, in a brief form, for the good [of people] through a group of three among

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[101] The MSS's nominative, *devī bṛhodarī* in A, must surely stand for the accusative, and is most probably to be emended. Although there exists considerable fluidity between the nominative and accusative in the *BraYā*, this is much more so with the masculine than feminine. Note that *ārādhayitvā* in 62a is a non-standard gerund, having the *-tvā* suffix despite the presence of a prefix (*upasarga*).

[102] It seems impossible to interpret the first person *kariṣyāmi* the MSS transmit. The subject of *japaṃ √kṛ* should certainly be *asau vipras*, hence requiring the emendation *kariṣyati*.

[103] The (irregular) future plural *śruṇviṣyanti* must surely be emended to the singular, as the subject *asau vipras* continues from 1.62 and does not change.

[104] In 64c, *tatra* ("there") perhaps has the sense of *padmabhairavasya sakāśāt*. However, it is possible that it refers instead to the *tantra* (as though *atra*). The expression *tantrakartṛ* in 64d is unusual, and its interpretation somewhat uncertain.

[105] A's *gālayitvā imaṃ cārthā(n/t)*, 65a, presents difficulty. The adverb *arthāt* seems inappropriate here, and the most likely text is *imaṃ cārthaṃ*. Here *artha* seems to have the sense of "[scriptural] subject matter, material." Note that we seem to again have *artha* (by emendation) in this sense of "scripture" in 1.79a, and perhaps in 1.88a. Also plausible text would be *imaṃ cātha*; but emendation appears unnecessary since *artha* seems to occur elsewhere in the required sense. With *gālayitvā imam*, note incidentally the non-application of vowel sandhi, *metri causa*.

[106] Note *saṃhariṣyati* and *saṅgahariṣyati* occurring alongside each other in A, in 1.65c and 66b. See the annotation ad 1.49. A's odd *saptābhiś* in 66a has been corrected to *saptabhiś*.

[107] In 66c, *ca* seems to be a mere filler, unusually, in which role *tu* generally has pride of place.

[108] On 66d, cf. the annotation ad 60.

[109] A's first syllable is not fully legible in 67a. Based upon what is visible, the *na* present in D and E seems probable. But this is unintelligible. The most minimal and contextually appropriate emendation is perhaps *nā°*, i.e. *nādhikārād*, "not out of entitlement." Even so, it is difficult to understand this pāda, partly because the object and agent of *kṛtvā* are uncertain. The most plausible sense might be, "performing ritual without entitlement," i.e. without having initiation. This must in some manner make reference to Caṇḍabhairava's own background, outlined just above; although he obtains the *vidyā*-mantra through his diligent worship of Bṛhodarī, he attains *siddhi* only after obtaining authorization to learn the scripture.

[110] In 67b, A's *°prāptin na jāyate* strongly suggests the emendation *°prāptir na jāyate*, the doubled *nn* reflecting normal consonantal gemination after an (absent) *repha*.

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them.[111]

68 And Kumārabhairava, O goddess, after listening to the [recension of] eighteen-hundred [verses] from Caṇḍabhairava,[112] will then cause it to spread.[113]

69 Likewise, O goddess, Krodhabhairava will learn the [recension of] thirteen-hundred [verses] from Caṇḍabhairava, and cause it to spread.[114]

70 And Tejabhairava, moreover, will listen to the [recension of] seven-hundred [verses] from Caṇḍabhairava,[115] and he will spread it.[116] In [this narrative of] scriptural revelation, the Group of Three disciples has been taught thus.[117]

71–72ab Now,[118] among those fourteen [disciples] who will be famous in the fu-

[111] In 67d, it seems one should understand *tatra* as *teṣāṃ lokānāṃ madhye*. If this is correct, then Kumārabhairava, Krodhabhairava, and Tejabhairava, mentioned in the next verses, comprise the *tritayaka* mentioned in 67d. It might otherwise be possible that *tritayaka* refers to the three scriptures Caṇḍabhairava prepares; but this is unlikely, since 70c specifically refers to *śiṣyāṇāṃ tritayaṃ*, "a threesome of disciples." Note that with *tṛtayakena*, as reads A, we have evidence that *ṛ* was considered equivalent to *ri*; these alternate with great frequently in A. It seems impossible to reconstruct the degree to which this was original to the text.

[112] In 68c, the genitive *caṇḍabhairavakasya* has been understood in the sense of the ablative; note the ablatives (by emendation) in the parallel positions in 69c and 70c.

[113] The three verses 68–70 appear to have parallel structures, although the case endings transmitted in the MSS are inconsistent. It seems most probable that the first pāda of each verse should contain a nominative, although the MSS appear to transmit accusatives in 68a and 70a. If we were to understand these as accusatives, they would have to be indirect objects of *śrāvayiṣyati*, continuing from 67c, with the second pādas' *aṣṭādaśaśataṃ*, etc., as additional direct objects. But this is extremely awkward, for then Kumārabhairava, etc., must be understood as unstated subjects of the verbs in the fourth pādas of 68–70.

The interpretation of *vistārayiṣyati* (68d, 69d) and (the apparently equivalent) *vistariṣyati* (70d) is uncertain. This appears to mean "will cause to spread," i.e. disseminate. However, it could instead have the sense of "will expand/elaborate upon," or even "make larger," i.e. expand the size of the recension.

[114] Here A's *krodhabhairavako* is emended to the accusative, following the pattern of 68a and 70a. A's *caṇḍabhairavakāś caiva* in 69c appears to be a corruption of *°bhairavakāc caiva*, with the ablative. Neither the singular nor plural nominative seems plausible contextually, and *śc* is a relatively minor corruption from *cc*. Precisely the same emendation must be made in 70c.

[115] Here, *tejas* is thematized as *teja*. Note also the occurrence of *nāmānaḥ* (by emendation) in the sense of the singular, though this would be plural in classical Sanskrit. Cf. 73a, 86c, etc., below.

[116] In 70d, *vistariṣyati* appears to be identical in sense to the causative *vistārayiṣyati* in 1.68d and 69d. Cf. *vistaraṃ kartuvāñchayā*, 91d, which appears in sense identical to 98b, *vistāraṃ kartuvāñchayā*, assuming the text is correct.

[117] Here, it seems *avatāre* might have the sense of *asmin śāstrāvatāre*. Only A reads thus; the other MSS trasmit *avatāraṃ*, which seems implausible, unless one understands this to mean *avatāraṃ saṃproktaṃ, śiṣyānāṃ tṛtayaṃ proktañ ca*.

[118] *hy atra* in 71a brings us back to the enumeration of fourteen disciples of Padmabhairava, among whom Caṇḍabhairava was eighth.

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ture are two disciples of Padmabhairava, named Karālabhairava and Ucchuṣma-bhairava, born in the *mātaṅga* caste.

72 And another one, Yamabhairava, will take birth in Kāśmīra; and [this] other one will be a *chandoga* brahmin, O goddess.[119]

73 And likewise, there will be another named Viṣṇubhairava in the territory of Lampā, a *vājimadhyaṃdina* brahmin.

74 And the brahmin Dakṣiṇabhairava,[120] born in Kāśī, shall be another disciple, a *bahvṛca* [brahmin], no doubt.[121]

75 And in Oḍḍiyāna, O Mahādevī, there shall be a *taittirīya-* and *apastambha*-brahmin, Śekharabhairava.[122]

76-77 The fourteen disciples of Padmabhairava have been stated. After learning the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand*, they shall attain *siddhi*, O pious lady; and the ones designated "the group of fourteen" shall write commentaries for disciples desirous of *siddhi*,[123] whose minds are empowered by the *śakti*.[124]

78 And, resorting to the Sixth Place,[125] (¿) Svacchandabhairava, learning [the *tantra*]

[119] A syntactical problem begins in 72: four disciples of Padmabhairava are listed in 72–75, one per verse, but there are present five future forms of *bhū* announcing them, one of which must be redundant, it seems. 72d, *tathā anyo bhaviṣyati* (note the omission of vowel sandhi), would be redundant in light of *cānyaḥ ... sambhaviṣyati* in 72ab, and should hence begin a new sentence. But this would make 73d likewise redundant, which in turn would make likewise 74d, leaving us with a redundant 75d. Instead, the pattern of 73–75 seems to be that of having sentence-final verbs (*bhaviṣyati*) in the fourth pādas, which suggests that the problem lies in a clumsy redundancy in 72 itself. Accepting this as the solution, there is still present, however, the comparatively minor redundancy of *tathā* twice in 73b and 73d.

[120] A's *dakṣiṇabhairava* is unmetrical, and one might emend to *dakṣiṇābhairava*; cf. *dakṣiṇāmūrti*, the form of Śiva. However, some metrical flexibility is to be expected in the case of proper names, and, furthermore, A is elsewhere inconsistent in the spelling of *dakṣiṇ[a/ā]*.

[121] In 74c, A's *bahvayo* is likely to be corrupt for *bahvṛcaś*; on this emendation, see the annotation ad 52 above. B instead emends to the implausible but at least intelligible *bahavaś*.

[122] Note the absence of vowel sandhi across the pāda boundary of 75cd.

[123] Here, *vyākhyāṃ kariṣyanti* could also mean, "they will explain [the *tantra*]," rather than "they will compose commentaries."

[124] 78b, *caturdaśa tu saṃjñakāḥ*, appears to be poor Sanskrit for *caturdaśasaṃjñakāḥ*, which would be hypometrical. One could account for this as a split compound, perhaps. But grammatically preferable, one could consider emending to *saṃjñitāḥ*.

[125] It seems that *ṣaṣṭhaṃ sthānam* refers to the *brahmadvāra*, *brahmabila*, or *brahmarandhra*, the pinnacle of the subtle body and portal through which ascends the soul of the departing yogī. Cf. *Kubjikāmata*

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of Padmabhairava in the presence of Krodhabhairava (?),[126]

79 shall next once more contract the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand*,[127] using ten thousand [verses], O queen of the gods, (¿) with his mind empowered by the *śakti* (?).[128]

80 He shall teach people the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand* by the power of the yoginīs, with its narrative of revelation cut out, my dear.

13.24ab: *ṣaṣṭham ūrdhvaparaṃ sthānaṃ brahmadvāreti kīrtitam* ("The sixth, upward facing place is known as *brahmadvāra*"). This name might derive from the *brahmadvāra* being considered the highest plexus in a system of six plexii (*cakra* or *padma*). The phrase *ṣaṣṭhaṃ sthānam āśritaḥ* presumably indicates the highest state of yogic absorption.

[126] The syntactical problems are considerable in 78abcd, which might construe together, continuing into 79 with *saṃhariṣyati* as the primary verb. Here, A transmits no fewer than three apparent nominatives: *padmabhairavakāś* (78a), *svacchandabhairavo* (78c), and *krodhabhairavaḥ* (78d). That 78ab does not construe with 77 is suggested by an apparently sentence-connective *ca* in 78a; otherwise, *padmabhairavakāś* could describe *caturdaśa*, perhaps in the sense of "disciples of Padmabhairava." One should then also emend *āśritaḥ* to the plural. In that case, the phrase *ṣaṣṭhaṃ vai sthānam āśritāḥ* might describe the mode by which they create commentaries for disciples.

Otherwise, taking 78–79 together, a plausible solution might be as follows: *svacchandabhairavaḥ*, a correction from °*bhairavo*, should be taken as the subject, in agreement with *āśritaḥ*; and *sakāśāt krodhabhairavaḥ* should be understood as *sakāśāt krodhabhairavasya*, with nominative for genitive, *metri causa*. Construing *krodhabhairavaḥ* with *sakāśāt* is suggested by their proximity, just as on the same basis *śrutvā* seems more likely to construe with *svacchandabhairav[aḥ]*. That Svacchandabhairava is the subject of *saṃhariṣyati*, i.e. that he abbreviates the *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, also appears confirmed by 1.110. As for *padmabhairavakāś*, this could potentially be emended to *padmabhairavakañ*, meaning, "the text redacted by Padmabhairava." This term could be quite appropriate, for the scriptural redaction in question is the *Dvādaśasāhasra* (see 79a), which Padmabhairava is responsible for redacting from twenty-four thousand verses (1.53–54). This reading has been tentatively adopted. But a more paleographically likely emendation is the ablative *padmabhairavakāc*; cf. 69c and 70c, where identical emendations have been made. In this case, *dvādaśasāhasraṃ* in 79a should be the object of *śrutvā*. One final solution, requiring more emendation and liberty with the word order, involves emending *padmabhairavakāś caiva* to *padmabhairavakasyaiva*. This genitive could construe with *dvādaśasāhasram*, meaning, "Padmabhairava's *Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses*," with *dvādaśasāhasraṃ* the object of *śrutvā*. This might work better if one reads *atha* instead of *arthaṃ* in 79a (see below).

The question arises as to which Krodhabhairava is referred to here: a Krodhabhairava was the first pupil of the goddess, while another one, apparently, was one of Caṇḍabhairava's three pupils. Neither appears to have learned the *Dvādaśasāhasraka*, and here we could well have a third Krodhabhairava.

[127] A might in 79a read *artha dvādaśa°*; but the possible *repha* is unclear. In any case, this should probably be corrected to *atha dvādaśa°*, as read the other MSS. However, note also the construction *arth[a]ṃ gālayitvā* in 65a, where *artha* apparently refers to the *śāstra* or its content. This lends some plausibility to the emendation *arthaṃ dvādaśasāhasraṃ*, perhaps in the sense of "the subject matter which is the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand*."

[128] What A transmits as *śaktyā bhūtas tu cetasā* appears corrupt. Whatever the correct reading, its sense, and perhaps text, is probably similar to that of *śaktyāviṣṭena cetasā*, which occurs as LXXX.155b. Cf. also *śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasām*, 1.114b, and *bhaktyāviṣṭena cetasā*, 1.17d. I have tentatively adopted the conjecture *śaktyādhiṣṭhitacetasā*.

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81–82ab Born in Ujjainī to brahmins,[129] (¿) ..... (?).[130] Deikā is indeed his mother,[131] who, as she has had many miscarriages, bathes and ritually sips water, [then appears] before the Mother goddesses, desiring a son.[132]

82cd–83 The Mothers,[133] impelled by the *śakti*, cast into her womb (¿) one who had chanted the *vidyā*-mantra and was full of power, named Amantrī ("not possessing a mantra")[134] because of not having reached perfection on account of violating the Pledges (?).[135]

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[129] This passage appears to provide further pedigree for Svacchandabhairava, rather than introduce someone new; cf. the description of Caṇḍabhairava, I.59b–67. See also the annotation ad 83 below. In 81a, A's *ujjainyāyāṃ* is likely to be original, Middle Indic for *ujjayinyām* (cf. modern *ujjain*). *Ujjainī* occurs also as the name for one of the eight *śmaśāna*s of the maṇḍala in III.97d. Locatives on *-ī* ending *-yāyām* occur frequently in the *BraYā*; cf., e.g., *vīthyāyām* (III.17a), *saptamyāyām* and *aṣṭamyāyām* (III.18c and 18d, respectively), *tarjanyāyām* (XXV.103b, IV.77c, and IV.838a), and *nāḍyāyām* (XIV.54a, etc.), to name a few. One might account for these as first involving formation of bases on *-yā*, e.g. *vīthyā* for *vīthī*; feminines on *-yā* for *-ī* indeed occur frequently in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* (see Törzök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," xxxviii).

[130] There is considerable uncertainly concerning what A reads as *ukaputraka* in 81b. If correct, this should mean "the son of Uka;" but the name seems both unusual and improbable. Parsing differently, one could perhaps read *vipro joukaputrakaḥ*: "a brahmin, the son of Jouka;" but this would be an unusual Middle-Indic name. Moreover, there is a strong possibility that this compound should communicate the individual's Vedic *śākhā* or *caraṇa*, for such information is present in the case of almost every other brahmin mentioned as such in this chapter. No known *śākhā* or *caraṇa* is readily discernable in *ukaputraka*. Underlying *putraka* could conceivably be *pautraka* or *potraka*; *pautra* and *potra* can apparently refer to the office of the *potṛ*, one of sixteen officiants of the Vedic sacrifice. The expression *ukthapattra*, "having verses as wings," occurs apparently in the *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* (Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 172), and Apte claims this can mean both "sacrifice" and "sacrificer" (*yajamāna*). *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 395. Rather improbably, *ukthapattraka* could denote a Vedic branch of those specializing in *ukthas* ("praise hymns"), counterparts of the *udgātṛ* or *chandoga* brahmin (cf. I.72c). Note that if *viprajo* is correct, and the next compound begins *u-*, this would reflect non-standard sandhi.

[131] The name Deikā is Middle Indic for Devikā. As with Sattikā (28c) and the goddess Bṛhodarī (60–62), Middle-Indicisms, incidentally, seem especially frequent with female names.

[132] The plural *ācāmanti* trasmitted in 82a seems improbable, and has been emended to the singular. Presumably, the idea is that Deikā performs *ācamana* prior to appearing before the Mothers, rather than "in front of the Mothers," as the text suggests.

[133] *mātarāḥ* in 83b is probably original, formed from a thematized stem *mātarā* for *mātṛ*. The possibility is of course present that *mātarāḥ* is corrupt for the "correct" *mātaraḥ*, which occurs frequently enough; yet sufficient evidence exists for considering A's reading plausible. Note for example the plural genitive *mātarāṇām* (LV.56d, LXXXVIII.191c, XLII.20d and 26b) and accusative *mātarā[n]* (II.14c), as well as numerous other occurrences of the plural *mātarāḥ*. We even find an instrumental plural *mātaraiḥ* (LXVII.53b) formed from a stem *mātara*.

[134] *kṣipiṣyanti* in 83a (corrected from *kṣipiśyanti*) seems to be an irregular third person future of √*kṣip*, for classical *kṣepsyanti*. This reflects influence from simplified Middle Indic verbal systems based on the present indicative, with *kṣipati* / *kṣipiṣyati* formed here on analogy of the type *bhavati* / *bhaviṣyati*.

[135] In 82a, it is difficult to decide whether to retain the masculine *japtavidyo mahāvīrya* which A transmits, referring to *amantrīnāmakas* (83d); this might also be corrupt for the feminine, referring to Deikā. Gender confusion is not improbable here; note the MSS's *tasya* for *tasyā* in 83c below. If the masculine is correct, then °*nāmakas* is probably original, a nominative which is accusative in sense as the object of *kṣipiṣyanti*. From the standpoint of grammar, the most satisfactory text would involve emending to the

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84 Afterwards, O Mahādevī, by their power he shall attain the *vidyā*-mantra and perform its *japa*, and will then learn the scripture.[136]

85 And then, having set down the text through the power of divine contact,[137] he shall speak the scriptural matter entirely, using ten thousand [verses].[138] Afterwards, he shall subsequently achieve *siddhi* through this very scriptural wisdom.

86cd–87 O queen of the gods, the one named Caṇḍabhairava shall again [re-]fashion this very *Tantra of Ten Thousand* using seven thousand [verses]. [In him] shall arise the aspiration to fashion [a *tantra* of] twelve thousand.[139]

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accusative, *amantrīnāmakaṃ*, and emending 82c to the feminine *japtavidyā mahāvīryā*. 82c would then construe with 81cd–, with a new sentence beginning in 82d or 83a. But syntactically, it seems slightly smoother to take 82cd with 83, suggesting the masculine reading in 82c. And while it is plausible that Deikā performs *japa* of the *vidyā* before the Mother goddesses, she may well have engaged in ordinary non-tantric worship of the goddesses, just as Caṇḍabhairava worshiped (*ārādhayitvā*) Bṛhodarī before attaining the *vidyā* (cf. 1.60–62). At issue also is the interpretation of the two ablatives of cause, *samayalaṅghaprabhāvataḥ* (82d) and *asiddhatvāt* (in 83a). It seems best to understand these together, viz. "because of trangression of the Pledges, not being *siddha*, because of which ..." The question is then whether Deikā or her unborn son is the guilty individual. If the adjectives in 82c are masculine, it should be Amantrin who broke the Pledges, because of which he did not attain *siddhi* and receives an ignominious name. If 82c reads the feminine, then it would be Deikā's trangression which prevents her *siddhi* and rewards her with a less-than-perfected son. Although uncertainty remains, it seems somewhat more likely that Amantrin is the one described in 82cd–83; it is after all his gain and dissemination of the scripture with which the narrative is finally concerned. Amantrin appears to be the pre-initiatory name for Svacchandabhairava; note how 81ab does not explicitly introduce a new individual, its nominative appearing to describe Svacchandabhairava in 78c. Moreover, the narrative from 79–86ab does not mention from whom Amantrin learns the scripture, which is probably because this information was already provided with reference to Svacchandabhairava in 78.

Note incidentally that 82d is hypermetrical, and has short syllables in the initial three positions (*samaya°*). See the annotation ad 1.20. Note also the absence of sandhi across the pāda boundary of 83cd.

[136] A's *bhavetsyati* in 84d is rather bizarre; while this could potentially be a corruption of *bhaviṣyati*, it seems preferable to adopt the conjecture *sa vetsyati* (or perhaps *ca vetsyati*) proposed by Isaacson (personal communication, November 2005).

[137] *divyasaṅga* must refer to the yogic mode by which Svacchandabhairava learns the scripture, referred to in 78. This is by no means a well-attested expression. One might wonder whether *anubhāva* is used here in the sense of *anubhava*, meaning "perception;" but cf. *prabhāvataḥ* in 84b, with which it might rather be synonymous.

[138] A syntactical problem is present in 85, insofar as the referent of the genitive transmitted in 85a, and subject of the verb in 85d, are unclear. The former, *nibaddhagranthasya*, could be the object of *kathayiṣyati*; but this could also be corrupt for *nibaddhagranthaś ca*, and hence contain the subject. Only the latter offers a clear interpretation: "[Amantrī], by whom the scripture had been assembled/composed (*nibaddha*) due to the power (*anubhāva*) of divine contact (*divyasaṅga*), will speak the scriptural material (*artha*) entirely, using ten thousand [verses]." This interpretation has been adopted.

[139] In 87d, A's unintelligible *karttā°* is probably corrupt for *kartu°* (as emends B); cf. *kartuvāñchayā* in 91d and 98b. These are unusual formations, for in classical Sanskrit, the compounding of infinitives (here *kartum*) is, I believe, restricted to the cases of *-kāma* and *-manas*.

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87cd–88 And he shall not (¿) allow his divine disciples to contract the scriptural material (?),[140] O great queen. And he shall have obstacles with the [text of] seven thousand [verses].[141]

89 With this aspiration, there is one with the designation Bindubhairava, O goddess, and he shall have an obstacle with the [*tantra* of] seven thousand.

90–91ab O Mahādevī, and one named Māyābhairava with this very aspiration will not reach *siddhi* (¿) using the [text] numbering *Ten [Thousand Verses]* (?).[142] He shall have an obstruction with the seven thousand [verses].

91cd–92 And [there shall be] Anantabhairava, with the aspiration to spread [the *tantra*];[143] and he too, O pious woman, shall have an obstruction with the seven thousand [verses], no doubt. *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

93–94a In the Dvāparayuga, the great *[tantra]* is spoken by Lord Sadāśiva.[144] Next, in the seventieth age after this,[145] by way of divine reckoning, in the Kaliyuga, O

[140] *samarttuṃ* in 88b is surely corrupt; *so kariṣyati* is also suspicious with its poor sandhi. One possible text might be *saṃhartuṃ sa kariṣyati*, perhaps meaning, "and he shall not make [allow?] his disciples to contract the scriptural material." Of course, the causative *kārayiṣyati* would in this case be expected. Cf. constructions with √ *dā* + infinitive √ x, meaning "to not allow to X." It is not impossible that *so* is original. Although in classical Sanskrit, the *visarga* in *saḥ* is expected to drop before any consonant, this is not always the case in the *BraYā*, wherein *saḥ* frequently takes ordinary sandhi. Note e.g. the metrically required *so* in the odd pādas *ambaraṃ bhavate so hi* (XXII.94a) and *vīro bhavati so devi* (XLIV.691a).

The meaning of *divyaśiṣyāṇām* in 88a is uncertain, but in light of the meaning of *divya*° in 85b, the point might be that Caṇḍabhairava had disciples to whom he transmitted the teachings yogically.

[141] It is not entirely clear what the *vighna*, "obstructing force," is an obstruction to: both the redaction of scripture and the quest for *siddhi* seem possible. It might be equivalent to saying *na siddhiṃ prayāsyati* (cf. 90d).

[142] It is difficult to interpret the MSS's *daśasaṃjñakaḥ* in 90b, which appears to agree with *māyābhairavanāmāno* in 90. 90d does not specify in respect to what or through what Māyābhairava fails to attain *siddhi*. Such information elsewhere finds expression with an instrumental; cf. 86ab, ... *tenaiva jñānena ... siddhiṃ sa lapsyati*. It is just conceivable that an instrumental *daśasaṃkhyayā* ("through a text of ten-thousand?") underlies *daśasaṃjñakaḥ*, possibly corrupted under the influence of *saṃjñakaḥ* in 89b. Another possibility is the locative *daśasaṃjñake*: "with respect to the *tantra* called 'Ten-[thousand]'?" The latter has been tentatively adopted, although neither possibility seems compelling.

[143] On the interpretation of 91d, see the annotation ad 68d, 70, and 87.

[144] It would seem that *mahān*, masculine, must be a substantive agreeing with the neuter *prabhāṣitaṃ*. See the annotation ad 1.32–33. The masculine *prabhāṣito* would here also be metrically acceptable; but the fluidity of the masculine and neuter suggest caution in emending.

[145] The number *saptatima* is non-standard Sanskrit for *saptatitama*, "seventieth." On the formation of ordinals, see the annotation on the colophon of *BraYā* LV (n. 89).

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goddess, from him[146] I speak to you the *tantra* that is honored by Bhairava.

94b–95ab And likewise, in the seventh [age] after this, no doubt, you shall by the command of Śrīkaṇṭha speak [the *tantra*] to Kapālīśa,[147] O pious woman, in the Tretāyuga.

95cd–96ab In the Dvāpara age, on the cusp of the Kaliyuga, the one designated Padmabhairava shall contract the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-thousand*,[148] not otherwise.

96cd–97ab In the fourth quarter in the Kaliyuga, Svacchandabhairava shall likewise contract [it]. *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

98 Both Caṇḍabhairava, and likewise Vibhubhairava and Māyābhairava, shall appear at the end of the fourth quarter in the Kaliyuga with the aspiration to spread [the scripture], O fair lady.

99–100ab And Anantabhairava, at the end of the *kalpa*, shall never truly be able to spread [the scripture],[149] his mind being overcome with devotion.[150] He shall cause it to measure twenty-four thousand [verses], O pious woman.

100cd–102ab Caṇḍabhairava, O goddess, Vibhubhairava, Māyābhairava, and likewise

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[146] *tasmāt* in 93b appears to refer to Sadāśiva. This somewhat problematic construction with the ablative is similar to those of 46, 51, and 94–95ab.

[147] In 95a, A's *tvam vakṣyāmi* must surely be corrupt for either *tvāṃ vakṣyāmi* or *tvaṃ vakṣyasi*. Although the former would be a more trivial correction, the latter is probable; confusion of *m* and *s* is in any case easy enough to account for. The Goddess had already learned the *tantra* in 93, and should hence be its next teacher.

[148] In 95d, *padmabhairavasaṃjñakau* must stand for the singular—an unusual corruption. Were it a dual, one would of course expect a dual verb. (Note, incidentally, XCIV.7ab: *lepālepau na yasyāsti sa tu vīro nirañjanaḥ*; here the third person singular verb *asti* appears to agree with a dual noun, *lepālepau*.)

[149] Underlying what A reads as *śakyoṣyati* in 99c is probably a verb form from √*śak*, "to be able." One possibility is that this was originally *śaknoṣyati*, future singular for classical *śakṣyati*. This seems in principle similar to other future verbs formed from a stem based on the present indicative; cf. *kṣipiṣyanti* from √*kṣip-kṣipati* in 83a. The difference lies in hesitation over treatment of *o* in *śaknoti*, which here has been retained as part of the future stem.

[150] *cetasaḥ* in 99d appears to be a nominative singular, formed from a thematized stem *cetasa* (from *cetas*). Although syntactically difficult, it might also be possible that °*cetasaḥ* is plural and refers to all the four beginning with Caṇḍabhairava in 97c. In this case, one could also emend the verb in 99c to the plural.

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Ananta:[151] having learned this *tantra*, no doubt, (¿) [these] final heroes shall attain *siddhi* at the end of the *kalpa* (?),[152] O queen of the gods. *Bhairava has spoken.*

102cd–103 And at the end of the Kaliyuga, the yoginīs, impelled by the *śakti*, shall snatch this scripture and its tradition of transmission and depart to the limit of the *śakti [tattva]*,[153] O pious woman, no doubt.[154] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

104 In the Kṛtayuga, O Mahādevī, and in the Tretā- and Dvāparayugas, Bhairava has not spoken the revelation of this scripture.[155]

105 But in the [next] Kaliyuga, O great queen, in this very manner you shall engage in the revelation of this scripture,[156] no doubt.

106 You shall teach twelve thousand [verses], not even a little more,[157] O queen of the gods, out of desire for the good of people.

107–108 Those people who reside on the Island of Maidens,[158] my dear, shall attain

[151] In 100d and 101b, respectively, *vibhubhairavam* and *anantam* are masculine nominatives in sense, but have the *-m* ending of the neuter, thus avoiding sandhi with the subsequent vowel.

[152] 101c is problematic. As transmitted, *etad apaścimā vīrās* in A, this pāda has the metrical fault of short syllables in the second and third positions. Moreover, the meaning that seems most appropriate would be *paścimāḥ*, "final [heroes]," rather than *apaścimāḥ*, considering that they come at the end of the *kalpa*. However, perhaps this could be interpreted as a bahuvrīhi meaning "they from whom no one is afterwards," i.e. "final." This interpretation has been tentatively adopted. One might also consider the possibility of emending to *etad vipaścitā vīrās*.

[153] *ca* in 103b seems to suggest that *sampradāyaś* is a second object of *prayāsyanti*, and hence should be emended to the accusative. In 103c, A's *śaktyāntaṃ* appears to mean (and should presumably be emended to) *śaktyantaṃ*. The sense of this passage appears to be that the yoginīs withdraw the scripture back into its unmanifest state in the *śakti tattva*.

[154] There is some uncertaintly concerning *mānayiṣyati*; if this is correct and means "he will cause [it] to measure," this would seem to be the only clear case of a mortal expanding the *tantra*—depending upon the interpretation of *vistārayiṣyati* in 68d, etc.

[155] Though the construction is not entirely clear, the point appears to be that there is no revelation (*avatāra*) of this scripture in the next three Yugas; 105 below appears to confirm this. It is conceivable that 104d, *sūcito bhairaveṇa tu*, is an aside, much like *evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt*; but the phrase does not seem to occur elsewhere.

[156] It seems that in 105c *avatāro* is treated as accusative, the direct object of *kariṣyasi* in 105d. This might be *metri causa*.

[157] This is a somewhat ironic prediction given that the *BraYā* as we have it contains more than 12,500 verses; but perhaps the present statement could not anticipate the *Uttara-* and *Uttarottaratantras*, the final fourteen chapters.

[158] *kumārīdvīpa*, "Island of Maidens," is mentioned as a land having seven *kula*-mountains in the cosmology of the *Niśvāsaguhya* (6.19–20), whence *Svacchandatantra* 10.254 (*dvīpaṃ kumārikākhyaṃ*); it also appears in lists of sacred places in *Tantrāloka* (*kanyādvīpa*, in 8.85, 8.91) and *Kubjikāmata* (21.8, 21.57). Cf. chapter 4, n. 105, in part 1.

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[this] scripture and not another, in the little village Kalāpa;[159] he shall then contract [it], O goddess. He shall reveal the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand* in the beginning of the Kaliyuga.[160]

109–110 O queen of the gods, you shall speak the *Tantra of One and Quarter Hundred Thousand* to Svacchandabhairava himself, O pious woman[161] —*thus did speak Bhairava*—he by whom, O great queen, the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand* was contracted,[162] O woman of great fortune. In this matter, one need not deliberate.

111–113ab (¿) After speaking [the *tantra*] to the group of four heroes using ten thousand [verses] (?),[163] then, O goddess, having been taught by you, fair lady, and being located in the little village Kalāpa, he, not yet fully perfected,[164] shall teach Viṣṇubhairava the scripture measuring twelve thousand [verses], O pious

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[159] *kalāpagrāmake* in 108a could as easily construe with 107 or 108b. Looking ahead to 111–14, it seems somewhat more correct to call Kalāpa the site of the scripture's dissemination, rather than its abbreviation; the site of the latter is not specified in 110–11, which mention its abbreviation. Reference to *kalāpagrāmaka* as the site of revelation in the beginning of the Kaliyuga occurs in Jayaratha's commentary ad *Tantrāloka* 1.8, quoting *Śivadṛṣṭi* 7.108 (the KSTS edition prints *kalāpigrāma*). It is also mentioned, for instance, in the opening of the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakratantra*. Cf. chapter 4, n. 104, in part 1.

[160] The referent of *saḥ* ("he") in 108b, which is also the subject of *kariṣyati* in 108d, is not evident. This might refer to Svacchandabhairava, who teaches Viṣṇubhairava the scripture in Kalāpa (111–12). There is a syntactical problem as well: it would appear that *avatāraṃ kariṣyati* must be understood as a compound verb, with *dvādaśaiva sahasrāṇi* (108e) as its object. Normally, one would expect *avatāra* to construe with a genitive, e.g. *śāstrasya*; cf. 105cd. Note also the non-application of vowel sandhi in 108a, viz. °*yugasya ādau*, and its unmetrical opening, *kaliyugasya*, with *laghu* syllables in positions two and three; cf. 1.101c.

[161] Note that 109a possesses a variant metrical pattern (*vipulā*).

[162] The feminine *tasyā* in transmitted in 110c must surely be corrupt for the masculine, referring to Svacchandabhairava.

[163] The reference to a group of four heroes in 111b is not entirely clear, nor is the syntax of 111ab. A *vīracatuṣṭaya* is not elsewhere mentioned in the *BraYā*; it is rather a group of eight heroes which has importance in this text. *BraYā* XXIII, which teaches a *vīrāṣṭakavidhi*, also teaches a group of three heroes (from verse 27). This raises the possibility that 111b might read *vīrācatuṣṭayam*, if perhaps by "four heroines" could be meant the four Devīs of the maṇḍala, Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā (see the annotation ad 1.9). The term *vīrā*, however, seems applied primarily to Aghoreśvarī herself. Contextually more probable, *vīracatuṣṭaya* should refer to the group Caṇḍabhairava, Vibhubhairava, Māyābhairava, and Anantabhairava, mentioned in 97–102; this interpretation has been adopted.

Grammatically, *muktvā vīracatuṣṭayam* could mean *vinā vīracatuṣṭayam*, "excluding/leaving aside the Four Heroes." Another option might be to read *muktvā* as hiatus-breaking *-m-* plus *uktvā*, construing 111ab with 111–13ab. This interpretation has been adopted.

[164] It is possible that *asiddhaś caiva* in 112c is corrupt for *asiddhasyaiva*, which would hence agree with *viṣṇubhairavakasya*.

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woman;[165] no doubt about it.

113cd–114 Viṣṇubhairava, O goddess, will speak the ten and two thousand [verses] to people residing on the Island of Maidens whose minds are empowered by the *śakti. Thus did speak Bhairava.*

115–116ab O Mahādevī, just like the *Seven Hundred [Verses],*[166] the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand* shall be in home after home, no doubt, of those with minds empowered by the *śakti.*[167] In this matter, there is no need to deliberate.

116cd–117 In home after home, O Mahādevī, whether they be men fit for *siddhi,*[168] or women fit for *siddhi,* it shall spread (¿) to all their homes (?).[169] *Thus did speak Bhairava.*

118 But those who are unfit for *siddhi,* whether a man or women,[170] shall not attain even the mere *vidyā*-mantra,[171] O great queen. Those fit for *siddhi* shall learn this secret, O Mahādevī.

119 This narrative of the *tantra*'s revelation, exactly as it was spoken to me by Śrīkaṇṭha, I too have spoken thus, O queen of the gods.

120 Now, listen with single-minded attention to that named the *Great Bhairava[tantra],*

[165] It seems contextually required that *śāstraṃ dvādaśasaṃmitaṃ | sahasrair* ... (112d–113a) should mean *dvādaśasāhasrakaṃ śāstram*—perhaps "the scripture measuring twelve, by way of thousands."

[166] It seems possible that the *saptaśatāni* here mentioned is none other than the *Durgāsaptaśatī,* i.e. the *Devīmāhātyam* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.* See the discussion in chapter 4, section 3.

[167] Cf. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 22.10cd, *kāmarūpe imaṃ śāstraṃ yoginīnāṃ gṛhe gṛhe.* 115 could perhaps be interpreted as a complete sentence, with 116–17 construing together; but the phrase *nātra kārya vicāraṇāt* (116b) seems most frequently to occur at the end of a syntactic unit.

[168] In 116d, A's *puṁsā,* i.e. *puṃsāḥ,* could well be original, an irregular nominative plural based on a thematized stem *puṃsa* for *puṃs.*

[169] The subject of *pracariṣyati* appears to be the text itself. If taken as causal—cf. the apparent equivalence of *vistārayiṣyati* (68d, 69d) and *vistariṣyati* (70d)—the subject could instead be Viṣṇubhairava, viz. "he shall propogate [it] in home after home." A's unintelligible *adhigṛheṣv atha* in 117b is probably a corruption *api gṛheṣv atha,* an emendation suggested by Isaacson. Another possibility might be to read *adhikṛteṣv atha,* referring to those possessing *adhikāra,* the entitlement to scripture and ritual practices bestowed by initiation (see *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa,* vol. I, 105).

[170] Use of the singular *puruṣaḥ* for the plural in 118b seems triggered by metrical exigency.

[171] There is a serious metrical problem in 118c, with a poor four-syllable cadence of ˘ ˘ – ˘ (*api caiva*). The text seems semantically plausible, however, and no alternative is obvious. It might be conceivable, though unlikely, that the text originally read *apiś caiva,* with a *visarga* added *metra causa* and subsequently removed in transmission.

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together with its secrets, which possesses the qualities of the entire mass [of scriptural wisdom].[172]

121 That Śakti which has been described earlier, infinite and primordial, arising from the infinite one,[173] O highly fortunate woman, her divisions I shall now teach in sequence.

122–24ab The one who is called "beyond conception,"[174] Śiva, is the supreme cause,[175] without appelation and without transformation, pervasive and quiescent, without an inherent nature,[176] O Mahādevī, devoid of action and cause,[177] undifferentiated, without conceptualization, formless, devoid of the *guṇa*s, without [notions of] "mine" and "I," and situated in the state of non-duality.

124cd–126ab He is approachable to yogins [alone] through meditation,[178] having wisdom as his form, O woman of great fame, abiding in the state beyond activity as consciousness (*saṃjñā*) alone, the Supreme Lord. He, the agent of grace for all, has the form of the supreme effulgence, and is pervasive, with form unmanifest, beyond mind, and great.[179]

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[172] It seems that *sarvasandohalakṣaṇa* would mean *sarvajñānaughalakṣaṇa*. Cf. the expression *jñānasandoha* in 42a, referring to the *Tantra of One and a Quarter Hundred-thousand*.

[173] *anantasambhavā* probably means *anantāt paramaśivāt sambhavo yasyāḥ sānantasambhavā*, as translated above; but it might conceivably mean *anantasya jagataḥ sambhavo yasyāḥ sānantasambhavā*. Note that LXXXIII.2 closely parallels this verse (*yā sā śaktiḥ samākhyātānantyādyānantasambhavā | tasyā bhedam pravakṣyāmi sṛṇuṣvekamanā satī*).

[174] Note that 122a occurs also as *Timirodghāṭana* 4.4a (NGMPP A35/3, e-transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva), quoted below in the annotation ad 127. In 122a, the masculine *yo 'sau* agrees with *acintyam*, which is declined in the neuter to avoid hiatus with the subsequent *iti*. Note also the non-application of vowel sandhi between *asau* and *acintyam*.

[175] Although here not a bahuvrīhi compound, *paramakāraṇaḥ* (in 122b) appears to have taken the masculine gender of *śivaḥ*, whom it describes. Cf. the "correct" expression *śivaḥ paramakāraṇam*, e.g. *Netratantra* 8.36b. It is of course possible that the text has become corrupt.

[176] On this rather Buddhist-sounding epithet, cf. the description of *parabrahman* as *niḥsvabhāvasvabhāvaṃ* in *Kālikākulapañcaśatikā* 6.

[177] Cf. *BraYā* LXXXIX.44ab, describing the supreme reality (*niṣkalaṃ tattvaṃ*): *nistaraṅgaṃ nirālokaṃ k[ri]yākāraṇavarjitam*.

[178] *yoginyāṃ*, as reads A in 124c, is surely corrupt for *yogināṃ*. Cf. *Rudrayāmala [Uttaratantra]* 2.28c, *yogibhir dhyānagamye [cakre]*.

[179] It is possible that *mahātmanaḥ* (126b) is genitive and agrees with *tasya* in 126c; however, it seems more likely to be nominative, agreeing with other adjectives in 126ab. Cf. the nominative *cetasaḥ* in 1.99d, and the probable feminine vocative *mahātmane* in 38b.

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126cd–28 His Śakti, O Mahādevī, arising by its own nature, is not produced.[180] She has by her nature the form of moonlight, like crystalline rays.[181] His *icchā śakti*, emerging in the form of wisdom as the Transmental *[śakti]*,[182] is without semblance;[183] she is called Avadhūtā.[184] She, the infinite one, awakens *bindu* and *nāda* instantaneously.[185]

129–30ab Shaped like a coil situated in [the alphabet], beginning with the vowels, she is divided into four sections, (¿) [each] divided into four sections (?).[186] The colied (*kuṇḍalinī*) *śakti* exists thus [as a *cakra*] with the sixteen vowels.

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[180] Regarding 126d, cf. *Netratantra* 21.39cd–40ab, defining the *kriyā śakti*: *evaṃ kriyeti sā proktā ekānanyasvabhāvajā || svabhāvotthā svabhāvārthā svā svataḥ svoditā śivā |* .

[181] *sphāṭikasyaiva* in 127b has been emended to *sphāṭikasyeva*, since a comparison appears intended.

[182] Although here an epithet of the supreme Śakti, *manonmanī*, like *icchā*, *vāmā*, *kriyā*, etc., appears also as the name of a specific *śakti*; cf., e.g., *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 8.64c and *Svacchandatantra* 2.71ab. The translation "transmental" is Vasudeva's (2004, 219) for *manonmana*.

[183] 127c is syntactically uncertain. A final *-r* has most probably been lost from *śakti* in A, which in any case must be nominative. Presumably, *tasya* refers to Śiva and is possessive in sense; but if so, *tasyecchā śakti* seems redundant in light of *tasya śakti*. Construed with *nirgatā*, it is possible that the genitive could have the sense of the ablative. But cf. 34, where *icchā nāmena parā śaktiḥ* construes with an apparently possessive genitive. Note the parallel passage *Timirodghāṭana* 4.4, a condensed version of *BraYā* 1.122–28: *yo sau acintyam ity āhu[ḥ] śivaṃ* [em. *śivaḥ?*] *paramakāraṇaḥ | tasye[cch]ā nirgatā śakti* [em. *śaktir?*] *nādabinduprabhedinī* [em. °*prabodhinī*] (NGMPP Reel A35/3). Note that the text of 127c also occurs in the *Kularatnamālā*, quoted by Jayaratha commenting ad *Tantrāloka* 1.274 (*adṛṣṭavigrahaś caiva sa śānta iti gīyate | tasyecchā nirgatā śaktis taddharmaguṇasaṃyutā*).

A central question concerning the interpretation of 126cd–133 is whether the verses describe the one *parā śakti*, or a progression of her manifestations. The latter seems unlikely, for the various epithets and descriptions provided, viz. *icchā śakti*, *manonmanī*, *avadhūtā*, *kuṇḍalinī*, etc., are consistent with description of the supreme *śakti*. It could just be possible that *tasyecchā* is non-standard sandhi for *tasyāḥ icchā*, and might even have the sense of *tasyāḥ icchāyāḥ*, if indeed the intention is to provide a progression from a *parā śakti* to *icchā śakti*, and then to e.g. *jñānaśakti*. But then we would have the *jñāna śakti* awakening *bindu*, which cannot be the case, for in this role the *śakti* is elsewhere referred to as *icchā* (cf. 34cd) or *avadhūtā* (here, in 128, and in LXVII.33ab: *sā śaktir avadhūtā tu parābind[au] layaṃ gatā*).

In 127cd–128 there appear to be as many as four predicates, viz. *nirgatā*, *pravartate*, *smṛtā*, and *prabodhayati*. The syntax suggests taking *nirgatā* as adjective of the subject, with *pravartate* as "exists," although it could perhaps mean "arises."

[184] See the annotation ad 1.36 on the *avadhūtā śakti*.

[185] What A transmits as *sānantabindunādau* in 128cd seems likely to be corrupt for *sānantā bindunādau*. It is not common that compounds cut across pāda boundaries in this material, although cf., e.g., 121ab. In any case Ananta is unlikely to be grouped with *nāda* and *bindu*, and *anantā* occurs above in 121ab as an epithet of the supreme *śakti*. If the text were correct and this is a compound, it might mean, "[She awakens] *bindu* and *nāda*, together with Ananta." The only connection discernable between these three would be cosmogonic functions.

[186] 129a and 129b seem redundant, unless the point is that the four divisions are also each divided into four, presumably accomodating the sixteen vowels as mentioned in 129b.

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130cd–31 Possessing four pathways,[187] and decorated by the Five Voids,[188] she is thus fivefold, the primoridial transmental [*śakti*];[189] and she furthermore arises [as ninefold] through the ritual procedure of the Nine-Syllable [Vidyā].[190]

132 Conjoined with the vowels and consonants, (¿) and possessing the [entire alphabet of] fifty letters (?),[191] the Avadhūtā, O Mahādevī, exists with nine divisions.

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[187] The reference to the *śakti* as *catuṣkapathakopetā* (130c) is not especially transparent. It seems probable that *catuṣkapathaka* is supposed to mean *catuṣpatha*, "cross, crossroads." This could well suit the maṇḍala context suggested in 129–30. Note in particular the *bhautika cakra* taught in *BraYā* XIX, a maṇḍala constructed beginning with a circumscribed *catuṣpatha* (cross). In the center (*nābhi*) is installed the *smaraṇa*-mantra (HŪṂ), around which are the sixteen vowels in the four maṇḍala sections, followed by the remaining alphabet and *devī*s Raktā, Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī and Mahocchuṣmā—the *devīcatuṣṭaya*, "group of four goddesses," so called in XXVI.10b. It is possible that this particular alphabetical *cakra* of the four goddesses is precisely what 129–30 refers to.

[188] The notion of Five Voids (*vyomapañcaka*) is taught in *BraYā* LXXXIX, in the context of yoga, where they appear as constituents of the subtle body (*sūkṣmadeha* or *puryaṣṭaka*). The supreme Śiva lies at the end of this series of voids, which are once referred to as *devīnāṃ vyopapañcak[a]m* (LXXXIX.26b), although their precise relationship to the goddesses of the *BraYā* eludes me. Reference to a *vyomapañcaka* occurs also in other Śaiva sources, e.g. *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 4.9 (where they are the locus for visualizing the *śakti* in the form of a stroke of lightening), and *Netratantra* (7.1, 7.27), where commenting Kṣemarāja provides the synonym *śūnyapañcaka*. On the complex topic of the Voids in Śaiva yoga, see the admirable study of Vasudeva, *Yoga of the Māliṇīvijayottaratantra*, 256–92 (chart on 269).

In 130d, note absence of internal vowel sandhi with *pañcavyoma-alaṃkṛtā*; this is likely to be original, necessitated by meter. Cf. *śikhāyāṃ tu śikhā jñeyā kavacaṃ sarva-aṅgikam* (XII.67). In cases when the first of the two vowels is *-u* or *-i*, an hiatus-breaking *-r-* is often inserted between the two; see the annotation ad 26. One also finds insertion of *m* to break hiatus between elements of a compound; cf. XIX.31ab, *vaśyākarṣaṇamādīni karmāṇi kuru suvrate*.

[189] The text of 131b, *śaktir ādyā manonmanī*, occurs in a number of Śaiva scriptures, e.g. *Bhairavamaṅgalā* (1.9), *Kulasāra* (f. 78v), *Kubjikāmata* (5.89, 6.109, 25.89, and 25.165) and several times in the *Tantrasadbhāva*.

[190] The syntax of 128–132, particularly its sentence division, has ambiguities. In the translation, *saṃvyavasthitā* (129b), *sthitā* (130b), *prajāyate* (131d), and *vyavasthitā* (132d) have been interpreted as sentence-final verbs. This is not especially satisfying in the case of 130–31ab. Another possibility, in this case, would be to divide between 130cd; the Śakti being *catuṣpathakopetā* (130c) could then be a result of her being divided into four sections (129cd), which makes it easier to understand how she is fivefold, adorned by five voids. One could then take 131cd–132ab as a sentence, construing 132cd independently.

[191] It does not seem possible to interpret what A reads as 132b, *pañcāśākṣarasāmprataṃ*. The form *pañcāśa* is irregular Sanskrit for *pañcāśat*, "fifty." It is possible this pāda is *metri causa* for *pañcāśākṣarāḥ sāmpratam*, the sense perhaps being that now (*sāmpratam*), she being conjoined with the vowels and consonants, all fifty letters of the alphabet are present. But the likelihood seems high that the text is corrupt. One possible emendation might be *pañcāśākṣarasaṃyutā*. This could arise from confusion between the post-consonantal ligatures for *-ra* and *-u*, and subsequently *p* and *y*. Slightly more difficult, one could consider the possibility that °*sāmprataṃ* is a corruption from °*saṃpuṭā*, also perhaps arising from confusion between *-ra* and *-u*. Most commonly, *saṃpuṭa* refers to the framing of a mantra with syllables in its beginning and end, e.g. *hūṃ ... svāhā*. Commenting ad *Netratantra* 8.11, Kṣemarāja provides such an explanation, quoting an unnamed source: *mantram ādau likhed vidvān abhidheyam ataḥ param | mantram asya likhet paścāt saṃpuṭaṃ parikīrtitam* ("A wise man should write a mantra in the beginning, the substantive matter [*abhidheya*] afterwards, and should write a mantra at the end; this is known as *saṃpuṭa*"). Here, however, the implication would perhaps be that the *navākṣarī śakti* is surrounded or enclosed, *sampuṭa*, by the entire alphabet, perhaps in a *cakra* as suggested above in 130.

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133 In her exist the Devīs, the Dūtīs, the Yoginīs, and Mothers of the *Ucchuṣma-[tantra]*[192]—she creates all, O goddess, following the will of Śiva.

Thus ends chapter one, the "Chapter of the Connections,"
of the *Great Bhairava Tantra*, the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses*,
the *Picumata*, the *Method of Nine Syllables*.

[192] *atra* seems to refer to the Śakti; it could however refer to the alphabet, *pañcāśākṣara*, the point being that phonemes are the constituents of the deities. *yoginyocchuṣmamātarāḥ* seems to mean *yoginya ucchuṣmamātaraś ca*. The same expression, except with the more correct °*mātaraḥ*, occurs as LXXXVIII.244d. As mentioned ad 8ab–9, this particular list refers to the four *devīs* (Raktā, Karālī, Caṇḍākṣī, and Mahocchuṣmā), four *dūtīs* (Karālā, Danturā, Bhīmavaktrā, and Mahābalā), Seven or Eight Mothers, and a set of six Yoginīs (Kroṣṭukī, Vijayā, Gajakarṇā, Mahāmukhī, Cakravegā, and Mahānāsā). That *ucchuṣmamātarāḥ* means *ucchuṣmatantre yā mātaraḥ [proktās] tāḥ* is suggested by IV.253ab, from a passage quoted in full above (ad 8cd–9): *ucchuṣmatantre nāmāni guhyakānāṃ na saṃśayaḥ* ("These, no doubt, are the names of the *guhyakās* in the *Ucchuṣmatantra*."). On the irregular nominative plural *mātarāḥ*, see the annotation ad I.83.

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II

The Extraction of Mantras

1ab Now, I shall next teach the highest worship of Aghorī.[1]

1cd–2 When the *mantrin* is [in the state] 'beyond conduct' (*nirācāra*),[2] abiding with a body [empowered by] the Avadhūtā [Śakti],[3] he then performs worship of the yoginīs and of Śiva.[4] *'Avadhūtā'* is the Śakti, while the state beyond conduct

[1] This chapter teaches the nine-syllable (*navākṣarā*) *vidyā* of Aghorī, the central mantra of the system of the *BraYā* and the sonic embodiment of its core deity maṇḍala. The full exposition of the mantra-goddesses constituting this *vidyā*, with their ancilliaries, along with variations of the *vidyā* used for different applications, occurs as the tenth chapter, *devīnāṃ mantroddhārapaṭala*. Here are provided only the *bīja*-mantras of the deities. Note the non-application of sandhi across the pāda boundary of 1ab. In 1b, A's *arghoryārccanam* is probably an error for *aghoryarcanam*. But this sort of sandhi is found frequently in A; cf. 14b below, where it reads *aghoryāṅga°*. In both cases, instead of reading a compound, one might instead interpret the text as having the genitive *aghoryāḥ*, with double-application of sandhi, although this is more plausible in 1b than 14b. Note the genitive in LVII.3b, *aghoryā[ḥ] sādhanaṃ paraṃ*.

[2] The text of 2d as transmitted seems implausible: *nirācāraparaḥ śivaḥ*. Since A frequently drops *visarga* before labials, we might interpret this as *nirācāraḥ paraḥ śivaḥ*. Cf., e.g., LXXXVII.96cd, *nirācāra[ḥ] sa evātra ucchuṣmaṃ parikīrtitam* ("In this context, that very *'nirācāra'* is said to be Ucchuṣmabhairava"); and *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 242c, *nirācāra[ḥ] śivo jñeya[ḥ]* ("Śiva is known as *'nirācāra'*"). It seems more likely, however, that one should rather emend the text to *nirācārapadaḥ śivaḥ*; the expression *nirācārapada* occurs nearly twenty times in the *BraYā*, and *ra* for *da* is a minor corruption. Both readings would be plausible, but the latter is better attested and has accordingly been adopted. On the meaning of *nirācāra*, see the following note. Saying that the practitioner "is *nirācāra*" seems to be equivalent to saying he is *nirācārapadāvasthaḥ* or *nirācārapade sthitaḥ*, both common expressions in the *BraYā* (see the quotations in n. 5 below). Note, incidentally, the absence of sandhi across the pāda boundary of 1cd.

[3] B's reading *avadhūtatanuḥ sthitaḥ*—a correction, it seems—has been accepted in 1d. A, which reads *°tanusthitaḥ*, frequently drops *visarga* before sibilants, and this bahūvrīhi compound is in several cases transmitted with the *visarga* (e.g. III.202d). On its interpretation, see n. 5 below. One cannot be fully certain in correcting *śakti nirācāra* in 2cd to *śaktir nirācāra*. In its extremely numerous occurrences, the nominative *śakti* more often than not omits the *visarga* in A. Only before vowels and semi-vowels does A transmit *śaktir*, with one exception (I.126c). It may hence be possible that *-i*, sans *visarga*, is in this text optionally considered an acceptable feminine nominative singular ending, or else is an acceptable sandhi before a voiced consonant.

[4] *yogeśī* or *yogeśvarī* is synonymous with *yoginī*; cf. the title *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, and note Törszök's discussion thereof ("Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," iii–iv.). Here the expression must be broad, for it includes the Mother goddesses as well as a group of six yoginīs; cf. the annotation verse 11 below.

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(*nirācāra*) is the Supreme Śiva.[5]

[5] Concerning *nirācāra* and the *avadhūtā śakti*, see the annotation on 1.36–39. The instruction to enter the *nirācāra* state and install the mantras of the supreme Śakti upon the body occurs as a preliminary for a number of ritual practices; cf., e.g., XXI.94ab and III.50:

> *nirācārapade yukto avadhūtatanuḥ sthitaḥ* | (XXI.94ab)
>
> 94a °pade] *em.*; °padair A 94b °tanuḥ] *corr.*; °tanu A
>
> *avadhūtatanu kṛtvā bhasmoddhūlitavigrahaḥ* |
> *nirācārapadāvastho dhyāyed bhīmaṃ kapālinaṃ* || (III.50)

This pair of terms occurs in several Śaiva sources of the Vidyāpīṭha; cf., e.g., *Tantrasadbhāva* 2.27cd–28ab. According to Sanderson (personal communcation, 2004), *nirācāra* occurs in this sense also in the *Yoginīsañcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. For *avadhūtā*, *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 394–396ab provides a *nirukti* (etymology): *avadhūtā* is that which "shakes off" (*dhūnate*) *'ava'*—glossed as *ajñāna* ("ignorance"), *pāpa* ("sin"), *adhogati* ("going to hell"), and *duḥkha* ("sorrow"):

> *dhūnitvā tu malān sarvān ūrdhvamārgānuvartinī* |
> *avadhūteti sā proktā nityānugrahaśīlinī* || 394 ||
> *avam ajñānam ity uktaṃ ava pāpaṃ prakīrtitam* |
> *avam adhogatir jñeyaṃ ava duḥkheti kīrtitaṃ* || 395 ||
> *tat sarvaṃ dhūnate yasmāt tasmād avadhūta ucyate* |
>
> 394a malān sarvān] *em.*; malāṃ sarvā MS 395c °gatir jñeyaṃ] *conj.*; °gati(r vi?)jñeyaṃ MS 395d duḥkheti] *corr.* Vasudeva; dukheti MS 396a tat] *em.* Vasudeva; tā MS yasmāt] *corr.* Vasudeva; yaṃsmād MS

NAK 5-687; electronic transcription courtesy of Somadeva Vasudeva. The expression *avadhūtatanuḥ sthitaḥ* refers to having the mantras of the Supreme Goddess installed onto the body through *nyāsa*. This presumably refers to installation of the *navākṣarā vidyā* and its extended pantheon, the deities delineated in the present chapter. Perhaps the most comprehensive *nyāsa* is that of XII. 35–72. References to installation of the *avadhūtā* on the body emphasize the homology of its mantra-deities—the goddesses—with the *tattva*-series of reality levels (*tattvamālā*), a homology taught in e.g. XXX.225–33. XXVIII.47b, for example, refers to the *avadhūtā* as *śivādyavanivyāpakā*, while IV.456d uses the expression *śivādyavanimāntika* (presumably non-standard Sanskrit for *śivādyavanyantika*, with an internal hiatus-breaking *-m-*).

Note, incidentally, that *Bhairavamaṅgalā* (from 385) teaches a system of sixteen principal internal *nāḍī*s, with *avadhūtā* homologized to the central, supreme (*parā*) *nāḍī* extending through the *brahmarandhra* (*brahmarandhrād vinirgatā*, 392d)—hence the description of *avadhūtā* as *ūrdhvamārgānuvartinī* in 394b above. This is noteworthy in light of *avadhūtī* being the name for the central *nāḍī* in some Buddhist *yoginītantra*s, e.g. the *Hevajratantra*; cf. I.i.13-14:

> *dvātriṃśan nāḍyaḥ ...teṣāṃ madhye tisro nāḍyaḥ pradhānāḥ | lalanā rasanā avadhūtī ceti |*
> *...avadhūtī madhyadeśe grāhyagrāhakavarjitā* ||

Parallel material may be found in *Saṃvarodayatantra* 7, especially 7.21cd (*avadhūtī madhyadeśe tu grāhyagrāhakavarjitā*).

The term *nirācāra* derives its significance from ritual: the *nirācāra* practitioner is one who is without, i.e. beyond, codified practice (*ācāra*). But this does not represent disavowal of ritual, for the injunction to abide in the *nirācāra* state occurs as a preliminary to performance of the most complex of observances. It rather represents meditational absorption, the transcendence in ritual of dualist conceptualization (*dvaitabhāva* or *vikalpa*), and in more concrete terms, transcendence of orthodox purity norms. In this sense, *nirācāra* is cognate to *advaitācāra*, the "nondual ritual conduct" in which dualist (*dvaita*) distinctions between 'pure' and 'impure' are transcended. The expressions *nirācārapade sthitaḥ*, *nirācārapado bhūtvā*, and *nirācārapadāvasthaḥ*, etc., appear to be equivalent to *advaitapadasaṃsthitaḥ* (*BraYā* III.131d). The *Bhairavamaṅgalā* explains *nirācāra* in ideational terms: *nirācārakriyā* means ritual "based in a nondual state of mind" (*advaitaṃ bhāvam āśritā*) while *sācāra* ritual is the opposite. Entering into the *nirācāra* state hence refers to *avikalpatā*, in which the practitioner's affective state reflects the ontological singularity of the supreme deity, the *nirācārapada*. *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 245–251:

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3 After learning the procedure for their worship,[6] the *mantrin* then attains *siddhi*. I shall hence teach the extraction of their mantras,[7] in sequence.

4–5 Wearing white clothing, smeared with fragrant white ointment,[8] the wise *mantrin*, on a pure, beautiful place on the ground decorated with beautiful flowers,[9] should there always extract [the mantras of] the Devīs, Dūtīs, Yoginīs, and Mothers, headed by Kapālīśabhairava.[10]

6 The first [letter *ca*] of the second [*varga*, with] the first [vowel *a*] set in place;[11]

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nirācārakriyājñeyā advaitaṃ bhāvam āśritā |
dvaitaṃ tu bhāvam āśritya sācāraṃ tu kriyā smṛtā || 245 ||
tasmāt sācāram utsṛjya nirācāraṃ samāśrayet |
vikalpam avikalpaṃ ca dvāv etau parikīrtitau || 246 ||
vikalpo dvaitam ity āhuḥ advaitaṃ nirvikalpatā |
tasmād vikalpam utsṛjya nirvikalpaṃ samāśrayet || 247 ||

245b advaitaṃ] *em.*; adhvaitad *cod.* 245c āśritya] *corr.*; aśṛtya *cod.* 246a utsṛjya] *em.* Vasudeva; usṛjyaḥ *cod.* 247a vikalpo] *em.*; vikalpā *cod.* dvaitam] *em.*; dvaityam *cod.* 247b nirvikalpatā] *em.*; nirmikalpatā *cod.* 247c utsṛjya] *em.*; utsṛjyaḥ *cod.*

Cf. *BraYā* VIII.3–4ab:

tato hy ekamanā bhūtvā avadhūtatanuḥ sthitaḥ |
nirācāreṇa bhāvena yadā paśyati sarvataḥ || 3 ||
tadā karoti karmāṇi vicitrāṇi mahītale |

"Then, achieving single-pointed concentration, abiding with the body empowered by the *avadhūtā śakti*, when one sees everything with a non-dual disposition (*nirācāreṇa bhāvena*), one accomplishes wonderous deeds on [this very] earth."

Commenting ad *Tantrāloka* 20.9, Jayaratha reads into the dichotomy between *nirācāra* and *sācāra* the duality of the gnostic and the ritualist—the *jñānin* and those for whom ritual is primary (*kriyāpradhānāḥ*). But this position reflects considerable historical development.

[6] The referent of *eteṣāṃ* could be *avadhūtā [śakti]* and *nirācāra* [i.e. *para śiva*]; that is, the genitive plural *eteṣām* could stand for the dual *etayoḥ*. Such avoidance of the dual finds attestation elsewhere in the text. See the annotation on 1.95cd–96ab. However, it seems more probable that 2cd is merely an explanatory aside, and that *eteṣāṃ* refers to *yogeśīnāṃ śivasya ca* in 2b. For *eteṣām* is picked up by *teṣāṃ [mantroddhāram]* in 3c, which refers to all the deities whose mantras are 'extracted' below: the four Devīs and Dūtīs, Six Yoginīs, the Mothers, and Kapālīśa. Of course, whether *eteṣāṃ* and *teṣāṃ* refer to *avadhūtā* and Śiva or to *yogeśīs* and Śiva amounts to the same thing, for the *avadhūtā śakti* contains within itself all the *yogeśīs*.

[7] On the concept of *mantroddhāra*, see *'uddhāra'* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. I, 230–31, and Schoterman, *Ṣaṭsāhasra Saṃhitā*, 182–209.

[8] This pattern of two pādas describing the color of clothing, and that of garlands and/or ointment worn, is extremely common, occurring in both tantric and non-tantric sources. Cf. XXI.56ab, *śuklāmbaradharo mantrī śuklamālyānulepanaḥ*, and XXI.85ab, *kṛṣṇāmbaradharo mantrī kṛṣṇasragdāmabhūṣita[ḥ]*. Cf. also, e.g., *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.292ab: *tataḥ śuklāmbaradharaḥ śuklamālyānulepanaḥ* (reference provided by Isaacson, personal communication, December 2005).

[9] It is difficult to make sense of the MSS's *divyair* in 4c. This has been tentatively emended to *divye*, perhaps in the sense of "beautiful."

[10] This list constitutes the core maṇḍala of the *BraYā*, encoded in the *vidyā*; cf. 1.133ab and the annotation thereon. It is these deities whose mantras are extracted below.

[11] The grammar of 6ab seems odd. Pāda b, *prathamaṃ tu vyavasthitam*, must somehow be equivalent

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with the *bindu* attached on the top,[12] this, [CAṂ,] is known as the Devī Raktā.

7 The third [letter *ḍa*] of the third [*varga*], decorated by the eleventh vowel [*e*];[13] this [ḌE] is called Ghorā, and well-known as "Karālī."[14]

8 The first [consonant *ka*] conjoined with the second [vowel *ā*], the "upper sound;"[15] the twenty-first, (¿) supreme consonant (?) [*pa*,] conjoined with the second [vowel *ā*];[16]

9 the twenty-eighth [consonant *la*] with the third [vowel *i*];[17] the twentieth [consonant *na*] also likewise [with *i*];[18] the thirty-second [consonant *sa*] conjoined with

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in meaning to *prathamasvarabhūṣitam* or the like; cf. 7b and so on.

[12] I.e. the *anusvāra (ṃ)*.

[13] It seems *svaraikādaśa* means *ekādaśamasvara*.

[14] Because of the possibility of vowel sandhi, one could here understand the name to be either Aghorā or Ghorā. The latter is more probable, and a common epithet of "non-dual" goddesses; it seems however elsewhere unattested as a synonym of Karālī.

[15] I.e. KĀ, Caṇḍākṣī. The meaning of *ūrdhvanāda* in 8b is uncertain. It seems probably to signify the syllable *ā*. Although in 8ab *dvitīyena* by itself could alone stand for *dvitīyena svareṇa*, i.e. *ā*, cf. 9cd below, where *ūrdhvanādena* must refer to the syllable *ā* in order for the syllable SVĀ to be 'extracted'. Note also the occurrence of the term in X.202a and X.214b, where its syllabic content is not explicit. The pair *ūrdhvanāda* and *adhonāda* occurs in chapter 19 of the *Sārdhatriśatikālottara*, drawn it seems from the *Mūlasūtra* of the *Niśvāsatantra*. This describes a series of eight divisions of Śiva, which appear to be sonic and have syllabic content. It is not clear however what *ūrdhvanāda* (19.7a) and *adhonāda* (19.9a) signify there.

[16] I.e. PĀ, Mahocchuṣmā, fourth among the Devīs. In 8c, *yoni* signifies "consonant," the opposite of *bīja*, "vowel," a usage common enough in Śaiva texts. Cf. *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 3.10-12ab:

> *dvidhā ca navadhā caiva pañcāśaddhā ca mālinī |*
> *bījayonyātmakād bhedād dvidhā bījaṃ svarā matāḥ || 10 ||*
> *kādibhiś ca smṛtā yonir navadhā vargabhedataḥ |*
> *pṛthag varṇavibhedena śatārdhakiraṇojjvalā || 11 ||*
> *bījam atra śivaḥ śaktir yonir ity abhidhīyate |*
>
> "The [alphabet goddess] Mālinī is twofold, ninefold, and fifty-fold. She is twofold because of the division *bīja* and *yoni*. The vowels are considered *'bīja'*, and *'yoni'* is defined by the consonants. She is ninefold because of the division of letter-groups (*varga*). Through separate division of the letters, she shines with the radiance of the fifty. Among these, *bīja* are called *'śiva'* and *yoni 'śakti'*."

If *ekaviṅsat parā* in 8c is correct, as A probably reads, there is some uncertainty concerning the interpretation of *parā*. No basis is apparent by which *pa* should be singled out as the "supreme" (*parā*) consonant, and the epithet hence probably has no such connotation. In the same pāda, it seems that *ekaviṃśat*, a non-standard cardinal number perhaps formed by analogy to *triṃśat*, etc., is equivalent to the ordinal *ekaviṃśa*, "twenty-first." The form of the ordinal which normally occurs in this text is however *ekaviṃśatima*. Cf. XXVIII.5cd, *ekavi[ṃś]atimaṃ caiva dvitīyasvarasaṃyutam*. (On the formation of ordinals, see the annotation on the colophon of *BraYā* LV, as well as n. 19 below.) Given these difficulties, one might consider the conjecture *ekaviṃśatimā yonir*.

[17] I.e. LI, Karālā, first of the Dūtīs.

[18] I.e. NI, Danturā, second of the Dūtīs.

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the twenty-ninth [consonant *va*], with the "upper sound" [*ā*];[19]

10 the *'haṃsa'* [HA] with the second [vowel *ā*];[20] it possesses the *praṇava* at its beginning.[21] I have spoken the secret arrangement of the divisions of mantra.[22]

11–12ab Now, I shall next teach the characteristics of the [Six] Yogeśīs.[23] After carefully making the *vidyā*-mantra conjunct, having OṂ at the beginning and NAMAḤ [at its end], the first [yoginī] is taught to you, the glorious Kroṣṭukī.[24]

12cd–13 When conjoined at the end with SVĀHĀ, the second yoginī is taught. With

---

[19] I.e. SVĀ, Bhīmavaktrā, third among the Dūtīs. As mentioned above ad 2.8, the expression *ūrdhvanāda* for *ā* seems difficult to explain. What A transmits as *dvātriṃśakonatṛṃśena* (9c) could perhaps be a corruption of *dvātriṃśaikonatriṃśena*, i.e. *dvātriṃśa ekonatriṃśena*. However, the text is more likely to have read either *dvātriṃśaikūnatriṃśena* or *dvātriṃśa kūnatriṃśena*: in the *BraYā*, *ekona* ("minus one") appears entirely replaced by Middle-Indic *ekūna* and *kūna*. The latter is less common, but has seven occurrences in XVII. There is also another possibility—that A's reading *dvātriṃśa konatriṃśena* is original, with *kona* for *ekona*. But there is no evidence for *kona* occurring elsewhere. It is difficult to decide between reading *dvātriṃśaikūntriṃśena* and *dvātriṃśa kūnatriṃśena*. In favor of the latter, the former involves emending two syllables; in favor of the former, *kūna°* seems elsewhere to occur only after consonants, or as pāda-initial. The former has tentatively been adopted. Notice, incidentally, the non-application of vowel sandhi across the pāda boundary of 9cd.

[20] I.e. HĀ, the fourth Dūtī, Mahābalā.

[21] Most probably, this refers to the practice of prefixing of OṂ before the *vidyā*.

[22] There is some ambiguity concerning the interpretation of 10bcd. 10c, *praṇavādisamanvitam*, has been interpreted as an independent sentence, referring, grammatically loosely, to the *vidyā* as a whole. Concerning the compound *mantrabhedavyavasthitam* (10d), *vyavasthita* seems most likely here to mean *vyavasthāna* or *vyavasthiti*, "arrangement," a possibility suggested by Isaacson (personal communication, December 2005). Cf. XXX.56cd–57ab, where *vyavasthita* might also carry this meaning:

> *mūlayāge mahādevi yat tvayā pṛcchito hy ahaṃ* || 56 ||
> *kathayāmi yathānyāyaṃ śaktibhedavyavasthitam*
>
> 56d yat tvayā] *corr.*; yatvayā A
>
> "O goddess, with respect to the core pantheon (*mūlayāga*), I shall teach what you have asked me, as is befitting: the arrangement of the divisions of the *śakti*."

More frequently in this material, however, *vyavasthita* seems to mean "situated" or "arranged." Interpreting along these lines, one could perhaps translate 10cd as follows: "I have taught the secret situated in the divisions of mantra." Cf., e.g., XXI.4ab, *ete navavratā proktā vidyābhede vyavasthitā*—perhaps, "These nine *vrata*s have been taught, which are situated within the divisions of the *vidyā*-mantra."

[23] Although *yogeśīnāṃ* in 2c perhaps possesses a broad sense, referring to all of the female deities of the maṇḍala (see the annotation ad II.2), here it clearly refers to a specific set of six yoginīs. This set of yoginīs has a central position in the maṇḍala of the *BraYā*, insofar as they comprise the *aṅga*-mantras or "mantra-body" of the supreme goddess Aghorī. Here, it is stated merely that Kroṣṭukī or Kroṣṭhukī heads the Six. For the list of names, one must look elsewhere; these Six are listed, along with the Four Devīs, Four Dūtīs, and Mothers, in e.g. *BraYā* IV.133 (quoted partly ad I.133): *kroṣṭhukī vijayā caiva gajakarṇā mahāmukhī | cakravegā mahānāsā ṣa[ḍ] yoginyaḥ prakīrtitāḥ* ("The Six Yoginīs are Kroṣṭhukī, Vijayā, Gajakarṇā, Mahāmukhī, Cakravegā, and Mahānāsā").

[24] It seems *ca* is redundant, or else sentence connective, despite its position near the end of the sentence.

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HŪṂ [at the end], the third [yoginī]; in the case of VAUṢAṬ, the fourth.[25] With VAṢAṬ [at the end], the fifth;[26] in the case of PHAṬ, there would be the sixth.[27]

14 The Six Yoginīs who emerge from the body of Aghorī have been taught.[28] Now I shall teach the Mother goddesses [taught] in the *tantra* arising from Ucchuṣma-[bhairava].[29]

15 The God [Kapālīśa] exists in the *praṇava*,[30] while Maheśvarī is in the *bindu* [AṂ].[31]

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[25] In 13b, A reads *caturthakā*. Normally, the feminine ordinal should be *caturthikā*, as reads B after correction. Since A transmits this "correct" feminine in three instances, and *caturthakā* only here, this has been emended.

[26] Note the presence of a correct metrical variant (*vipulā*) in 13c.

[27] That is, the Six Yoginīs have the following mantras: OṂ [*vidyā*] NAMAḤ, Kroṣṭukī; OṂ...SVĀHĀ, Vijayā; OṂ...HŪṂ, Gajakarṇā; OṂ...VAUṢAṬ, Mahāmukhī; OṂ...VAṢAṬ, Cakravegā; and OṂ...PHAṬ, Mahānāsā, respectively. See TABLE 5.1 in part I. What is not made clear here is what form of the *vidyā* the mantras of the yoginīs frame. Although it could perhaps be the full, nine-syllable form, it might however be merely the "name" or *sādhya* portion, "CAṆḌE KĀPĀLINI". Further study of the *mantroddhāra* materials of X–XII should elucidate this and other questions.

[28] The reference to the Six Yoginīs arising from the body/limbs (*aṅga*) of the Goddess refers to their status as *aṅga mantra*s, six in number. Their full treatment is found in X. Presumably, the long *ā* the MSS transmit in 14b, viz. *aghoryāṅga°*, is in error for *aghoryaṅga°*. Cf. *aghoryārcanam* in 1b, and see the annotation thereon. In the same pāda, A transmits *viniśṛtāḥ* for classical Sanskrit *viniḥsṛtāḥ*. Elsewhere we find the same spelling (LXXI.3b; cf. *saṃviniśṛtam* in LIV.52b), as well as *vinisṛta* (XLII.11d). Although the prefix *niḥ-* frequently appears as *ni-* in A, one finds however numerous instances of the "correct" *niḥ-* and *niṣ-*. Note for example *niḥsaṃjño* in I.122c; but also *nisvabhāvo* in I.123a. (A difference between the two cases, incidentally, is that dropping the *visarga* in the latter case would make the first syllable *laghu*.) Although uncertainty remains, 14b has tentatively been corrected. If the reading *°vinisṛtāḥ* is accepted, one will have to consider *ṛ* equivalent to *ri* for metrical purposes, though this is common enough.

[29] Here the feminine accusative plural *mātarāḥ*, for classical Sanskrit *mātṝḥ*, is formed from a thematized stem *mātarā*. See the annotation ad I.83. Note also the "correct" forms in 17c and 18b. The mantra-syllables which follow in the subsequent verses are the *mūla bīja*s, "root syllables" of the Mother goddesses, whose full mantras are provided in the latter portion of paṭala 10. On Ucchuṣmabhairava and the *Ucchuṣmatantra*, see the discussion in chapter 5, section 6.

[30] Although *praṇava* most frequently signifies OṂ, there is uncertainty in this case. The seed mantra of the supreme deity Kapālīśa is, in the *BraYā*, HŪṂ, the *smaraṇa*-mantra, on which see chapter 5, section 3, in part I of this thesis. Commenting ad *Svacchandatantra* 4.203, Kṣemarāja glosses *praṇava* as *niṣkalanātha*, which as Isaacson points out to me refers to HŪṂ, the *niṣkala* form of Bhairava in this system (personal communication, January 2006). It is hence possible that *praṇava* signifies HŪṂ in 15a as well. That the term can indeed have multiple applications is evident also in the teaching of *pañca praṇavāḥ* or five *praṇava*s in *Svacchandatantra* 6, discussed by Kṣemarāja beginning ad *Svacchandatantra* 6.3. It seems that these five involve permutations of the five constituents of OṂ, along with the *haṃsa* (HA). In the *BraYā*, there is a single reference to a *bhairavākhya praṇava*, in 12.60cd: *śikhāyā[ṃ] praṇavaṃ nyasya bhairavākhyaṃ na saṃśayaḥ*. This probably stands for HŪṂ, for the context is the installation onto the body of the primary maṇḍala deities of the *navākṣarā vidyā*, beginning with Bhairava.

A transmits *deva* in 15a for the nominative, which with correct sandhi should here be *devo*. This seems likely to be a corruption, for one expects such instances to be confined to cases of metrical exigency.

[31] On AṂ as the *bīja* of Maheśvarī, cf. X.183:

> *ādivarge sthitañ caiva bījaṃ pañcadaśaṃ tu yat |*
> *nutyantaṃ praṇavādyañ ca māheśvaryāḥ prakīrtitam || 183 ||*

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Brahmī is in the letter E,[32] and Vaiṣṇavī in the letter Ā.[33]

16 Kaumārī is present in the letter A, and Vivasvatī in the letter Ī.[34] In the letter I is Vāsavī,[35] while Caṇḍikā is in the syllable svĀ.[36]

"That *bīja* which is in the fifteenth position in the first letter-group, [the vowels,] when having NAMAḤ in the end and OṂ in the beginning, is known as [the mantra] of Māheśvarī."

Note that the spellings Maheśvarī and Māheśvarī occur in A with comparable frequency, the latter being slightly more common.

[32] The spellings "Brahmī" and "Brāhmī" are attested in the *BraYā* in near-equal measure in A; "Brahmī" for instance occurs twice in IV.

[33] Note the non-application of sandhi across the pāda boundary of 15cd, and also in 16ab below.

[34] It might seem as though Vivasvatī is the female counterpart of Vivasvat or Sūrya, the sun god. It would be highly unusual, however, for a *śakti* of the solar deity to be included among the Mother goddesses. "Vivasvatī" is instead synonymous with "Yāmī" or "Yāmyā," the female counterpart of Yama. The latter, as the mythical child of Vivasvat, bears the patronym Vaivasvata, and in the *BraYā*, "Vivasvastī" seems interchangeable with "Vaivasvatī," i.e. Yāmyā. The spelling "Vaivasvatī" occurs frequently in A, e.g. in X.199c, XXII.36b, and XXXIII.182c. That "Vivasvatī" is not a corruption finds confirmation in meter: here in 16b, "Vaivasvatī" would be unmetrical. Note that in the context of initiation, should the flower be cast upon the maṇḍala-area of Vaivasvatī, the initiatory name engendered is Yamabhairava (34.182cd: *vaivasvatyā prapāte tu yamabhairavasaṃjñakaḥ*).

This set of Eight Mothers is common in Śaiva sources; cf., e.g., *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 3.14, listing the Eight Mothers as Māheśī, Brāhmaṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Yāmyā, Cāmuṇḍā, and Yogeśī (*māheśī brāhmaṇī caiva kaumārī vaiṣṇavī tathā | aindrī yāmyā ca cāmuṇḍā yogīśī ceti tā matāḥ*). But it is common, in place of Vivasvatī, to find instead the Mother goddess Vārāhī. Cf. *Netratantra* 19.56: *brahmī māheśvarī caiva kaumārī vaiṣṇavī tathā | vārāhī ca tathendrāṇī cāmuṇḍā saptamātaraḥ* ("Brahmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, and Cāmuṇḍā are the Seven Mother goddesses"). Curiously, one also finds in the latter half of the *BraYā* several lists which include Vārāhī at the expense of Vaivasvatī, with no further references to the latter except in the *kalpa* of Mahākāla (LIV). Note especially the list of eight Mothers in LXXXVIII.91cd–92ab: *māheśvarī ca brahmāṇī viṣṇujā ca kumārikā || aindrī vārāhi cāmuṇḍī aghoreśī ca kīrtitā* (Here, *vārāhi* reflects *metri causa* shortening of the final *ī*). However, Vaivasvatī finds place in the most doctrinally and ritually important sections of the text: in the *navākṣarā vidyā*, in rites of *yojanā*, and the initiation maṇḍala, etc. Cf., e.g., XXXII.118a, XXXIII.182cd, and XXXVI.29a & 33b.

[35] Vāsavī is synonymous with Indrāṇī, Aindrī, Māhendrī, etc.; the latter two names occur numerous times in the *BraYā*.

[36] The seventh Mother possesses no fewer than four names in the *BraYā*: Caṇḍikā (e.g. here, and LXVII.55d), Carcā or Carcikā (e.g. XXXV.183c), Cāmuṇḍā (e.g. LXXXVIII.91cd–92ab, "Cāmuṇḍī"), and Bhairavī (e.g. XLV.30cd–31). The latter name could create confusion, for Aghorī can also be called "Bhairavī." In practice, this results however in little confusion, for the Seven Mothers rarely find mention separately in this text, and usually appear in sequence. As the eighth of the Mothers, Aghorī is also referred to as Parā or Paramā (in e.g. X.210–14, XXXVI.33a), and Yogeśī, Yogeśvarī, or Yogeśvareśvarī (cf. XLV.32b, and below). Cf. LVII.1:

yā sā śaktiḥ purākhyātā vidyāvasthā maheśvari |
aghorīti parā devi śivā yogeśvareśvarī || 1 ||

1a śaktiḥ] *corr.*; śakti A purākhyātā] *em.*; parākhyātā A 1b maheśvari] *em.*; maheśvarī A

"O Maheśvarī, that Śakti described earlier as having the condition of the *[navākṣarā] vidyā* is called Aghorī, Parā, Śivā, and Yogeśvareśvarī, O goddess."

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17 With the syllable HĀ is present the Supreme Śakti,[37] from whom these emerge.[38] I have taught you the Mothers in the *yāga* honored by Ucchuṣma [Bhairava].[39]

18 And she, the very one I had taught,[40] completes the Mother goddesses. (¿) All this is taught of her (?),[41] having learnt which one does not lament.[42]

Thus ends chapter two, the "Extraction of Mantras,"
of the *Great Bhairava Root Tantra*, the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand*,
the *Picumata*, the *Method of Nine Syllables*.

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[37] I.e. Aghorī herself. That HĀ is the *bīja* of the supreme goddess finds support in XI.79cd-80ab:

haṃsākhyaḥ paramo devaḥ ṣaṣṭhasvaraviyojitaḥ || 79 ||
dvitīyasvarasaṃyuktaḥ parā śaktiḥ prakīrtitaḥ |

79a °khyaḥ] *em.*; °khye A 79b °svara°] °śvara° A 80a °svara°] °śvara° A

"The *haṃsa* [HA], disconnected from the sixth vowel [*ū*], is the Supreme God. The Supreme Śakti is taught to be [the *haṃsa*] conjoined with the second vowel [*ā*]."

The expression *ṣaṣṭhasvaraviyojitaḥ* refers to the fact that conjunction with the sixth vowel is the default form of the god, as the *smaraṇa*-mantra, HŪṂ. See chapter 5, section 4 in part I. The Mother goddess-*bīja* sequence here taught is hence AṂ E Ā A Ī I SVĀ HĀ. This rather loosely maps to the vowels of the *vidyā*: in the *vidyā*, there is present no short-*a* nor long-*ī*. Note that the *bīja*-mantra of Caṇḍikā overlaps with that of Bhīmavaktrā (SVĀ), and Aghorī's with Mahābalā's (HĀ).

[38] What A transmits as *etayasya* seems impossible to interpret. Most probably, this is corrupt for *etā yasyā*, i.e. *etāḥ yasyāḥ*, with the ablative.

[39] Cf. LIII.14ab, *ṣaḍ yoginyo mayākhyātā yāge cocchuṣmapūjite*. It could be that in these cases, *yāga* means "pantheon" rather than "rite." But the expression seems very close to that of 14d, *tantre ucchuṣmasambhave*, which comes down to meaning *Ucchuṣma[bhairava]tantre*. Similarly, *yāge ucchuṣmapūjite* probably amounts to "the ritual worship of Ucchuṣmabhairava."

[40] This probably refers to the discussion of the Supreme Śakti in the latter portion of *BraYā* I.

[41] It seems that *tasyedaṃ* in 18c must be non-standard sandhi of *tasyāḥ idaṃ*. It is unclear how one could interpret a masculine *tasya*, for *yā sā [śaktiḥ]* seems the only plausible referent. Nonetheless, uncertainty remains, for the meaning is not entirely clear; perhaps the sense is that one who masters the *vidyā*-mantra of Aghorī suffers no longer.

[42] 18d, *yaṃ jñātvā nāvasīdati*, has a degree of similarity probably not coincidental to the fourth pāda of a verse attributed to Bhartṛhari:

ālasyaṃ hi manuṣyāṇāṃ śarīrastho mahāripuḥ |
nāsty udyamasamo bandhuḥ kṛtvā yaṃ nāvasīdati ||

"Laziness is truly a great enemy of human beings, residing within. There is no friend like endeavor, engaging in which, one suffers not."

This occurs as *Śatakatrayam* 1.61, or verse 216 in D. D. Kosambi's critical edition of the *Epigrams*.

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LV

The Chapter on Secret Signs [I]

(verses 99–156)

The Goddess spoke:

99–100 O god, what are the secret signs (*chommā*)[1] of the [goddess] clans and *sādhaka* like, such that one may specifically recognize a brother or sister; such that one carrying out the observances (*caryā*) recognizes yoginīs;[2] and for the mutual conversation of heroes who follow the same *tantra*?[3] Tell me, O Mahādeva, with explanation.

Bhairava spoke:

101 Listen, O goddess; I shall teach the characteristics of *chommā*s, by which a brother

[1] The spellings *cchommā, cchomā, cchomakā,* and *cchommakā* are all attested in A. I have chosen to normalize these to *chommā* and *chommakā* in the text, and I use the form *chommā* in discussion. However, as *-omm-* forms a "double-heavy" syllable alien to Middle Indic, this should probably be understood as *chömmā*, with a light/short medial vowel. Cf. Prakrit *chaüma*, which R. Pischel argues derives from the Sanskrit *chadman*. *A Grammar of the Prakrit Languages*, translated by Subhadra Jha, §277 (cf. §139). The word *saṃjñā* ("designation") is used as its synonym in *BraYā* LXXIII (14a, 15a), and *saṅketa* as well (LV.154b).

[2] Emending *yoginī* to *yoginīḥ*, 100ab appears to express what in better Sanskrit might be *caryāyuktair yathā jñeyā yoginyaḥ sādhakaiḥ prabho*. Perhaps the simplest way to interpret the syntax is considering *jñāsyanti* passive, *metri causa*, and *yoginīḥ* nominative plural; the latter usage finds attestation in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 22.5a and 22.20c. Alternatively, one could consider this a case of mixed active and passive constructions: *jñāsyanti yoginīḥ*, an active plural verb with its object in the accusative plural, presupposes an active plural subject, *caryāyuktāḥ*. Yet we have rather the subject genitive of the passive construction, *caryāyuktasya*.

[3] In place of the MSS' *°samāśrayaṃ*, I have conjectured an irregular masculine genitive plural *°samāśrayām* (for *°samāśrayāṇām*), agreeing with *vīrāṇām*. Should this prove incorrect, *ekatantrasamāśrayam* would presumably be adverbial, but perhaps have a similar sense—possibly "[communication between heroes,] with recourse to a single *Tantra*."

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or sister is recognized, O Maheśvarī. [4]

102 Having recognized a yoginī, himself propelled by the will of Śiva, the *mantra*-bearing *sādhaka* should then give a verbal message characterized by *mudrā* [names].[5]

103 *"potaṅga"* [conveys] salutations, [and] *"pratipotaṅga"* return salutations, for *yoginī*s. But for heroes, *"nārīṣa"* [conveys] salutations; by the word *pratinārīṣa*, one states return salutations.[6]

104 By showing one finger, "welcome;" by two, "most welcome!" One makes the "peace" (*kṣema*) *mudrā* by enclosing the thumb.

105 She who shows her head (¿) seeks tidings (?).[7] Gazing in that direction, one should give the *mudrā* (¿) that comes from [that] place, which is taught to be, undoubtedly, when one touches the foot with a finger (?).[8]

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[4] *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 22.1cd is almost identical to 101cd, except that *viśeṣataḥ* occurs in the place of *maheśvari*: *yena vijñāyate bhrātā bhaginī vā viśeṣataḥ*. Cf. also *BraYā* LXXIII.2ab, *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.21, *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 20.1, *Abhidhānottaratantra* 42.1, *Hevajratantra* I.vii.1, and *Saṃvarodayatantra* 9.1.

[5] *mantrin* and *sādhaka* are both normally used as substantives, but in this case the former appears adjectival, or else redundant.

[6] The syntax of 103 is unclear; I have tentatively construed *tu* in 103c as being *bhinnakrama*, as though it followed *vīrāṇāṃ*. The sense is perhaps that in encounters with yoginīs, the salutation *potaṅga/pratipotaṅga* is used, while *nārīṣa/pratipotaṅga* is used for encounters between male practitioners. Parallels for this problematic verse, and the next, are provided in chapter 4, n. 92, in part I of this thesis. The term *nārīṣa*, presumably a *mudrā*, appears to occur in the *BraYā* only in this passage, and I am unaware of its attestation elsewhere. It might be possible that this is a corruption of *nārāca*, the "iron arrow" *mudrā* found extensively in Śaiva sources, including the *BraYā* (cf., e.g., XLIV.22a). Here, however, a *mudrā* associated with expelling obstacles (*vighnoccāṭana*) would seem out of context.

[7] The accusative *śiraṃ* reflects thematization of *śiras* as an *a*-stem. Having two nominatives in differing genders and a passive verb, it is difficult to interpret 105b as transmitted in the MSS: *vārttā sa tu mahīyate*. One might however conjecture *samīhate*, and avoid also the shift in pronoun gender, reading *vārtāṃ sā tu samīhate*: "She [who shows her head] seeks tidings." Just conceivably, one could consider the conjecture *vārtāṃ śrotuṃ samīhate*, which would provide for an infinitive + *samīhate*, as in 111b. On tidings as part of the *chommā* exchange, cf. *BraYā* LXXIII.20; there too, "tidings" seems to refer to the goings-on of lands in various directions.

[8] 105cdef is difficult to interpret with certainty. A probably reads *deśāgamānuyā*, perhaps to be emended to *deśāgamā tu yā*. If *deśāgamā* is the name of a particular *mudrā*, it appears otherwise unattested. I have instead conjectured this to mean "[the *mudrā*] coming from [that] place." Other possibilities include *deśāgamānujā* and *deśānugā tu yā*, which could be interpreted along similar lines. I have interpreted 105ef as defining the *mudrā*, emending *kathitās* to *kathitā*, agreeing with *yā mudrā*. I have also followed B in reading *saṃspṛśet* for A's *sa spṛśet*. The string *kathit[ā/as/aṃ] tu na saṃśayaḥ* and similar expressions occur multiple times in the *BraYā* in defining a practice or mantra. Alternatively, one could interpret 105ef as a separate *chommā* made by the *sādhaka*, reading *sa spṛśet*: perhaps, "He should touch the foot with a finger; she is spoken to, undoubtedly." This seems to disturb the pattern of *chommā* and

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106 She who would show [her] forehead would indicate, "where are you going?"[9] Having looked at the sun, one should touch the face; [by this] would be proclaimed, "as [you] like."

107 She who shows [her] topknot [indicates], "where were you born?", O pious woman.[10] Having reflected on Śiva as *liṅga*, one touches the vagina, [and indicates,] "made of Śiva."[11]

108 She who shows [her] face [indicates], "Of what sort is your clan (*gotra*), O *sādhaka*?"[12] Having meditated on the Goddess, one who would touch the left arm with the left hand [indicates], (¿) "The Left-handed Way (*vāmācāra*) [is my practice?]; [my clan] is *śaktis* that arise from Vardhamāna (?)."[13]

109 She who shows her teeth [communicates], "where did you dwell before?" Meditating on Śiva, he touches the belly, my dear, [indicating,] "[all] this has come from the womb of *māyā*; it secondly has shelter in Śiva."[14]

110 She who points to her ear would indicate, "what have you learned (*kiṃ śrutaṃ*)?"

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counter-*chommā*, however.

[9] The *-m-* in 106b functions as a hiatus-breaker. It is also possible that *tu m ādiśet* is a corruption for *tu sādiśet*, given the frequent confusion between *m* and *s*.

[10] As transmitted, *sūtrosi* in 107b is corrupt. I have adopted the emendation *sūto 'si*, proposed by Isaacson, which appears plausible contextually and paleographically. If this is correct, one might also conjecture *śivātmajam* ("born of Śiva") for *śivātmakam*.

[11] It is not entirely clear who the subject of the action of 107cd is, though the *sādhaka* would be expected. The two gerunds of 107cd presumably depend on an unstated *ādiśet*.

[12] It appears probable that *giri* in 108b is an irregular, vocative for *gire*, reflecting conflation of the masculine and neuter *i*-stem declensions. This surely means "*sādhaka*," for which *giri* is attested as a verbal code (*chommā*) in *Svacchandatantra* 15.2c (*sādhakas tu girir jñeyaḥ*).

[13] In the system of the *BraYā*, *vardhamāna* is a name for the ninth of the Nine Yāgas or pantheons, primary configurations of the mantra-deities explicated in chapter XIII and mentioned throughout the next. Presumably *śaktayaḥ* refers hence to the goddesses of this maṇḍala—the *sādhaka*'s divine kinswomen. There is perhaps a chance that Vardhamāna is instead a place name; in this case, *śaktayaḥ* might rather have the sense of "[*pīṭhajā*] yoginīs." *Vardhamānī* is mentioned in a list of *pīṭhas* in *Kubjikāmata* 25.112, while *vardhamāna* is one of the seven *kula* mountains in *Svacchandatantra* 10.218 (=*Tantrasadbhāva* 10.240). Cf. Vardhamān (anglicized as Burdwan) in modern West Bengal.

[14] *idam* has been interpreted as *idaṃ sarvam*; but it could conceivably refer to the person of the *sādhaka*, neuter for masculine. The emendation *māyodara* appears secure. This expression occurs in e.g. *BraYā* XXXVII.23 and LXXX.101, and *Tantrasadbhāva* 1.55. The conjecture *spṛśate m udaraṃ* for *spṛśate sodaraṃ* (=*sā udaraṃ*) seems required, as one expects the *sādhaka* to be the subject. Similarity between *s* and *m* in A make this paleographically plausible, especially given the potential confusion arising from a hiatus-breaker. With this, the structure would parallel 107cd and 108cd: the *sādhaka* meditating on a divine form and then touching a body part.

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Looking at the sky, he should extend the fingers and show his hand, [indicating] "the confluence of the Five Streams" (¿) with ... hand (?).[15]

111 She who shows the tongue wishes to taste [something]. Having meditated on the *mṛtyuñjaya* [mantra],[16] one should show the water-pot [*mudrā*].[17]

112 She who shows [her] throat [indicates], "you are very dear, O great one."[18] (¿) Meditating on the Supreme Form in oneself (?),[19] [he indicates,] "you are extremely dear to me."[20]

113 And she who points to her shoulder would indicate, "Where is your own place?" Having ascertained the place of [his] own kin, (¿) he would look [in that] direction

[15] "Five streams" (*pañcasrotas*) probably refers to the scriptural canon of Tantric Śaivism. (While the notion of a five-fold canon is normative in latter Śaivism, note however that the *BraYā*'s own model posits three primary streams, extended also to ten; see chapter 5, section 4.) One apparently communicates knowledge of the fivefold canon by holding up five fingers. The syntax is not entirely clear though, nor is the first element of the compound *śatapāṇinā* or *chatapāṇinā*. If corrupt, one possibility that comes to mind is *natapāṇinā*, i.e. "with the hand lowered." The cluster *ccha* would be difficult to account for as a corruption of *n na*, however. Other possibilities include *channapāṇinā*, "with the hand hidden," or else *chatrapāṇinā*, "with the hand [held up like] an umbrella."

[16] Note that *smaritvā* in 111c, which in classical Sanskrit would be *smṛtvā*, reflects gerund formation based on the present stem. The *BraYā*'s *mṛtyuñjaya* mantra is explicated in chapter XXIII.

[17] A procedure for binding the *kamaṇḍalu* or water-pot *mudrā* is taught in *Tantrasadbhāva* 8.20-22, which associates it with the mother goddess Brahmāṇī.

[18] The yoginī's *chommā* appears to depend on an association between the throat (*kaṇṭha*) and affection (cf. *utkaṇṭhate*, "longs for"). The form *mahātmana*, dropping the MSS' *visarga*, is vocative singular for *mahātman*. This reflects thematization of *ātman*, with *ātmana* as a new stem. The same vocative occurs also in *BraYā* LXIV.25b (there too transmitted with a *visarga*), and the feminine vocative *mahātmane* occurs profusely. We find as well the nominative singular *ātmanaḥ* (e.g. I.126cd: *vyāpī hy avyaktarūpī ca amanasko mahātmanaḥ*); instrumental singular *ātmanena* (XLVI.45b and LXX.116d); the genitive singular *ātmanasya* (*ātmanasya parasya vā*, C.45d and 89d); and the instrumental plural *ātmanaiḥ* (XXI.120d). Side by side, one finds forms based on the regular stem *ātman*, but with frequent confusion of its strong and weak stems. Especially frequent is *ātmanam* for the accusative singular *ātmānam*. Such stem alternation is by no means restricted to cases of metrical exigency.

[19] 112cd poses several problems. The precise referent of *parāṃ mūrtiṃ*, "the supreme form," is unclear. This could possibly refer to the *vidyāmūrti* (an extremely common expression in the *BraYā*) of Kapālīśa Bhairava. Its *nyāsa* is assigned to the "crest lotus" (*śikhā padma*) of the subtle body in *BraYā* IV. Would the text read *parāmūrtiṃ*, this might refer to the *parā śaktiḥ*, Aghoreśvarī herself (cf. *BraYā* LV.4ab: *yā sā śaktiḥ parākhyātā vidyāvasthā mahe[ś]varī | aghorīti parā dev[ī] śivā yogeśvare[ś]varī*). Presumably, *ātmane* is locative; see the previous note.

[20] Underlying 112b's corrupt *tudyantame* is probably *tv atyanta me*, the meaning of which suits the context well. Confusion between the writing of *tva* and *tu* might have occasioned this corruption, a confusion of which traces are occasionally apparent in A. As the *sādhaka* does not apparently gesticulate in any way, it seems possible that *atyanta me priyā* is a verbal utterance. Although possibly stimulated merely by metrical exigency, the genderless *atyanta* indeed has a vernacular quality; cf. the case of 126d's *nānya me gatiḥ*.

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(?).[21]

114 She who touches her arm [indicates], "You are my brother," O pious woman. By touching of the left hand, [he] would indicate, [you are my] "sister."

115 When she would show the left finger,[22] while putting it in the mouth,[23] she requests the manly hero for the food she likes.[24]

116 (¿) He should meditate on the Ninefold [and] furnish in [her] mouth a relish (*rasa*) of the five elements, connected with all aims, consisting of many varieties (?).[25] Having eaten and become satisfied, she turns around leftward.

117 She who touches her heart [would indicate,] "..... Great Observance."[26] Having meditated upon the thirteen-limbed form of Śiva,[27] one should touch [his] own *liṅga*.

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[21] This *chommā* seems to depend upon *śleṣa* between *aṃsa*, "shoulder," and *aṃśa*, "portion." An initiate, as well as yoginī, belongs to the clan of a particular Mother goddess, and partakes of a portion (*aṃśa*) of that goddess. See chapter 2, section 1, in part I of the present thesis. In this *chommā*, if the emendation of *sā* to *sa* is correct, the yoginī gazes at her shoulder, and the *sādhaka* responds by determining the direction of his clan, based upon the deity maṇḍala, and looking in that direction.

Incidentally, the *śleṣa* between *aṃśa* and *aṃsa* contributes to the impression that in the spoken language of the author(s), there was no distinction between *śa* and *sa*. The weight of manuscript evidence certainly points in this direction, with constant but inconsistent confusion of the two.

[22] Perhaps *vāmāṅguli* is a collective singular; it is also conceivable that the original reading was *vāmāṅgulīn*.

[23] The MSS transmit the masculine present participle *prakṣipyan* (for *prakṣipyaṃs*?) in 115b, although the subject should be *sā [yoginī]*. I have tentatively interpreted this thus. Emending to the absolutive *prakṣipya* would yield better grammar, but would violate the meter (creating the syncopated sequence ˘ – ˘ – ˘). The nasalization might have been added precisely to avoid this.

[24] It seems the "food" requested would be *vāmāmṛta*, "the left-handed nectar," especially male fluids; note the yoginī's cue using the left hand. It seems preferable to break up the compound *bhojanasveṣṭaṃ*, but it is possible that this is loose Sanskrit equivalent to *bhojanaṃ sveṣṭam*.

[25] The text and interpretation of this verse are problematic, and what I have proposed is conjectural. I have understood 116abcd as conveying two actions: the "hero" should provide (*tena yuktaṃ*, "by him is furnished") the yoginī his *"rasa"* (in response to 115cd) and meditate upon the "Ninefold." The latter might refer to the nine-syllable *vidyā*, or perhaps even the nine *śaktis*. Another possibility is that the *rasa* itself is to be envisioned/meditated upon as consisting of the Nine (*śaktis*?).

[26] It is difficult to reconstruct 117b, *hannāmeta mahāvrataṃ* in A and B, the message the yoginī conveys by touching her heart. Conceivably, one might consider the text of *BraYā* LXXX.247d, *cīrṇam etan mahāvrataṃ* ("this Great Observance has been performed"). It is unclear what relationship this would have with the *sādhaka*'s return-*chommā*.

[27] It is not evident what form of Śiva is in question. In the *kalpa* of Mahākāla, *BraYā* LIV, there are mentioned *tr[ay]odaśāṅga mātṛs* and *rudras*. *tryodaśa* appears to be a metrically shortened form of *trayodaśa*, "thirteen." Cf. *trodaśāṅga*° in LIV.168b, probably a corruption for the same. Note also the non-application of vowel-*sandhi* across the pāda break of 117cd. It is evident that in the language of this text, a hiatus-breaker across pāda boundaries is optional.

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118 When [she] gazes at or touches [her] left breast, my dear, the *sādhaka* opens his mouth, [by which] is stated, "I am your son."[28]

119 She who touches her belly [would indicate], "you must be protected," O pious woman. One should do obeisance using the "crane" [mantra],[29] by way of self-protection.[30]

120 She who touches her navel would indicate, "O great hero, [you will have] the highest *melāpa* in the Middle Country, with all seventeen Clans."[31]

121 While she touches her hip, she undoubtedly informs [him] of *melaka* with the clan of the direction she would gaze in.[32]

122 She who touches her private parts [indicates], "O son, you've achieved self-mastery."[33] Having mentally contemplated his own pantheon (*yāga*),[34] [he indicates,] "[Only] by your grace could [this] be accomplished."

123 She who touches her thigh would indicate,[35] "I am weary." Meditating on the Churning Stick, he should employ [it] on her body. She is well-rested through its

[28] The syntax of 118cd is poor: the nominative subject *sādhakaḥ* must apparently be understood as agent of the past passive participle *prabhāṣitam*, or else *yena* or the like should be supplied. I interpret the sense of 118cd as though it were, in better Sanskrit, *prasārya sādhako vaktraṃ putro 'ham iti cādiśet*.

[29] The syllabic content of the *sārasa* ("crane") mantra is unclear, though the mantra finds multiple applications in the *BraYā*. LXXVI.85 mentions this alongside the *kroñca* ("heron") seed-mantra (on which see the annotation on 124 below).

[30] The meaning A and B's *ātmalakṣaṇaṃ* would carry is uncertain. I have hence conjectured *ātmarakṣaṇam*, in the sense of *ātmarakṣā* ("[rite of] self-protection"), normally performed with six *astra* ("weapon") mantras taught at the end of *BraYā* XI. One might also consider *ātmarakṣaṇe*; cf. LXXXV.74d, *liṅgasyātmāna rakṣaṇe* (= *liṅgasyātmanaś ca rakṣaṇe*).

[31] In 120d, *pi* occurs for *api*, reflecting optional, often *metri causa* use of Middle Indic forms. This particular particle is common enough in the *BraYā*; c.f., e.g., XXXII.356d (*dīkṣito bhairaveṇa pi*). The yoginī's *chommā* seems to depend on association between the navel as "middle," and the "middle country" (*madhyadeśa*).

[32] The directional clan associations are presumably based upon a deity maṇḍala, the *kulasaptādaśa-cakra*. Both *diśāṃ* and *diśaṃ* would be acceptable emendations of A's *diśis*; the former has been adopted, since corruption from *ā* to *i* seems more probable.

[33] The syntax and sense of 122ab are not completely clear. In similar verses of this section, the correlative *sā* is usually omitted when the verb is absent; but here we have both the relative and correlative pronouns, with ellision of the verb.

[34] Note that *cintya* = *cintayitvā*. The language of the *BraYā* allows for considerable flexibility in gerund formation, including use of the suffix *ya* in the absence of a prefix (cf. Törszök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," xliv–v).

[35] The emendation of *ūru* to *ūruṃ* is not certain; though loss of *anusvāra* would be trivial enough, the word might here be treated as neuter rather than masculine.

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application, by the thumping of the Lord of the Churner (Manthānīśa).[36]

124 She who touches her knee (¿) would possess *kriyākṣūṇa* (?).[37] Having then uttered the "heron" seed-mantra,[38] one should touch his rosary. After a hundred-thousand repetitions of the mantra, (¿) [it] should be released, [and] he should employ *kriyākṣūṇa* (?).[39]

125 She who touches her upper thigh offers endearments. One should then release a fist, while opening the left hand.[40]

126 She who touches her foot would indicate,[41] (¿) "[you will] fall from [your] position" (?).[42] He, being wise, should not then remain in that place. Having uttered OṂ, [he indicates,] "I must go; I have no other recourse."[43]

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[36] This verse is somewhat obscure. *BraYā* XLV is devoted to the "churning" or "churning stick" (*manthāna*) rite of Manthānabhairava or Manthānīśa, "Lord of the Churner," who is named here in 123d. In XLV, the Śakti is visualized as a ritual vessel (*sthāli*), and Manthānabhairava as the churning stick used therein (*manthānabhairavaṃ devaṃ śuddhasphaṭikanirmalaṃ | sahasrabhujaparyantaṃ cinten manthāna-rūpiṇam*, XLV.49). This appears relevant here, as 123d links the use of a "churning stick" to the deity himself. As it seems clear that the *manthāna* is employed (*ni√yuj*) on the body of the yoginī, I have emended *tasya* to the feminine in 123b. Though elliptical, the allusion to churning appears sexual.

[37] See below.

[38] The *kroñcabīja* is mentioned several times in the *BraYā*, but its syllabic content is not apparent. Given the uniformity of its orthography in A, this Middle-Indicized spelling has been retained in favor of *krauñca*. Note that *tatoccārya* reflects double application of *sandhi*, viz. *tataḥ uccārya* → *tata uccārya* → *tatoccārya*. Cf. Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Femal Spirits," xxxi-ii.

[39] A's *kriyākṣūṇan* and *kriyākṣūṇā* in 124b are 124f are problematic. In 138e, there occurs *akṣūna* as well, a non-classical word unattested in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; Edgerton interprets this as meaning "not faulty." *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*, vol. 2, p. 3, 200–1 (the latter for *kṣūṇa*). Cf. Prakrit *akkhūṇa* (*Pāïasaddamahaṇṇava*, 15). However, *akṣūṇa* is evidentally a noun in *BraYā* LV.138e, and also in 124f—assuming, inspite of A reading *kryākṣūṇā*, that it is the object of *yojayet*. Most probably, *kriyākṣūṇa* should be understood as *kriyā+akṣūṇa*; if an adjective of the yoginī in 124b, this should be emended to *kriyākṣūṇā*, while 124f should read *kriyākṣūṇaṃ*. However, the meaning remains uncertain. The context of 138 suggests the possibility that *akṣūṇa* refers to non-verbal codes performed in silence—the language of signs elaborated after that verse. This would have little connection to attested Middle-Indic meanings of *akṣūṇa*, however. Note that 124cde is suggestive of expiation: perhaps "having uttered the heron-mantra, he should touch his rosary; after a lakh of repetitions, he is freed [from ritual fault?]."

[40] Though not made explicit, perhaps the *sādhaka* first casts his left fist, then opens it, or perhaps casts his right fist while opening the left. It is not clear what this exchange signifies.

[41] In 126b, it seems probable that *tumādiset* (A) should be emended to *tu sādiśet*; cf., e.g., 123b. However, it is possible that this should be interpreted as *tu -m- ādiśet*, with a hiatus-breaking *-m-*. Precisely the same dilemma is posed by LXXIII.27b.

[42] It is difficult to derive an appropriate meaning from the MSS' *pādabhraṃśa* in 126b. It seems *pāda* might be a corruption of *pada*, influenced by *pāda* in 126a. As a negative prognostication, *padabhraṃśa* yields appropriate sense.

[43] The MSS read *nānya me gati* for *nānyā me gatiḥ* (unmetrical). This suggests not mere gender fluidity, but its elision, an impression (perhaps coincidentally) reinforced by the absence of a *visarga* after *gati* in

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127 She who touches her toenails and goes, looking away, tells the *sādhaka* [he will obtain] the state of a Sky-traveller before long.[44] Henceforth, he should always have [self-]control.

128 She who lifts up the sole of her foot and shows it tells the hero,"before long, [you shall have] the power of entering the underworlds."[45]

129 [If she] would release her fist into the air, and shake her own body, then (¿) [she indicates] *melaka* with beings dwelling in the heavens ... (?).[46]

130 And she who gazes upwards, and afterwards proceeds to look in the directions, would tell [him], "after half the night, [there shall be] *melaka* with the Four."[47]

131 She who puts her hands on her hips and laughs repeatedly (¿) would indicate "[you will have] *melaka* with the Group of Six after two and a half watches of the night" (?).[48]

132 When [she] puts her hands on the tip of the nose and moves her head around, she in that way relates "*melaka* with the Nine in a large forest."[49]

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the MSS. Cf. 112d, which also involves a spoken utterance.

[44] *khecaratvācireṇaiva = khecaratvam acireṇaiva*, with elision of the case ending *m*, *metri causa*. The grammatically correct *khecaratācireṇaiva* would be unmetrical. Note also the treatment of the root √ *kath* as if it were of the sixth *gaṇa*, viz. *kathate* for *kathayati*; cf. *kathet* in 131d (by conjecture).

[45] Although the MSS' *pātālasiddhi vīrasya*, with elision of the *visarga*, creates a standard (*pathyā*) *śloka* foot and is therefore plausible, the grammatically correct *pātālasiddhir vīrasya* has an acceptable metrical variant (*vipulā*); cf. 127a below.

[46] 129cd appears corrupt as reads A (*sarvavāśīnāṃ*). One possibility is to emend this to *svargavāsīnāṃ* (=*svargavāsinīnāṃ*, *metri causa*). Isaacson points out the possibility of reading *sarvarāśīnām* (personal communication); this indeed seems plausible given passages in the *BraYā* connecting heavenly bodies with the goddesses/*śaktis*. The contrast in sense with 128, promise of entry into the underworlds, and the yoginī's act of striking at the sky, could support either conjecture. More difficult to restore precisely is 129d; the sense is probably something to the effect of *melakam ādiśet*.

[47] The "four" in question would comprise the Four Devīs of the primary maṇḍala, Raktā et al. Note use of the masculine *caturṇām* for the feminine.

[48] 131d is garbled in the MS. A reads *dya(dva/ddha)yāmedimekathe*, underlying which I conjecture to be *dvyardhayāme 'ti sā kathet*. The basic sense and structure of 131cd would in this case be parallel to 130d (*[sā] kathayec ardharātrataḥ*). *dvyardhayām(e)* seems paleographically plausible, and *dvyardha* occurs for two-and-a-half repeatedly in the *BraYā*. The optative *kathet* is moreover attested (cf. LXXIII.28b). Far less secure is the conjecture for syllables 4–6, *[yām]e 'ti sā* for *yāmedime(/se)*. This would reflect double application of *sandhi*: *yāme iti* → *yāma iti* → *yāmeti*. Cf. *tatoccārya* in 124a above. Closer to A's *dime* might be *dine*; perhaps, "[*melaka* with the six] in the day, in the middle of the third watch"—an unlikely time for *melaka*, perhaps. The goddesses in question are the Six Yoginīs of the maṇḍala, Kroṣṭukī et al.

[49] The "nine" in question would comprise the Four Devīs and Four Dūtīs, plus Aghorī herself.

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133 She who would look down and begin to draw on the ground [indicates], "[you will have] *melaka* with female beings of the underworlds, in a temple of the Mothers."

134 She who gazes at her own tongue, and afterwards trembles, tells of *melaka* with female beings dwelling in the waters.

135 She who shakes her hands from feet to head would indicate *melaka* [with the goddesses] at the reality level she abides in, the Śiva-*tattva*, etc.[50]

136 He, (¿) a master of *mudrās*, should thus devotedly worship Manthānabhairava (?), and then wander about in the way explained by the *Tantra*.[51]

137 [Saying,] "Be there homage to the deities of the directions!," and offering *argha* with the highest devotion to the perfected ones of yore, and to Vināyaka,[52] *melaka* then takes place—which, O great goddess, bestows all things salutary, and makes one equal to the [yoginīs].[53]

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[50] It is difficult to make sense of the MSS' *kṛtvā hastaprakampane*. Two conjectures appear plausible: *hastaprakampanam*, which has been adopted, and *hastaṃ prakampate*. Both would supply an object for *kṛtvā*, and the latter a completive verb, creating a structure similar to those of most passages in this section. Cf., e.g., *hastau kṛtvā* in 131 and 132, and *prakampate* in 134b. One might expect the yoginī to indicate a point along her vertical axis that corresponds to one of the reality levels, prognosticating *melaka* with yoginīs of that *tattva*. Similar is the principle involved in the *chommā* section of *Svacchandatantra* 15, from verse 24, in which the yoginī indicates points along her body corresponding to the reality levels of the universe—bestowing corresponding *siddhis*, according to the commentator Kṣemarāja (ad 29ab).

[51] The text and syntax of 136 have a degree of uncertainty. A has the unmetrical reading *so 'pi mudrāpatipūjyaṃ* for 136a. In order to yield a plausible syntax, I suggest emending *pūjyaṃ* to the gerund, *pūjya*, for *pūjayitvā*. This form is well attested in the *BraYā*; cf. *evaṃ pūjya yathānyāyaṃ vīraśaktiṃ tu vinyaset* (XII, f. 259r). One must also emend to either the nominative *mudrāpatiḥ* (following B) or the accusative *mudrāpatiṃ*. In other words, *mudrāpati* could modify either the subject (*sādhaka*), or object, Manthānabhairava, or else be a substantive, the second object of *pūjya*. The syntax, with *tathā*, might point to the latter: "He should worship the Master of Mudrās, and likewise (*tathā*) Manthānabhairava." This seems unlikely, though, as *mudrāpati* does not seem to be a common epithet of any deity. The expression does occur as an epithet of the practitioner in *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* 1.170.278, and I have adopted this interpretation. An alternative syntax for 136ab would be to interpret it as a nominative sentence: *so 'pi mudrāpatiḥ pūjyaḥ tathā [=yathā?] manthānabhairavaḥ*. Speaking against this possibility is that *bhaktyā* would have to modify *paryaṭanaṃ kuryād*, rather than *pūjya*, which seems unlikely.

[52] 137abc appears to stipulate in abbreviated form worship of one's lineage or *gurupaṅkti*. Worship of the *gurupaṅkti* is mentioned in *BraYā* LXII.51–53, involving honoring Vināyaka, the *pūrvasiddhas*, the directional goddesses (*digdevīs*), "the gurus, beginning with Śiva" (*śivādiguravaḥ*), and one's own guru. Cf. *Tantrāloka* 16.10. Note that 137a has a correct variant metrical pattern (*vipulā*).

[53] It is unclear what the MSS' *tatsāmānyo* in 137e would modify. I have emended this to the accusative *tatsāmānyaṃ*, understanding it as an instrumental bahuvrīhi modifying *melāpakaṃ*, viz. "by which one [becomes] equal to the [clan yoginīs]." Cf. *BraYā* LVIII.3cd: *vrataṅ ca yogisāmānyaṃ caryāmelakadāyakaṃ*

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138 I shall teach what the *akṣūṇa* (?) should be for the *sādhaka* when he remains in silence.[54] Listen, O highly fortunate one, with single-minded attention.[55]

139 With the index finger on the tip of the thumb, this is called the "flower" *mudrā*.[56] He solicits ointment by movement of the thumb to the base digit.[57]

140 When he has hands raised, moving with agitation, this is the "incense" *mudrā*, O beautiful woman.[58] By downward movement of the fingers, one indicates the *argha* offering.[59]

("an observance by which there is equality to the Yogi[nī]s (?), which bestows the [clan] conduct and *melaka*").

[54] The problematic word *akṣūṇa* (or perhaps *kṣūṇa*) occurs above in 124. Here, it appears to be the object of *saṃpravakṣyāmi*, as though it is the subject matter taught in the remainder of this chapter. The section beginning here teaches *chommās* by which the *sādhaka* silently signals his desire for various objectives. These largely pertain to the material culture of the Yoginī cult: elements of worship, and substances of the class referred to as *siddhadravyas*, "magically empowered substances" (cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 9.80). In the following section of *BraYā*, such substances are solicited through *mudrās*, many of which are homonymous with what is sought. We unfortunately learn little here concerning the context for such solicitation. One possibility is that the *sādhaka*, having obtained *melaka* with yoginīs, solicits various empowered cult articles through the application of *chommās*. This idealized conception does not exclude, however, the likelihood that such *mudrās* served for ritual communication between practitioners. It also might be worth mentioning that some of the "substances" sought are themselves *siddhis*: that is, there are eye-ointments (*añjanas*) one might manufacture for ritual use, as well as magical *añjana*, swords, and so forth one supposedly obtains divinely as a fruit of ritual. Such is the intention of expressions such as *añjanasiddhi*, *khaḍgasiddhi*, and so forth; see for example the entry on "*khaḍga*" in *Tāntrikābhidhānakoṣa*, vol. II, 163.

[55] Concerning 138d, see the annotation on 1.15.

[56] In 139a, the instrumental *tarjanyā* seems likely, but not certain. Perhaps the tips of the thumb and index finger meet, as though holding the stalk of a flower. One could also consider *tarjanyaṅguṣṭhakāgre* ("in the case of/when the tip of the thumb is on the index finger?"). Note that the description of *puṣpamudrā* in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* differs: according to this source, one cups the hands in *añjali* and releases them downwards (*añjaler ūrdhvakṣepād dhūpamudrā | tasyā evādhaḥkṣepāt puṣpamudrā |*). According to this source, the "incense" *mudrā* involves the opposite, with the cupped hands released upwards. In this too the *BraYā* differs; note *dhūpamudrā* as described in 140.

[57] The action described by *mūlaparvabhramāṅguṣṭhe* is not clear: does the tip of the thumb slide to the base of the index finger? It is uncertain whether 139cd consists of an inflection of the *puṣpamudrā*, or rather an independent action. Similar is the case of 140cd.

[58] See above on *dhūpamudrā*. As provided in the MSS, the syntax of 140ab seems unsatisfactory: *uttānahasta sollola dhūpamudrāsusobhane*. Minimally, one must emend to the nominative °*hastaḥ sollolo*, presumably modifying the practitioner; this incidentally results in a correct variant metrical foot (*vipulā*). Syntactically, one might prefer the locative absolute *uttānahaste sollole*, with its *vipulā* possibly contributing to the corruption. This reading has been tentatively conjectured. A more paleographically plausible emendation might be *uttānahastam ullolaṃ*.

[59] In 140d, *aṅgulīnārghaṃ* has been emended to *aṅgulīn arghaṃ*, the accusative plural as object of °*pracālena* in 140c. However, it might be worth considering the possibility that *aṅgulīnārghaṃ* is a contraction for *aṅgulīnām arghaṃ*, *metri causa*. In this verse, note also the non-application of *sandhi* across the pāda boundary of 140cd, which appears more as the norm than the exception. On *argha*, see the entry for *arghya* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* vol. 1, p. 140-41; however, in the *BraYā*, the constituent substance would be rather more "non-dual" than this suggests.

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141 Having the fist [like] a pitcher, one should understand "water;"[60] fingers upwards, "incense coals."[61] By one's gaze roving, understand "immersion." (¿) A rolling tongue [indicates] "anointing/unguent" (?).[62]

142 (¿) [There is indication] of kindling sticks the length of a hand (?) by bringing the knees and elbows together.[63] [When] the hand is raised, facing down, one should understand "food offering (*naivedya*)."

143 The fist facing downwards, with the little finger extended,[64] [indicates] "weapon."[65] One indicates entreaty for a sword by making a fist and then gazing at the sky.[66]

144–145ab With the index finger (¿) [as though] bestowing favor on animals (?), the *garbha*-grass *mudrā* is taught.[67] The "doe" [*mudrā*] is for sesame seeds,[68] the "sow"

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[60] *vindyāt* appears from context to be an optative from *vid* in the sense of "to know," although the form technically belongs to *vid* conjugated in the third class ("to find, meet with"). Cf. *BraYā* LXXXVII.9a (*ādityaṃ tu rajaṃ vindyāt*), and 10d as well.

[61] It seems 141ab should teach two separate *chommā*s, but the syntax and sense are elliptical. In 141a, *jalaṃ* should be the object of *vindyād*, which suggests interpreting *kuṃbhamuṣṭi* as nominative, i.e. *kuṃbhamuṣṭir*. The sense of 141b, *dhūpāṅgārorddhagāṃgulī* in A, seems to be, "the fingers pointing upwards indicates 'charcoal for [burning] incense'." The precise text and syntax are less clear, however. There appear to be two feminines—*dhūpāṅgārā* and *ūrdhvagāṅgulī*—in apposition, or else a compound, yet both possibilities seem implausible. Perhaps °*āṅgulī* should be understood as *aṅgulīḥ*, accusative for nominative, with *dhūpāṅgāra* reflecting loss of case-ending or double-*sandhi*, *metri causa*.

[62] 141d appears garbled in the MSS: *jihvāllolopalepane*. The probable lexical elements are *jihvā*, *lola* (or *ālola*, *ullola*?), and *upalepana*. Presumably, the latter is the object sought through an action involving the tongue, if 141d teaches a *chommā* separate from that of 141c. Tentatively, one might conjecture *jihvā lolopalepanam* (i.e. *lolā+upalepanam*)—as adopted—or, retaining the final *-e*, *jihvā lolopalepane* ("a rolling tongue [is used] in the sense of 'annointing/unguent' ").

[63] In 142a, syllables 4–5 in A are uncertain, though undamaged; B's °*endha* is a plausible interpretation. The genitive, with no nominative, seems syntactically unusual in this passage.

[64] The first element of 143a, *anyasāprakṛtā*, is certainly corrupt. It seems probable that it should contain an adjective of *muṣṭir*. The most plausible emendation which comes to mind is *kanyasāprasṛtā*, reflecting confusion between initial *a* and *ka*, and *kṛ* and *sṛ*.

[65] The MSS read *muṣṭi adhovaktrā*, omitting the expected case ending *r* at the pāda boundary of 143ab. It is possible that the reading is original, reflecting non-standard *sandhi*.

[66] Presumably an ablative underlies the MSS' *khagālokā* in 143c, viz. *khagālokāt*. The nominative *khagālokaḥ* could also be possible.

[67] There is uncertainty concerning the interpretation of *tiryakprasāda* in 144a. No plausible interpretation of *prasāda* seems evident if one understands *tiryak* in the sense of "crooked"—"by the index finger, slightly *prasāda*?" It hence seems preferable to understand *tiryak* as "animal," as seems likely in 146d. This is not entirely convincing, however. Alternatively, it is perhaps conceivable that in copying, the vowel sign was omitted from *prasṛta*, hence *prasata*, then emended to *prasāda*. It might also be possible also that the text originally read *prasārya*, although this construes less smoothly with the instrumental.

[68] Understand *tilāṃ* as genitive plural for *tilānāṃ*. These *chommā*s and the following several convey

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for barley; but *prasṛti* is for wheat. By extending all the fingers, for *bilva* fruit and lotuses.[69]

145cd–146 (¿) .....and the palm extended onto a second;[70] by the five fingers facing upwards with level tips (?), [one indicates, "an offering] consisting of fruit."[71] (¿) Fist.....*mudrā*, straight, for an animal offering (?).[72]

147 By uniting the thumbs together, one indicates "fishes."[73] From staring at one's nose, "emission of person" is stated.[74]

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the *sādhaka*'s request for materials offered in the fire sacrifice, *homa*.

[69] *Svacchandatantra* 2.287 (=*Tantrasadbhāva* 2.135ab) mentions a *bandha* called *mṛgī* associated with *homa* of sesame seeds (*mṛgīṃ baddhvā tilair homaḥ padmabilvair adhiṣṭhitam*). According to Kṣemarāja, commenting on this passage, one binds the *mṛgī* by extending the index and little fingers, with the tips of the thumb, middle finger, and ring finger touching (*prasṛtatarjanīkaniṣṭhāṅgulir aṅguṣṭhamadhyamānāmāsaṃdaṃśātmā mṛgībandhaḥ*). The MSS' *prasatī* should probably be emended *prasṛtiḥ*; there is apparently a *mudrā* by this name involving extending the hand with the palm cupped (Apte, *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1118). It is possible that the long *ī* ending is original, reflecting a tendency to change short *-i* stems to long *-ī*. As for the "sow" *mudrā*, no description of this is known to me presently. By *bilva* is meant the *bilva* fruit, for a gesture involving *bilva* signifies "fruit" as the sacrificial offering in the next verse. It would appear that both the fruit and leaves are used in *homa*: *Tantrasadbhāva* 2.125, as well as *Bhairavamaṅgalā* 142cd, mention *bilva* and *bilvapatra* as *homa* offerings.

[70] 145cd is problematic. As transmitted, 145c would appear to mean "having fingers extended (*sṛta*) on the middle of a *bilva*." Perhaps the fingers are to be positioned as though grasping this fruit. This is difficult to relate to 145d, however. One possibility would be to emend to *bilve madhya°*, and connect this passage with 145ab, understanding 145c and 145d to elaborate upon the cases of *bilva* and *padma*, the latter being the "second" option (*dvitīye*). The actions specified are however unclear to me.

[71] No intelligible syntax is evident from A's reading in 146ab: *pañcāṅgulaṃ samāgrā(t/n) tu ūrddhavaktrā phalātmakaṃ*; B and C read *samāgrān*. It might be possible to interpret this by emending to form a compound in the nominative: *pañcāṅgulasamāgrās*—perhaps "having the tips of the five fingers level" and [curled?] "facing upward" (*ūrdhvavaktrā[ḥ]*, 146b).

[72] 146cd presents several problems. Pāda c appears corrupt, with no plausible interpretation or emendation evident to me presently. It might provide the name of a *mudrā*. The lexical elements involved include *muṣṭi*, possibly in the instrumental, and *ardha*—either *ardhāt* or *ardhātma*. Were "fish" not already indicated in 147, one might conjecture *muṣṭyardhān matsamudrā tu*. *māṃsamudrā* might also be conceivable, however improbable. Pāda d has its own difficulties, reading *rijutiryakprahāraṇet* in A. It might construe with pāda c, but could also constitute a separate *chommā*. Suitable to the context is interpretation of *tiryak* in the sense of "animal," and *prahāraṇa* in the sense of "an offering," or perhaps "striking" (=*prahāra*?). The emendation *prahāraṇe* seems more probable than B's *prahāraṇāt*. Also, note that although non-application of external vowel *sandhi* is common, especially across pāda boundaries, in the case of *tu ṛjus*, *sandhi* is avoided probably because *ṛ* is treated as *ri*—and here is written as such in most of the MSS.

[73] A's *saṃghata* in 147a is presumably for *saṃhata*, "joined together." Such is the reading of B. The orthography *saṃghata* is perhaps original; cf., e.g., *saṃghāra* for *saṃhāra* in *BraYā* XI.110cd in A: *jñānaśakti[ḥ] samākhyātā raudrasaṃghārarūpiṇī*.

[74] *lokavisarga* in 147c is obscure; perhaps seminal emission? Given that the referents of several *chommās* in this section suggest a sacrificial context, *lokavisarga* might instead have the sense of "dispatching a person," i.e. human sacrifice."

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148 By appearing to sniff with the nose,[75] [one indicates] "spirituous liquors, dark ones and so forth."[76] While touching the left ear,[77] O goddess, "liquor of jaggery and ghee" is declared.

149 From touching the head, one states, "great spirits made from fruit."[78] Use of the oblation-ladle, as though in ritual observance, [indicates,] "ghee and other dairy liquors."

150 By casting the fist toward the head, there is the "ash" *mudrā*, O fair lady. By touching the back, one would indicate "yoga strap," it is declared.[79]

151 And by touching the buttocks, O goddess, one indicates "seat,"[80] and because of moving the ring finger, middle finger, and thumb, "rosary." O sinless one, just by touching the girdle (*kakṣa*), (¿) "sack" (?) is taught.[81]

152 When the hand [moves] from the head down to the waist,[82] [this indicates] "the Five Insignia;"[83] (¿) a full water pot (?), O goddess,[84] a *ḍamaru*, and also India

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[75] The interpretation of *nāsāghrāyaṇarūpeṇa* seems doubtful. It appears probable that *āghrāyaṇa* means *āghrāṇa*; the form occurs also in L.42a.

[76] It appears necessary in 148b to emend A's °*āsavāt* to the nominative plural. What exactly consitutes "dark" (*kṛṣṇa*) liquor remains unclear; *BraYā* refers to this as a specific fluid. Note XCV.7ab: *nṛmā[ṃ]sadhūpayukt[ā]nā[m] arghānāṃ kṛṣṇanāmikāṃ* (*nāmikām* apparently genitive plural). This suggests it consists of liquid offerings (*argha*) containing incense [made with?] human flesh. Cf. *BraYā* XCII.43, referring to *kṛṣṇavāmāmṛtādi*.

[77] It seems preferable, although unnecessary, to emend *spṛśaṃ* to the present participle *spṛśan*, viz. *vāmakarṇaṃ spṛśan*. This certainly improves the syntax. This apparently occurred to the editorially-inclined scribe of B, who writes *spṛśaṃn*, perhaps emending after having already copied the *anusvāra* of his exemplar.

[78] It is by no means certain whether one should accept B's *śiraḥ* in 149a, where A reads *śira*. In the *BraYā*, one finds the thematized stem *śira* as well as the regular stem *śiraḥ*, and A frequently drops a *visarga* before *s*.

[79] This sentence has a second, redundant predicate: *proktaṃ* as well as *ādiśet*.

[80] It is likely that the MSS' *sphica* is original, reflecting thematization of *sphic* to form a new base *sphica*. Cf. the instrumental *sphicena* in *BraYā* LXXIII.22b. As above, A's frequent elision of a *visarga* before a sibilant makes this difficult to ascertain.

[81] The referent of what the MSS read as *bokānako* remains elusive. From the context, it would seem to denote a material cult item. Cf. *bokkāṇa*, "a horse's nose-bag (which contains his food)" (Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1172). It could hence conceivably denote some sort of sack.

[82] It seems that *mūrdhna* or *mūdhna*—A usually reads the latter—is preferred as the base for classical Skt. *mūrdhan*. The declension of this word shows great variety in the *BraYā*.

[83] As transmitted by the MSS, the syntax of 152cd seems odd: *mudrāsu pañcakam* apparently means *pañcamudrāḥ*. Perhaps the locative plural has the sense of genitive plural.

[84] As given in the MSS, 152c seems corrupt: *bhṛtakamaṇḍale devi*. This has the metrical fault of light syllables in positions two and three—and in any case seems unintelligible. A good chance exists that

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yellow (*rocanā*).[85]

153 By the left hand shaking, facing downwards, is taught the "bell" *mudrā*. The *vīṇā mudrā* [is when] the hand has the shape of a *vīṇā*.

154 Having in the beginning communicated [with] these and other signs revealed in the scriptures,[86] or else [improvising] as one pleases, afterwards one should observe [a vow of] silence.[87]

155 Unattached to the company of people, observing silence, intent on meditation, devoted by nature to solitude, he achieves *siddhi*, free from illness.

156 After understanding the mutually agreed [code of signs to be used], and likewise [the code of] verbal communication, a wise person should employ the *chommās*, using speech and *mudrā*.[88]

Thus ends chapter fifty-three,[89] the section on *chommā*.

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the words in question are *bhṛta* ("full") and *kamaṇḍalu* ("water pot"); 152ef could hence continue a list beginning with the Five Insignias in 152c. This suggests emending to *bhṛtaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ*, neuter for masculine. Cf. *BraYā* XCIII.34ab: *rathakuñjarasiṅgham vā kalasañ ca kamaṇḍalum*.

[85] The substance *rocanā*, perhaps to be identified with "India yellow," finds frequent mention in the *BraYā*, especially as a medium for the drawing of *yantras*. Apte identifies it as a yellow pigment (ibid., 1349). That this is a biological product is apparent from the *BraYāś* mention of both *gorocanā* and *nararocanā*.

[86] *etānyam api* in 154a appears to represent *etam anyam api*. This might reflect formation of a new pronominal base *eta*, although this would be an isolated occurrence in the *BraYā*.

[87] I am grateful to Isaacson for suggesting this as one possible interpretation of 154 (personal communication, July 2006).

[88] The syntax of 156b has a degree of ambiguity: *vākyālāpaṃ* appears to be a second object of *jñātvā*, as the placement of *tathaiva ca* suggests.

[89] Note that *tripañcāśatima* = *tripañcāśattama*. The formation of ordinal numbers in the language of the *BraYā* follows non-classical lines: those nineteen and higher are regularized such that all end in *ima*. Hence, numerals *viṃśati, śaṣṭhi, saptati, aśīti*, and *navati* become bases for e.g. *viṃśatima* (twentieth), *ekatriṃśatima* (thirty-first), *catuḥṣaṣṭhima* (sixty-fourth; A almost invariably reads *ṣaṣṭhi°* for *ṣaṣṭi°*), *ekūnasaptatima* (sixty-ninth), *aśītima* (eightieth), and *navanavatima* (ninety-ninth). On the other hand, *triṃśat, catvāriṃśat*, and *pañcāśat* become e.g. *ṣaṭtriṃśatima* (sixty-third), *catuścatvāriṃśatima* (forty-fourth), and *pañcapañcāśatima* (fifty-fifth). The formation of *i*-stem bases follows the analogy of *viṃśati*, etc. Some deviation in formation also occurs: for example, in *BraYā* XVII, one finds instead *catvāriṃśa* (fortieth), and *pañcāśama, ekapañcāśamaṃ, ṣaṭpañcāśama* (fiftieth, fifty-first and sixty-fifth), etc. With the exception of *catvāriṃśa*, which might omit the suffix *metri causa*, all these forms share the suffix *ma*; cf. the ordinal suffix *tama* in classical Sanskrit.

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LXXIII

The Chapter on Secret Signs [II]

Bhairava spoke:

1 Now, I shall next teach the manner of making secret signs (*chommā*), and the conduct of the clan observances (*kulācāra*), with their appearances, characteristics, and actions,[1]

[1] This verse presents several ambiguities of syntax and interpretation. Metrical necessity suggests that the accusative °*karmañ* is original, thematized as an *a*-stem. In 1b, A's *yathā vidhiḥ* also seems to be original. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 15.162:

śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi aṃśakānāṃ yathā vidhiḥ |
kathayāmi na sandehas tvatprītyā surasundari || 162 ||

However, the common adverb *yathāvidhi* merits consideration as well; B in fact emends thus. Cf., e.g., *BraYā* IV.1ab: *athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi pratimākarma yathāvidhi* (hypermetrical). In the present verse, an adverb does not seem probable, however; *chomakānāṃ* would have to be an object of *saṃpravakṣyāmi*, or construe with *rūpalakṣaṇakarmañ* in 1c. The former possibility seems unlikely. Note for instance the expected possessive genitives in closely related verses, e.g. *Tantrasadbhāva* 18.4ab (*athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi chommakānāṃ tu lakṣaṇam*) and *BraYā* LV.101ab (*śṛṇu devi pravakṣyāmi chomakānāṃ tu lakṣaṇaṃ*). The possibility that *chomakānāṃ* construes with *rūpalakṣaṇakarmañ* is stronger, in which case the verse could mean, "Now, I shall next teach the forms, characteristics, and actions of *chommās*, according to precept (*yathāvidhi*), and the activities/endeavor of/with respect to clan-based post-initiatory conduct (*kulācāra*)."

Concerning the expression *rūpalakṣaṇakarmañ*, *rūpalakṣaṇa* is fairly common in the *BraYā*. Note for instance LXXXVII.244cd: *ity evaṃ kathit[aṃ] nyāsaṃ rūpalakṣaṇasaṃyutam*, "thus has been taught mantra installation, together with its forms and characteristics." Note also the parallel in VII.1:

ataḥ paraṃ pravakṣyāmi svadhyānaṃ devatāni tu |
rūpalakṣaṇakarmañ ca sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai || 1 ||

The grammar here is opaque. One possibility is that *devatāni* should somehow be understood as genitive, construing perhaps with both *svadhyānaṃ* and *rūpalakṣaṇakarmañ*—"Now, I shall next teach the deities' own visualization, and their forms, qualities, and actions, for the the welfare of *sādhakas*." Another possibility is that *svadhyānaṃ* and perhaps even °*karmañ* be understood, loosely, as adverbs: "I shall teach the deities, by way of their visualization, and [by way of?] [their] forms, characteristics, and ritual." Neither possibility seems satisfactory. *rūpalakṣaṇakarma* occurs once elsewhere as well, in LXXXII.157–58a, the context and grammatical problems similar. In I.1b, if we read *yathā vidhiḥ*, it seems likely that *rūpalakṣaṇakarmañ* agrees with *kulācāraviceṣṭitam* as an adjective; this interpretation has been tentatively adopted. Regarding the meaning of *kulācāraviceṣṭitam*, note the expressions *samayācāraceṣṭā*

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2 the way a hero or a clan-born yoginī, divided into those perfected and those not perfected,[2] is recognized, along with assistants to the *sādhaka* abiding by special rituals and observances;[3] listen while I speak this.

3 *'nā'* is [the syllable for] man; by *'ṇi'*, woman;[4] *'bhū'* for cremation ground,[5] *'bhrū'*

(XCII.38a) and *samayācāraviceṣṭita* (LXXXV.6d, XCVIII.2b), which appear to mean "endeavor/conduct with respect to observance of the Pledges." As for *kulācāra*, this relatively common expression seems to refer to the post-initiatory observances of the *sādhaka*, as well as the conduct of yoginīs; in LVIII.2d, yoginīs are referred to as *svakulācārasaṃśrayāḥ* (*em.*; °*saṃsrayā* A), "adhering to the observances of their clans."

It appears that 1b, *chomakānāṃ yathā vidhiḥ*, intimates to the contents of verses 1–40, on the subject of *chommā*, while 1cd refers to the second half of the chapter, on *yoginīlakṣaṇa*. However, it is possible that *chomakānāṃ vidhiḥ* are here described as *kulācāraviceṣṭitam*.

[2] Although in 2c the MSS transmit the masculine singular *siddhāsiddhavibhāgas*, one might expect this instead to refer to *yoginī* in 2b. Note for instance that a classification of *yoginīs* into *siddhā* ("accomplished" or "perfected") and *asiddhā* ("not perfected") is attested in LXXIII.76a below (*siddhāsiddhavibhāgās tu*). References to *siddhayoginīs* or *siddhayogeśvarīs* are common, such as in the text title *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*. I have hence emended here to the feminine °*vibhāgā*.

2ab, which states recognition or mutual recognition as a purpose of *chommās*, has extensive parallels in similar contexts. Cf. *BraYā* LV.99–100, and my annotation thereon.

[3] The interpretation and perhaps text of 2d are problematic. *uttarasādhaka* means "assistant to the *sādhaka*," as pointed out to me by Isaacson (personal communication, May 2005). This term occurs in the *Uttarasūtra* (4.34d) and *Guhyasūtra* (3.10b) of the *Niśvāsatantra*, and seems common in Tantric Buddhist sources. It also occurs elsewhere in the *BraYā*, for instance thrice in chapter sixty-three. However, the more common term for an assistant in this text is *sakhi*, "companion," most often thematized as *sakhāya*.

Although *samañ cottarasādhakaiḥ* is a plausible text, note the occurrence of *saṃmatottarasādhakam* in 38b below; this suggests the possibility that 2d should instead read *saṃmatottarasādhakaiḥ*, meaning "along with the *sādhaka*-assistants with whom their is accord/agreement." Supporting this conjecture is the difficulty of interpreting *ca* in 2d otherwise. It could conceivably be meaningless, added to avoid the fault of *laghu* syllables in the second and third positions.

[4] The possibility seems strong that retroflection in *ṇi-* in 3a has been triggered by the *-r-* in *strī*, a scribal confusion over word division. Cf. III.151b, where the MSS read *uttareṇātra saṃśayaḥ* for what should be *uttare nātra saṃśayaḥ*.

It seems that in the present chapter, a number of single-syllable *chommās* are based upon vague phonetic similarity to actual words, even though many of the correspondences are not evident. *'nā'*, for example, appears to suggest *nara*, while *ni*, if this is correct, could relate to *nārī* ("woman"), or even *nitambinī*, "beautiful woman." *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 24, in prose reconstructed from Bhavabhaṭṭa's *Vivṛti* commentary, the Tibetan translation, and Sanskrit parallels, also provides *nā* as the verbal *chommā* for "man" (*naraḥ*). Bhavabhaṭṭa comments,

> *nā iti naram iti | nāśabdaḥ puruṣavācī strīliṅgaḥ | nṛśabda iti kecit |*
> "'*nā*' is [for] *nara* ('man'). The word '*nā*' is of feminine gender and conveys 'male'. According to some, the [underlying] word is '*nṛ*'."

Sarnath edition, 128. Cf. *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 15.1ab:

> *ḍā iti puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ ḍī iti strīṇāṃ tataḥ |*
> "'*ḍā*' is said to be "man;" '*ḍī*' is hence for women."

In this case, the verbal *chommās ḍā* and *ḍī* probably imply *ḍāka* and *ḍākinī*.

[5] The *chommā 'bhū'* suggests *bhū/bhūmi*, "ground," probably in the sense of *śmaśānabhūmi*, "cremation ground." However, in *Laghuśaṃvara* 15.5c, *'bhū'* is instead the verbal *chommā* for *melāpaka*, suggesting "ground" in the sense of *melāpasthāna*, the place designated for encounters with goddesses.

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is *lāmā*, and *'ghrū' raudrikā*; *'khi'* would be one born in the clan of Mothers,[6] *'kṛ'* for *ḍākinī*.[7]

4 [She] is considered born in the clan of *śivā*s by three *a*'s.[8] *'dā'* proclaims her a *ḍāmarī*,[9] and *'hi'* a *ḍāvī*,[10] O fair woman.

5 (¿) *'sā'* is nectar, and *'brū'* [the nectar] called 'Left' (?);[11] *'hā'* is for meat. *'yo'* is wife, *'ya'* is sister; *'ma'* is said to be for 'birth'.[12]

6 By the syllable *'li'* is taught food; from the syllable *'va'*, drink, my dear.[13] (¿) *'hi'*

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[6] The nasal in *ghrūñ* seems to be a spurious addition, given the implausibility of the accusative. The *-ñ* could however be a corruption of *-ś*. If words are implied by *'bhrū'*, *'ghrū'*, and *'khi'*, these are not presently apparent. Although *raudrikā* could mean "female *rudra*," this does not seem to be an attested classificatory category. One might wonder whether in fact this refers to the *rudraḍākinī*, which appears often in goddess lists in the *BraYā*. Cf. 26d below. In LV.67, reference is made to *rudranāyikā*, but this seems to mean *māheśvarīkulasambhavā yoginī*.

[7] The *chommā kṛ* suggests the verbal root √ *kṛ* (*kṛṇoti-kṛṇute*), "to injure." This would accord well with the violence associated with *ḍākinī*s in Śaiva sources. Note that *kṛ* could be corrupt for *kri*, for no other verbal *chommā*s in this section involve vowels other than *ā, a, i,* or *ū*. In any case, *ri* and *ṛ* appear largely interchangable in the *BraYā*, presumably because of equivalent pronunciation.

[8] The expression *akāratritaya* appears to mean three repetitions of the vowel *a*. This seems oddly incongruent, however, with the other *chommā*s.

[9] *deti* in 4c is a conjecture for *devi*. A phonetic unit is expected, and in the absence of further clues, this possibility requires the least emendation. If correct, *deti* is more likely to represent *dā iti* than *da iti*, since the latter *chommā*-syllable also occurs in 9c, and could moreover be expressed by *dena*. What the referent of *dā* might be is uncertain.

[10] Note that *ḍāvyā* appears to be feminine singular, although the latter is more commonly and "correctly" *ḍāvī*. Cf. *ḍāvyā* in LV.45a, again nominative, as well as *Netratantra* 2.13d in its Nepalese MSS. Sanderson, "Religion and the State: Śaiva Officiants," 243 (n. 33). See Tösrzök's discussion of the extension of *-ī* stems to *-ā* in the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* ("Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," §II.B.4, pp. xxxviii-ix). The *chommā hi* might suggest the word *hiṃsā*, "violence."

[11] In 5a, it is difficult to construe the *sa* or *sā* in *sāmṛtaṃ*. One possibility is that *sāmṛtaṃ* is a separate *chommā*, and that the pāda means *sā[iti dakṣiṇā]mṛtaṃ [proktaṃ] brūś ca vāmākhyam [amṛtam]*. The position of *ca* supports this possibility, and the same pairing of nectars occurs explicitly in 33 below. This would be rather elliptical. *vāmākhyam amṛtam*, or *vāmāmṛta*, "Left-handed nectar," refers to impure fluid substances used in the rituals of this system, especially alcohol, but perhaps also blood and sexual fluids. The 'pure' liquid offerings of Saiddhāntika worship comprise *dakṣiṇāmṛta*. Referents of *'sā'* and *'brū'* are not evident.

[12] *makārotpattir* reflects double application of *sandhi* for *makāraḥ utpattiḥ*. It seems possible that *utpatti* here stands for "mother." Cf. *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 15.3ab: *mā iti mātā vai smṛtāḥ yo iti bhāryā tu vai* (Baroda codex). The *chommā 'yo'* suggests *yoṣit* ("woman"), while *'ya'* perhaps *yāmī* ("sister"), and *'ma'* *mātṛ* ("mother").

[13] The *chommā li* suggests the *dhātu lih* ("to lick, taste"), while *va* might suggest *vāri*.

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is for *appā* (?);[14] a plate by *'ka'*; *'ga'* expresses eating.[15]

7 By the syllable *'pha'*, one should know that conversing is for sex. By the remaining syllables, in order, are blood, fat, and semen.[16]

8 Through the syllable *'kṣa'*,"wandering" is declared;[17] through the syllable *'ja'*, "excluded." (¿) The heart is taught through the syllable *'pa'*, dwelling together with companions (?).[18]

---

[14] What the MSS transmit as *hisappā* in 6c appears corrupt. It might hold place for a complete verbal *chommā*, as what follows, *bhājanaṃ kena*, itself appears complete. It could conceivably describe the vessel or plate (*bhājana*), however. The phonology of *appā* or *appakā* is evidently Middle-Indic. A parallel appears moreover to exist, with the occurrence of *appakā* as a verbal *chommā* in *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 24, where the text reads *appakā iti rājaspaśe rājapuruṣaḥ*: "'*appakā*' means a royal spy, a royal functionary" (Sarnath edition, p. 127). This meaning ill suits the context of LXXIII.6. Still, this occurrence of *appakā* suggests that *appā* in 6c could be the correct lexeme, perhaps in a different sense. We would have to emend, however, to *hir appā* or *him appā*. The latter is more paleographically probable, and has been tentatively adopted. Alternatively, if we ignore the parallel, one might conjecture *hiḥ śayyā*, with *śayyā* used in the sense of "sitting place," i.e. where one sits to eat. Less probable semantically, but requiring no emendation, would be *hiḥ sappā*, *sappā* being Middle-Indic for *sarpa*, "snake." Note that all of these possibilities involve a second application of the syllable *hi*, which already occurred in 4d.

[15] Words that *ka* and *ga* might imply are not evident. Although *bhojana* could mean "food," it has been understood as "eating," given the presence of *bhakṣa* in 6a. However, *bhakṣa* and *bhojana* could both refer to types of food; cf. *bhakṣya* and *bhojya* in LXXIII.30cd.

[16] The expression *śeṣavarṇaiḥ krameṇa* in 7d might suggest a patterned arrangement of verbal *chommās* not yet readily apparent. The idea could be, however, that the first syllables of *rakta* (blood), *vasā* (marrow or fat), and *śukra* (semen) form their respective (*krameṇa*) verbal *chommās*. This possibility was suggested by Isaacson (personal communication, May 2005).

[17] Here the MSS's unintelligible *kṣakāreṇāḍitaṃ* has been emended to the phonetically similar *kṣakāreṇāṭitam*, with *aṭita* interpreted as an action noun, "wandering."

[18] The interpretation of 8cd is unclear, and the text perhaps suspect. "Heart" appears incongruent with the referents of other verbal *chommās*, which in this chapter include clan identities, substances, ritual paraphernalia, kinship relationships, and actions. Barring serious corruption, 8d appears to elaborate upon the *chommā 'pa'* in 8c. Both *vāsana* and *sukhisaṃgama* are difficult to understand, however. One possibility might be emending to *sakhisaṃgame*, while understanding *vāsana* in the sense of "dwelling"—i.e. "dwelling in the company of friends/assistants." This might suit the context suggested by 8ab: we would then, it seems, have the options of "wandering," being "excluded" [from human company?], and "dwelling in the company of *sakhis*." Note that *sakhi* is the normal term in this text for the assistant/companion to the *sādhaka*; see the annotation ad LV.2. On the meaning of *varjita*, cf. LXIII.4ab: *vanasthā sādhakā ye tu gṛhasthā vātha varjitāḥ*. This appears to mean, "those *sādhakas* dwelling in the forest, whether in homes or 'devoid' (*varjita*) . . .". However, none of this appears to clarify the interpretation of *hṛdaya* in 8c.

Alternatively, *sukhisaṃgama* might relate to the expression *sukhayogisamāgamam* in *Tantrasadbhāva* 18.30:

> *kulābhiṣekasiktānāṃ kulabhaktiparāyaṇām |*
> *melakaṃ ca prayacchanti sukhayogisamāgamam || 30 ||*
>
> "And [yoginīs] bestow *melaka*, a pleasant union with the yoginīs (*sukhayogisamāgama*), upon those who have been anointed through the clan consecration, intent on devotion to the clans."

Cf. also *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.360d. One might on these grounds emend to *sukhasaṃgame* in the sense of

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9 By the syllable *'na'*, there is the food offering; (¿) by the designation *'ta'* (?), the offering of flowers.[19] There is entreaty [of the deity] through the syllable *'da'*; empowering [of the image] by the syllable *'tha'*.[20]

10 *'ṭa'* is said for skull; *'ṭha'* indeed for shield,[21] O fair woman. A weapon by the syllable *'ḍā'*;[22] *'phā'* is paying respects by prostration and so forth.[23]

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priyamelāpa, "pleasing union;" on this subject see chapter 4 of the dissertation. 2d's *vāsana* might in this case refer to perfuming (*vāsana*) oneself "for the purpose of a pleasing union" [with yoginīs]. However, note that one could instead divide this as *vā āsanaṃ*—perhaps meaning, "by *'pa'* is stated 'heart', or a seat (*āsana*) for pleasing union [with the yoginīs?]." These possibilities do not seem at all compelling.

[19] It seems problematic that the *naivedya* or food offering should go "by the designation 'offering of flowers' (*puṣpadānaṃ tu saṃjñayā*)," as A's reading suggests. It seems more likely that a second verbal *chommā* underlies *tu saṃjñayā*, with flower offerings as its referent. Perhaps the simplest emendation would be *tasaṃjñayā*, i.e. *takāreṇa*. Note that *ta* does not otherwise occur as a verbal *chommā* in this chapter, and that the preceding and subsequent verbal *chommā*s belong to the *ta-varga*. This conjecture has hence been tentatively adopted.

[20] Suiting the *pūjā* context of this verse, *yācana* here presumably refers to *āvāhana*, invoking the presence of the deity. *pratiṣṭhana*, i.e. *pratiṣṭhā*, refers to the consecration or empowerment of the divinely inhabited image. The verbal *chommā 'tha'* suggests perhaps √ *sthā*.

[21] *ṭa* departs from the pattern by occurring in the accusative, most probably to simplify its sandhi with the following vowel. In 10b, A reads *ṭhampharo*. One could divide this as *ṭhaṃ pharo*, but given the frequent confusion between *sa* and *ma*, one should probably read *ṭha spharo*, i.e. *ṭhaḥ spharo*, a possibility suggested by Isaacson (personal communication, May 2005). This provides a suitable lexeme, "shield." In the former case, *phara* could perhaps be equivalent to *phala* in the sense of blade or arrow point. See Turner's *Comparative Dictionary*, 508.

Somdev Vasudeva (personal communication, February 2006) has drawn my attention to the possibility that the visual forms of the letters *ṭa* and *ṭha* might have suggested the meanings "skull [bowl]" and "shield," respectively. This appears plausible, and suggests an additional line of inquiry concerning the correspondence of verbal *chommā*s and their referents.

[22] The verbal *chommā* expressed by *ḍākṣara* could be either *ḍa* or *ḍā*; the latter is somewhat more likely, as *ḍa* occurs in 12a.

[23] *pheti* could connote either *pha* or *phā*, the latter perhaps being more probable, given the occurrence of *pha* in 7a. *pātādivandana* might perhaps mean *caraṇapātādinā vandanam*, "paying respects through prostration, etc."

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11 There is decorating oneself with the *mudrās* by *'na'*;[24] kissing is taught by *'ca'*.[25] There is making hostile by *'sa'*, while *'jha'* is for attracting.[26]

12 (¿) . . . (?) by the syllable *'ḍa'*;[27] *'ghā'* would indicate slaying.[28] (¿) the syllable *'kṣa'*, depending upon the time [it is used], stands for the terms "void," "hero," and "sword" (?).[29]

13 (¿) Those [verbal *chommās*] beginning with vowels, arranged in sequence, are stated for the group of sixteen clans. For the lords of heroes and for *bhairavīs*,

---

[24] *mudrālaṅkaraṇa* refers to wearing the "five insignia," *pañca mudrāḥ*, items of *kāpālika* paraphernalia worn by human practitioners and appearing in the iconography of the deities. The description *pañcamudrāvibhūṣita* ("decorated by the five insignia") is common; cf., e.g., Heruka described in *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* 16.3b, or the practitioner in *BraYā* 21.31b. In his commentary on the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* verse, Kumāracandra lists the five *mudrās* as *cakri* (perhaps "chaplet?"), earrings, necklace, *rucaka* (bracelet?), and girdle (*pañamudreti cakrikuṇḍalakaṇṭhīrucakamekhalam*). Cf. *Hevajratanta* I.viii.17 and II.vi.3–4. That *rucaka* is a bracelet is suggested by reference to it being "on the hand" in I.viii.17b (*haste rūcaka mekhalā*); and that *cakri* or *cakrikā* is a head ornament is suggested by II.vi.3ab, which states it is "worn for paying homage [i.e. prostrating] to the guru, *ācārya*, and personal deity" (*gurvācāryeṣṭadevasya namanārthaṃ cakrikā dhṛtā*). Jayabhadra, however, commenting on *Laghusaṃvaratantra* 27.4, lists the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) instead of girdle (*pañcamudrā rucakaśiromālikuṇḍalakaṇṭhikāyajñopavītaḥ pañca*).

The wearing or non-wearing of the *mudrās* is an important variable in the performance of particular observances; note for example the *muktabhairavavrata* taught in *BraYā* XXI.31–33:

> *muktakeśo mahāyogī pañcamudrāvibhūṣitaḥ |*
> *savāso bhramate nityaṃ tathaiveha na saṃśayaḥ || 31 ||*
> *devakarma -d- ṛte rātrau mudrātyāgaṃ tu kārayet |*
> *prabhāte tu punaś caiva mudrāyuktaḥ paribhramet || 32 ||*
> *āhnikāni tathaiveha rātrau kuryātha bhojanam |*
> *muktabhairavanāmaṃ hi vratam etad udāhṛtam || 33 ||*
>
> 31b °vibhūṣitaḥ] *em.*; °vibhūṣitaṃ A 33a āhnikāni] *corr.*; āhṇikāni A
>
> "With hair unfastened, the great yogī is decorated with the five insignia, and he always wanders about here, having clothing on, undoubtedly. But except for [when performing] the rites of the deities, he should remove the insignia at night. At dawn, however, he should again wander about wearing the insignia. He should likewise in this case perform the daily rites (*āhnika*) and eat [only] at night. This observance is called 'The Liberated Bhairava'."

kuryātha in XXI.33b is for *kuryād atha, metri causa*. See the annotation ad 1.5. Note that the orthography *āhṇika* for *āhnika* might be original, occurring as it does with great frequency in A.

[25] *'ca'* suggests *cumbana*, "kissing."

[26] The verbal *chommā* given as *sa* could be a corruption for *śa*, implying the word *śatru*, "enemy."

[27] It is unclear what might underlie the unintelligible *pañcanam* in 12a. Possibilities include *vañcanaṃ*, *vyañjanaṃ*, *bhañjanaṃ*, *yajanaṃ*, and so forth, none of which seems probable. The most suitable conjecture coming to mind is *añjanaṃ*, "anointing" [the sacrificial victim?], which might fit the context suggested by *ghātanam* ("slaying") in 12b, or "[magical] ointment."

[28] *gheti* could imply either *gha* or *ghā*, but the latter better agrees with *ghātanam*; *gha* moreover could have been conveyed by *ghena*.

[29] The interpretation provided is tentative, for this would suggest an unusually large number of significands for a verbal *chommā*. Note also the application of *kṣa* in 8a.

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[these are] with *anusvāra* and *visarga* (?).[30]

[30] The interpretation of this verse, particularly 13cd, is far from certain. In 13ab the idea seems to be that verbal *chommās* consisting of the sixteen vowels have as their significands sixteen *kula*s of yoginīs. Note that with the possible exception of 4a, the remaining verbal *chommā*s of this chapter begin with consonants. There is considerable doubt concerning the *kulaṣoḍaśaka[cakra]*, an arrangement of sixteen yoginī clans correlated to the vowels. The sixteen might perhaps comprise the Seven Mothers, plus the nine clans taught in paṭala LV.11–19: those of *mātṛs*, *dūtī*s, *rudraḍākinī*s, *ḍāvī*s, *śivā*s, *bhaginī*s, *devī*s, and the supreme *kula* of Aghoreśvarī. This never appears to be stated explicitly, however. There would moreover be the conceptual overlap of both a *mātṛkula* and multiple *kula*s of the Mothers. Conceivably, this alphabetical conception of the vowels as *kula*s is parallel to but not intended to correlate precisely with other ways of conceiving the multiplicity of the supreme Śakti. Cf. I.129–133, where the Śakti is taught to be both sixteen-fold, as the vowels, and ninefold. There, some correlation appears posited between these concepts, but this remains opaque to me.

Elsewhere in the text, reference is made to *kulasaptadaśa*, or seventeen clans, and to a *cakra* of seventeen *kula*s (*daśasaptakulañ cakraṃ*, XCVII.6a; and *kulasaptādaśaṃ cakraṃ*, XCVII.17a). The term *kulacakra* occurs also in LIV.198a, XCVII.19c and 20b, and XCIX.18d, by which the same *cakra* appears intended. Depending upon whether one counts the transcendant seventeenth *kula* of the central deity, the referent of all this is probably the same: the *kulacakra* or *khecarīcakra* taught in *BraYā* XIV, from verse 27, where is also taught the *kulavidyā* mantra. This *cakra* has at its center Bhairava, as the *smaraṇa*-mantra HŪṂ, around whom are arranged the sixteen vowels, and then consonants. No specific correlation is stated between sixteen clans and the vowels, however. Chapter IXX also teaches an alphabetical *cakra*, thr *'bhautikacakra'*, in which the sixteen vowels form the inner circuit around the *smaraṇa*-mantra (i.e. Bhairava), and in which correlations are posited with the main maṇḍala deities of the *BraYā*—but not with *yoginīkula*s.

In 13d, it seems *śvāsa* ("breath") could mean either *visarga* (*aḥ*) or the letter *ha*; for the latter, cf. *Rudrayāmala* 22.93a, discussing the syllables of *'haṃsa'*: *haṃ pumān śvāsarūpeṇa* ("*haṃ* [means] *puruṣa*, with the form of a breath"). Conceivably, *haṃsaṃjña°* in 13d could be corrupt for *aṃsaṃjña°*, i.e. *anusvāra*, the possibility of which was suggested by Isaacson (personal communication, May 2005). This compound is most probably adverbial, unless *°pūrvakam* is corrupt for *°pūrvakāḥ*. Although *tu* suggests a subject shift in 13c, one could also the consider the possibility of construing 13ab and 13cd together. Perhaps the simplest interpretation of 13ab would involve the latter option, and the conjecture *aṃsaṃjña°*: "the vowels, etc., of the *cakra* of sixteen *kula*s, together with *anusvāra* and *visarga*, arranged in sequence, are stated for [i.e. stand for] the *vīra*s and *bhairavī*s."

Alternatively, 13abcd could instead describe the mantric content of the *kulaṣoḍaśaka cakra*. Note for example that *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 31 teaches a *cakra* of Bhairava and the sixteen *kalā*s or vowels: in this, Bhairava takes the form of the *haṃsa* (i.e. *haṃ*) surrounded by the vowels, which are preceded by *h-* and followed by *anusvāra*, yielding the following forms: HAṂ HĀṂ HIṂ HĪṂ HUṂ HŪṂ HṚṂ HṜṂ HḶṂ HḹṂ HEṂ HAIṂ HOṂ HAUṂ HAṂ HAḤṂ. Each is preceded by OṂ and followed by NAMAḤ (see Törszök, *Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits*, 60, 182–83, and also her remarks on *'kalā'* in *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa*, vol. II, 70). It seems possible that something along these lines is suggested in 13cd, if the *bhairavī*s could refer to vowel-goddesses, or if each *kula* is headed by a deity pair (*yāmala*). In the latter case, perhaps the *cakra* could consist of *vīreśa-bhairavī* deity pairs in the form AṂ AḤ, ĀṂ ĀḤ, etc. In the former case, reading *haṃsaṃjña°*, perhaps the sequence of vowels implies mantra forms such as HAḤ HĀḤ HIḤ HĪḤ, etc.—"HAṂ, then the designated syllable (*saṃjña*), then *visarga*."

Another somewhat speculative possibility again presupposes the conjecture *aṃsaṃjña°* for *haṃsaṃjña°*. Perhaps the intention is that the vowels, when followed by *anusvāra*, designate male practitioners or *vīreśa*s belonging to the sixteen respective clans; followed by *visarga* (*śvāsa*), these indicate female practitioners (*bhairavī*s). In other words, this could be a syllabic code for identifying initiatory clan membership. This could account for the otherwise unusual notion of a multiplicity of *bhairavī*s. The idea of *kula*s having deities referred to as *vīreśa*s and *bhairavī*s does not seem evident elsewhere in the text, which might support interpreting these terms as referring to practitioners. Of course, *vīreśa*, i.e. *bhairava*, is much less likely than *vīra* to mean "practitioner." Cf. *vīrayogīkulānāṃ* in 16c, where *vīra* refers to male practitioners and *yogī* to yoginīs, and presumably female practitioners. Alternatively, but

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14 Thus have been taught the single-syllable signs, which, (¿) possessing [limited] number (?), have much elaboration through the divisions of one's clan deity, (¿) *akṣa* (?), syllable, and so forth.[31]

The Goddess spoke:

15 O lord, I have learnt the phonetic signs; tell me likewise, O king of the gods, those other auspicious ones using parts of the body.[32]

Bhairava spoke:

16 Hear, O highly fortunate one, the secret signs produced by the body, which bestow the desired results for the clans of heroes and yoginīs.[33]

17 By touching the head, salutations are spoken;[34] the return salutation is through touching the tuft (*śikhā*); by [touching] the forehead, "welcome."[35]

18 "Very welcome!" is understood through touching the corner of the eye.[36] He is

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along similar lines, 13cd might assert that all the verbal *chommā*s should have *anusvāra* added when used by males, and *visarga* when used by females.

[31] This verse is again not entirely clear. In 14d, *saṃkhyayā yutāḥ* has been understood as meaning "limited in number," although this might not be the intention. Noteworthy is the use of *saṃjñā* as a synonym of *chommā*, as again in 16b. 14cd has been interpreted as explaining that the single-syllable signs provided earlier are inflected in various ways to produce a much larger number of possibilities. Most unclear is the meaning of 14c, *svāṃśadevākṣavarṇādi°*. It seems *svāṃśadeva* refers to the notion of yoginīs and practitioners possessing "portions" of the Mother goddess whose *kula* they belong to. Cf. the expression *svāṃśasiddhipradāyikā* in 48d, "[a yoginī] bestowing *siddhi* upon someone of her own [Mother]-*aṃśa*." Interpreting *akṣavarṇa*, however, is difficult; *varṇa* presumably means "phoneme/letter," while *akṣa* suggests to me no interpretation presently.

[32] Against the manuscript evidence, I have emended *saṃjñā* and its adjectives from the feminine singular to the plural, referring back as they do to *ekākṣarā saṃjñāḥ* in 14a. The collective singular might conceivably be possible.

[33] In 16b, *yogī* occurs *metri causa* for *yoginī*. This useage is extremely common in the *BraYā*, especially the case of *yogi* occurring in compound for *yoginī*. Cf., e.g., CI.27d, *yogisaṃmatatāṃ vrajet*; and CI.28cd, *dadate yogisaṅghas tu kaulaṃ samayam uttamam*. For a discussion and more examples of this phenomenon, see Törszök, *Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits*, §II.A.1.e, p. xxxv. It is possible *vīrayogīkulānāṃ* expresses the object of *°pradāyikāḥ*, instead of construing with *saṃjñā[ḥ]* in 16b. Cf. LXXXIV.86ab, *bhavanti sādhakendrāṇāṃ devyaḥ siddhipradāyikāḥ*.

[34] In 17a *śira°* is probably original, a thematization of *śiraḥ*. Cf. LV.149, and the accusative *śiraṃ* in LV.105. As in LV.149, it is not possible to be completely certain, since A frequently drops the *visarga* before sibilants.

[35] An unusual metrical fault is present in 17d, with the fifth syllable of an even pāda being heavy. This seems to be original. It appears that in this material, a conjunct in which a consonant precedes a semi-vowel, e.g. *svā*, does not automatically render the preceding short vowel heavy for metrical purposes. Cf. XXVIII.47b, *śivādyavanivyāpakām*.

[36] B's emendation in 18a appears probable, and has been accepted.

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asked, "From where have you come here?,"[37] while touching the brow.[38]

19–20ab By touching to the right (/south) or left (/north), along with the outside [of the eyebrows], [one indicates] a land of that [direction].[39] [Touching] the tip of the nose [indicates] a land arising to the east. The neck [indicates] a land to the west.[40] [By] touching [in this way], one would display the *mudrā*s which give tidings in return.[41]

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[37] It does not seem to be possible to interpret *pṛcchito*, i.e. *pṛṣṭo*, "asked," unless *tasmād* in 18a is emended to the interrogative *kasmād*. This emendation fits well, for verse 19 appears to consist of replies to this question. In the *Bhairavatantras*, as well as in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, derivates of √*pracch* are frequently based upon a stem formed from the present indicative *pṛcchati*. The participle *pṛcchita* appears to occur nine times in the *BraYā*, as well as in, for example, *Tantrasadbhāva* (e.g. 1.33d) and *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* (e.g. 4.19c).

[38] One could consider emending A's *spṛśaṃ*, taken here as the present participle *spṛśan*, to the ablative *spṛśāt*. In support of the present participle, cf. 20a, where *spṛśan* appears probable.

[39] In 19a, A's °*sabāhyān* is probably an error for the ablative °*sabāhyāt*, in agreement with *sparśād*, or for °*sabāhyan*, i.e. the adverb °*sabāhyaṃ*. Both are plausible paleographically, but the latter seems preferable grammatically and has been adopted. It seems likely that *sparśād* should be construed with the genitive *bhruvāḥ* from 18d. The intention seems to be indication of arrival from a southern or northern country through touching the left or right eyebrows, and the area around them, keeping in mind the dual meanings of *dakṣa* and *uttara* as right/south and left/north, respectively. A more clear and perhaps not implausible text might for 19a be *dakṣottarasya bāhyaṃ tu*—"by [touching] the area outside the left and right [of the eyebrows]," i.e. touching the temples.

[40] It is uncertain how to interpret A's *nāsāgrā* in 19c. The meaning of 19cd seems clear: touching the tip of the nose indicates arrival from an eastern land, while touching the back of the neck (*kṛkāṭikā*) communicates arrival from the west. The improbable feminine *nāsāgrā* could be corrupt for the ablative, as reads B, meaning "by [touching] the tip of the nose." A indeed frequently drops final *-t* in the ablative before conjunct consonants. Note however the apparent nominative *kṛkāṭikā* in 19d, a pāda which appears parallel grammatically to 19c. Although it is not necessary that the construction be parallel, this possibility suggests reading the nominative *nāsāgraṃ*, as has been tentatively adopted.

[41] The text and interpretation of 20ab have several uncertainties. *mudrā*, as reads A, is surely the object of *saṃdarśayet* in 20a, and might be corrupt for the accusative singular, *mudrāṃ*. However, given A's tendency to drop *visarga* before *p*, the accusative plural *mudrāḥ* is perhaps more likely. This depends upon the text and interpretation of 20b, *prativārttāvidhāyinaḥ*. This could perhaps be genitive, the indirect object of *saṃdarśayet*—"while touching [in this way], one should display a *mudrā* to the one who offers tidings in return." This possibility would however offer no suggestion as to the nature of the *mudrā* in question. It seems more likely that 20b should describe the *mudrā*, in which case we could read the latter as *mudrāḥ* and understand °*vidhāyinaḥ* as masculine accusative plural in the sense of the feminine. We could alternatively emend to the "correct" °*vidhāyinīḥ*, or perhaps read the singular, *mudrāṃ prativārttāvidhāyinīm*. In any case, the sense would be "*mudrā*[s] which accomplish[es] response tidings." This seems to refer to the idea of *pratimudrās* or "*mudrās* of response," which are displayed in the process of bringing about rapport with other members or deities of a clan. This concept is alluded to in LXXIII.66b and LXXIII.75a below. In *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29, the *sādhaka* identifies the clan of a yoginī and displays to her the clan-appropriate *mudrā*(s); she in turn displays the *pratimudrā*(s) to the practitioner. Identifying the marks of a yoginī of the family of Kaumārī, for example, one should display to her the *śakti* and *ghaṇṭā mudrās*, upon which the yoginī turns leftwards and displays the *pratimudrā*—perhaps the same *mudrās*?—in return:

īdṛśīṃ pramadāṃ dṛṣṭvā śaktimudrāṃ pradarśayet |
ghaṇṭāmudrā ca dātavyā dvitīyā ca prayatnataḥ || 38 ||

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20cd–21ab "[You] should go" [is conveyed] through touching her lips. When this has been done, making the response-*mudrā* is accomplished by looking in that direction, O woman of fair hips.[42]

21cd–22 "I feel weak" [is conveyed] through touching her arm; "[you] should rest" by touching the thigh.[43] By touching the knee, (¿) "you should sit" (?); by [touching] the buttock itself [is replied] "I shall." (¿) But she who then touches the shank states "I shall not" (?).[44]

23 By a finger in the ear [is conveyed], "[I] have heard you [shall encounter?] a circle of the Mother goddesses." Through touching one's side it is established (¿) he receives manifest encounter (*melāpa*) [with the goddesses] (?).[45]

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parivartanaṃ tu vāmena pratimudrāṃ dadāti hi |

Siddhayogeśvarīmata 29.38–39ab. 39ab probably involves two actions, although Törszök interprets otherwise ("to this, she should reply with turning to the left," p. 178). In 29.24cd of the same text, we see that *pratimudrās* can be multiple: *ajinaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ caiva pratimudrā vidhīyate* ("the 'antelope hide' and 'water pot' [mudrās] are enjoined as *pratimudrā* [for the yoginī of the Brāhmaṇī kula]"). This would help account for a plural *mudrāḥ* in 20b.

[42] The syntax of 20d–21b and its sequence of actions are uncertain. While the eliptical *gantavyaṃ* probably means "please go," it could instead mean "I/we should go." 20d, *kṛte taddiśi vīkṣaṇāt*, apparently specifies the *mudrā* made in reply to touching the lips (20c); it is otherwise unclear what action the response-*mudrā* mentioned in 21ab would entail. Perhaps the area of the lips touched—upper, lower, left corner, or right corner—indicates the direction one is supposed to go (cf. 19–20b), to which one replies by looking that direction. *kṛte* could be absolutive ("when [touching] has been done"), as adopted in the translation, or agree with *taddiśi*, perhaps meaning "in that direction which [the touching of the lip] was done." One might consider the possibility that *bhavati* in 21a is the vocative of *bhavatī* ("you"), in which case *suśroṇi* would also address the yoginī. This would however render the syntax even more unclear, and in any case, *suśroṇi* occurs five times elsewhere in the *BraYā* as a vocative of the Goddess, in the same position in odd-numbered verse quarters.

[43] As with many of the *chommā* exchanges that follow, 21c and 21d describe a *mudrā* and response-*mudrā*, respectively, with the yoginī initiating the exchange. The third-person optative *viśramet* suggests use of the respectful pronoun *bhavatī*, which might support interpreting *bhavati* in 21a as a vocative.

[44] Verse 22 is highly problematic. In 22b, *sphic* ("buttock") is thematized as *sphica*, and 22ab would appear to mean, "by sitting down and touching the knee with the buttock [is communicated] 'I shall do so'," i.e. "I shall rest." Assuming the unlikelihood of touching one's own buttock to the knee, and the improbability of the yoginī and *vīra* suddenly making such contact, an alternative interpretation is required. Isaacson (personal communication, May 2005) suggests the possibility that *upaviṣya* occurs for *upaviśa* or *upaviśet*, *metri causa*. This seems plausible, and allows 22a and 22b to be interpreted as separate clauses, the latter the response-*mudrā* to the former. Interpretation of 22cd is more difficult. I would suggest that *karoti* is a corruption of *karomi*, this clause hence providing an alternative response to the invitation to sit down in 22a. *yāyā* in 22c is probably an instrumental, occurring for *yayā*, *metri causa*. This variety of metrical lengthening is attested elsewhere in the *BraYā*; see the annotation ad 1.37a. For what A reads as *jaṅghānubhāṣitam*, I would suggest the emendation *jaṅghā tu bhāṣitam*, *nu* and *tu* being similar in Nepalese writing of the period. 22cd could hence mean *yayā jaṅghā spṛṣṭā tayā tu na karomīti tadā bhāṣitam*, as translated above.

[45] 23d is undoubtedly corrupt as given in A: *sphuṭāmelāpakāṃśrayam*. Although an adverbial *sphuṭaṃ*

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24–25 (¿) One who would not open the [clenched] fist [indicates], "the sky ..." (?).[46] One who touches her heart with the left hand, with concentration (*bhāvitā*), is taught to be a Sister;[47] she bestows the fruits [of ritual] upon *sādhaka*s. Through touching the [finger-]tips of the left hand, [she indicates she is] a leader in the circle of Mothers.[48]

26 But by touching the tip of the nose,[49] she would indicate [she is a] *'ḍākinī'*.[50] By looking with sidelong glances [are indicated] the characteristics of a *rudraḍākinī*.

27–28 By a hand on her shoulder area, [she] would indicate the fact of being a *-ḍāmarī*.[51] O fair-faced one, by the right hand on the back of the neck, she tells

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is a possibility, here we probably have reference to *sphuṭamelāpaka*, an expression that occurs in *BraYā* XCIX.16b. As discussed in the annotation thereon, this apparantly refers to visible or manifest encounter with the goddesses. A possible text for this verse quarter might hence be *sphuṭamelāpakāśrayam*, the half verse meaning, "through her touching her side, the place (*āśraya*) of manifest *melāpa* is established." Speaking against this is the lack of indication of how a yoginī specifies places for encounter. This might suggest instead reading *sphuṭamelāpakāśrayaḥ*; 23cd could then mean "through her touching her side, it is established that he is a recipient (*āśraya*) of manifest *melāpa*." This concurs in nature with 23ab, and has been adopted, although corruption in the next verse makes certainty elusive.

[46] In 24a, B is probably correct in reading °*āmocayen* for A's °*āmaicayen*, although both read *cevā*° instead of *caivā*°. Compare with the *chommā* described in LV.125cd. The corruption in 24b is less readily undone, A reading *gaga+na+stvāhyasaṃgame* (with *na* inserted in the lower margin). This probably states the result prognosticated by the *chommā* described in 24a. The lexemes *gagana* ("sky") and *saṃgama* ("confluence") are suggestive, the latter sometimes a synonym of *melāpa*, but the syntactical relation and intervening text remain opaque. There could conceivably be reference to *melāpa* with *khecarī*s, sky-wandering yoginīs.

[47] In all likelihood, *bhaginī* has the technical sense of Sister of Tumburu, the Four Sisters comprising the cultic focus of the archaic *vāmatantra*s. *bhaginī* appears to be the first in a series of goddesses identified by clan through *chommā*s in 25–29: *bhaginī*, *mātṛ*, *ḍākinī* (by emendation of *kākinī*), *rudraḍākinī*, *ḍāmarī*, *ḍāvī*, *śivā*, and "mixed." Compare with the series of nine taught in the *chommā* section of chapter LV, which has a different sequence and adds *dūtī*s and the *devī*s, goddesses of the maṇḍala of Kapālīśabhairava.

[48] The expression *mātṛmadhye tu nāyikā* ("a leader/heroine among the Mothers") appears to specify that the woman in question is a Mother goddess (*mātṛ*). Note however that the expression *mātṛnāyikā*, "leader of the Mothers," is used in 74d specifically in reference to the clan of Cāmuṇḍā.

[49] Cf. *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 20.7ab: *garuḍaṃ darśayed yā tu muktāsmīty uktaṃ bhavati*. According to the commentator Bhavabhaṭṭa, *garuḍa* has the sense of "tip of the nose" (*garuḍam iti nāsikāgram*; Sarnath edition, 117). It is unclear what other anotomical sense *garuḍa* could have. I am grateful to Isaacson for providing this reference.

[50] *kākinīti* in 26b in A is almost certainly corrupt for *ḍākinīti*. Although the *kākinī* is attested as a genus of goddess/yoginī, this would be the only mention of such in the *BraYā*. More importantly, the series of yoginī clans mentioned from 24ab to 28 is also listed in LV.43cd–49: *ḍākinī*, *ḍāvī*, *rudraḍākinī* (by emendation; A reads *rudrarākinī*), *ḍāmarī*, and *śivā*. Similar is the list in LV.11–14, although *ḍākinī* is absent, unless, quite possibly, this is the referent of *krūrākhyā*.

[51] Concerning 27b, see the annotation on LV.126b.

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*sādhaka*s and *ācārya*s [that she belongs to] the Clan consisting of *ḍāvī*s.[52] By keeping the gaze on the tip of the nose, exhaling, she [indicates she] is a *śivā*.

29 By bending the entire body and twirling the hands, the characteristics of the mixed [yoginīs] are declared, O goddess, for telling [their] true nature.[53]

30 By a hand on the cheek, meat; by looking at the tongue, fish;[54] but by the fingers touching the teeth, a variety of eatables are desired.

31 Through touching the nose, (¿) by way of *mudrā*, "incense" is stated (?).[55] When the tongue is in the left corner of the mouth, there would be left-handed nectar. Through [the tongue] being at the right corner of the mouth, right-handed nectar should be understood.[56]

32–33 Through touching the palm of the hand, fat; through showing the elbow, marrow. When the right hand is on the belly, one would indicate the state of being a son; but when the left, "daughter" is declared. When one would gaze at the

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[52] Although a final *anusvāra* or nasal has been lost, it seems probable that the MSS's *sādhakācāryā* in 28a should be accusative plural, the indirect object of *kathet*.

[53] On the notion of yoginīs of "mixed" clans, see verse 75 and the annotation thereon.

[54] In 30b, A transmits *matsyakāṃ*, which could represent the feminine accusative singular or masculine accusative plural. Neither seems particularly likely, given that other ritual items are mentioned in the nominative. Most probably the final long *-ā* is spurious, and the emendation *matsyakam* has been adopted; the plural *matsyakāḥ* might also be possible.

[55] The six pādas transmitted by A from 30c contain a serious problem, for two are repeated:

daśanāṅguliyogena bhakṣyaṃ bhojyaṃ tu cehitam ||
nāsāsparśanayogena bhakṣaṃ bhojyan tu cehitaṃ |
nāsāsparśanayogena ga(ndh/tv)ā proktā tu mudrayā |

Most probably the scribe has copied *bhakṣyaṃ bhojyaṃ tu cehitam nāsāsparśanayogena* twice by mistake, or inherited this mistake from his exemplar. If so, then 31ab should read *nāsāsparśanayogena ga(ndh/tv)ā proktā tu mudrayā*. While B and D transmit *gatvā*, A is equally likely to read *gandhā*, "scent;" the latter would yield some sense in connnection with touching the nose (31a), yet the feminine is difficult to account for, and *mudrayā* does not construe smoothly. Should the reading be *gatvā*, sense is even more remote, which might suggest that the two repeated verse quarters conceal the loss of two pādas of text.

[56] The original spellings of what A transmits as °*sṛkvinikā* and °*śṛkvinī*° in 31c and 31e, respectively, are uncertain. B apparently corrects to °*sṛkkiṇikā* and °*sṛkkiṇī*°. For this irregular word both *sṛkv-* and *sṛkk-* are attested spellings, and A's readings might be original. As for the nasal, in several other cases as well, A transmits the dental *n* where the retroflex *ṇ* is expected, and it is unclear whether this is a dialectical feature of the *BraYā*'s language, or corruption. Note for instance that the instrumental *bhairavena* occurs only somewhat less frequently than the correct *bhairaveṇa*.

The distinction between the "left" and "right" nectars (*vāmāmṛta, dakṣiṇāmṛta*) is that of ritual purity. The latter comprise conventional offering liquids, the former being the alcohol and bodily fluids used in the radical rituals of the *bhairavatantra*s.

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head, "father;" but she is told to be a "mother" by showing the left side of the abdomen.

34 "[You are] accepted" is taught when [the hand is] on the navel; on the back, one should understand "rejected." "Wife" by the left hand on the hip, "husband" when the right.[57]

35 He is established as a consort through touching the feet;[58] a friend, should one touch the left arm. (¿) By grasping ... she would indicate the fact of being unchaste (?).[59]

36 "Hidden" is stated by a hand on the loins; "not hidden" by not looking at the sky.[60] "Perfected" (*siddha*) through squinting the left eye; "one whose observance

[57] In 35d, A's reading *pati dakṣiṇe* is surely original, in lieu of the "correct" *patir dakṣiṇe*, elision of the *visarga* being necessitated by meter.

[58] In this context of kinship and relationship, *dūta* ("male messenger") appears to mean "male consort," much as *dūtī* is a common term for the female consort.

[59] 35cd has several uncertainties. A's reading in 35c (*prakuñcakagrahena*) is of unclear interpretation. °*grahena* suggests the act of grasping, but it is uncertain what *prakuñcaka* could mean; Apte's dictionary identifies a *prakuñca* as a unit of measure, about a handful. It might be possible that the *chommā* hence involves the gesture of cupping the hand, but this is not convincing. Note also the dental *-n-* rather than retroflex *-ṇ-* in °*grahena*. For 35d, where A reads *kulaṭābhāvinādiset*, Isaacson suggests the eminently plausible *kulaṭābhāvam ādiśet*, which has been adopted. Although highly conjectural, a possibility which this suggests for 35c is *kucakāgragraheṇaiva* or *svakucāgragraheṇaiva*, "by grasping her nipple [she conveys the state of being wanton]."

[60] The significance of "hidden" (*gupta*) and "not hidden" is unclear. Subsequent verses suggest the context of post-initiatory conduct (*ācāra*) or ritual observances (*vrata*). In this case two possibilities present themselves: *gupta* and *na gupta* refer to whether or not the insignia (*mudrā*) marking one as a Śaiva ascetic are to be worn, or to whether the practices are carried out in seclusion or not. Regarding the former possibility, cf., e.g., *BraYā* XLV.174cd: *pañcamudrāvratī vīro guptamudr[o] 'tha vā bhavet* ("the Hero would be one who carries out the observance [wearing] the Five Insignia, or one whose insignia are hidden"). On carrying out the observances in seclusion, note for example XXI.48cd–49:

> *pracchanne guptadeśe tu devakarma samācaret* || *48* ||
> *āhṇikāni ca catvāri rātrau eva na saṃśayaḥ* |
> *yathā na paśyate kaś cit tūrañ caivākṣasūtrakaṃ* || *49* ||
> "In a concealed, secret place, one should perform worship of the deities. The four daily rites [should be practiced] only at night, undoubtedly, such that no one sees the skull and rosary."

In some observances, one might in contrast have contact with assistants (*sakhi*, *uttarasādhaka*), or wander about by day or night.

In 36b, the negative in °*alokanāt* ("by not looking/gazing") is suspicious; rather, one might expect the *chommā* indicating "not hidden" to involve looking at the sky. It is possible that the text read *digavalokanāt*, having the variety of hypermetricism allowed in this text; see the annotation ad *BraYā* I.20.

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is broken off" by [squinting] the right [eye].[61]

37 (¿) ... *melaka*, when the left hand (?).[62]

38 Thus has been taught the heroes' and yoginīs' [way of] conversing through *mudrā*s, by which accord is [also] reached with assistants to the *sādhaka*s,[63] (¿) ... (?).[64]

39 Having reached mutual agreement, my dear, whether through verbal conversation or by conversing through one's *mudrā*s,[65] one should conceal the teachings of the Left [Way].

The Devī spoke:

40 When yoginīs who have come together with mortals become visible to a *sādhaka*, by the will of Śiva,[66] because of [his] engagement in the observances, yoga, and

[61] These appear to be prognostications, as are many of the *chommā*s described in *BraYā* LV and some of those in this chapter.

[62] Verse 37 is highly problematic. The expression *sādhikārapada* could mean "the state of having entitlement [to the teachings/practices];" cf. *sādhikāratva* in *BraYā* LXLI.18d, and in Jayaratha's remark introducing *Tantrāloka* 29.35. But note also the possibility that the MSS's *sādhikārapade vāme* represents *sādhikāraḥ pade vāme, pade vāme* in the sense of "left foot," with the prognostication being "[you will be?] one possessing entitlement." A normally omits the *visarga* before *p/ph-*. In the context suggested by *sādhikārapada*, in the former sense, *vāma* could mean *vāmaśāsana* or *vāmamārga*, the "[teachings of] the Left [Way]." But perhaps instead is intended the *vāmasrotas* or "Leftward Current" of scriptural revelation—the *vāmatantra*s of the cult of the Sisters of Tumburu—with *dakṣiṇa* in 37c representing the "Rightward Current" of the *bhairavatantra*s. *vāma* and *dakṣiṇa* could also be spatial, "left" and "right," as could the pair *pūrva* and *uttara*, "east" and "north." The latter two could instead indicate sequence, "first" and "afterwards." I can reconstruct no plausible syntax, however; for instance, what noun the adjective *kṣiptaṃ* in 37b modifies is uncertain. It is unclear moreover how many actions are intended, the subject-shifting *tu* in 37c suggesting a minimum of two.

[63] Cf. verse 2; on the *uttarasādhaka*, see the note thereon. On *chommā*s bringing about *saṃmata* ("accord") with yoginīs, cf., e.g., *Tantrasadbhāva* 18.3ab: *chommakair jñātamātrais tu tāsāṃ tu saṃmato bhavet* ("through *chommā*s, as soon as they are learned, one would be accepted (*saṃmata*) by them [yoginīs]").

[64] The meaning of *yadanantaravistarāt* (38d) is not at all certain, and the text might be corrupt. This could conceivably be interpreted as an adverbial compound, perhaps meaning "through/with elaboration of what follows after what." If the text is corrupt, one possibility might be to read *yad anantam avistarāt*, the idea being that while possibilities for *mudrālāpa* are endless (*ananta*), the subject has been taught (*samākhyāta*) only in brief (*avistarāt*). Regarding the adverbial *avistarāt*, cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 20.120d, *taṃ pravakṣyāmy avistarāt* ("I shall teach that without elaboration," i.e. "succinctly").

[65] It seems probable that the expression *bāhyālāpa°* ("external conversation?") in 39b is a corruption of *vākyālāpa°*, "verbal conversation," i.e. verbal *chommā*, this being contrasted with "conversation through *mudrā*" (*mudrālāpayogena*) in 39c. These are indeed the two subjects covered in the section here completed: verses 3–14 describe verbal *chommā*s (*varṇātmikāḥ saṃjñāḥ*, 15a), while 16–37 describe bodily ones (*saṃjñā yā dehasaṃbhavāḥ*, 16b). The compound *vākyālāpa* occurs moreover in the final verse of *BraYā* LV, the context identical. The emended text, *vākyālāpātha*, appears to be a contraction of *vākyālāpād atha*. Omission of the final *-t* of the ablative and optative singular is common in the *BraYā*, influenced by Middle-Indic pronunciation; see my remarks ad *BraYā* I.60.

[66] *śivecchā* in 40b is almost certainly adverbial. Although adverbial nominatives are unusual even

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ritual,[67] how they may be recognized truly? Likewise, tell [me] their forms.

Bhairava spoke:

41 I shall next teach the characteristics of yoginīs, by merely learning which one may subjugate the three-fold universe.

42 [A yoginī] is recognized, even at a distance, especially in the sacred fields and roads. And they exist on the earth, having their own authority by the will of Śiva.[68]

43 They become visible to one engaged in the observances;[69] a hero must therefore know the characteristics of yoginīs.

44 A woman who has three lines on her forehead touching the hair's part, on top;[70]

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in this text, they do occur, particularly with this term: cf. LV.23b, *śivecchā vyaktitāṃ vrajet*—identical in context—and LV.37d, *śivecchā vā viśodhitā*. Note also *anujñā* in I.36b, clearly instrumental/adverbial in sense. On yoginīs more generally carrying out the volition of Śiva, see for example *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.48, as quoted by Kṣemarāja commenting ad *Netratantra* 19.71:

> *tattvarūpās tu yoginyo jñātavyāś ca varānane |*
> *śivecchānuvidhāyinyo manovegā mahābalāḥ || 71 ||*
> "And, O fair woman, the yoginīs should be known as taking the form of the *tattvas*. They carry out the will of Śiva, as swift as thought, and mighty."

In the doctrinal vision of the Vidyāpīṭha, yoginīs, by both manifesting before mortals and functioning as the myriad controlling deities or even hypostases of the *tattvas*, function as extensions of the cosmic *śakti*, the will of Śiva and agent of grace.

[67] Cf. XCIX.2–6ab, where the conditions for yoginīs becoming visible receive further elaboration, and also 43ab below.

[68] The syntax of 42 is problematic. *kṣetramārge ... bhūtale caiva* could construe together, but the two verbs *vijñāyate* and *vartante* preclude taking 42 as a single sentence. One could possibly construe 42a with 41cd, somewhat loosely, as though were written *yena ... trailokyaṃ vaśagaṃ bhaved [yena ca yoginī] vijñāyate sudūre 'pi*. The translation adopted, however, treats 42ab and 42cd as separate sentences. Any clumsiness of grammar here could well arise from the fact that 42ab is a stock phrase; cf. *BraYā* LXXXV.44ab: *vijñāyate sudūre 'pi gṛhe kṣetre vyavasthitaḥ* (whence *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 26.2ab). Cf. also LV.99cd, *prajñāyate yathā bhrātā bhaginī vā viśeṣataḥ*. Note that, given that it is an adverb in 40b, one could here too construe *śivecchā* adverbially rather than in compound, although this little affects the interpretation.

[69] *dṛṣṭir* in 43b is surely a corruption of *dṛṣṭer*, resulting from misreading an archaic *pṛṣṭhamātrā* medial *e*, as pointed out to me by Isaacson (personal communication, February 2005). We find the same passage transmitted with yet another corruption in XCIX.6b: *dṛṣṭenāyānti gocaraṃ*, as reads A. Cf. *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* 13.52b: *yā dṛṣṭer vrajati na gocaraṃ priyā me* (reference provided by Isaacson, ibid.).

[70] In 44b, A's *ūrdhvaśīmantagāśṛtā*, an adjective of *rekhāḥ*, has been emended following an almost identical passage that occurs as *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.28cd, *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 19.7cd, and *Abhidhānottaratantra* 38.7cd: *tisro lekhā lalāṭasthā ūrdhvasīmantam āśritāḥ*. Törzsök ("Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," 178), citing Sanderson, interprets the passage to mean, "She has three lines on her fore-

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who is fair-complexioned, having the scent of the *campaka* flower, and ever fond of celibacy;

45–46 always fond of the sound of the Veda [being recited], unperturbable, speaking the truth; [she has] a staff, water-pot, antelope skin, yoga-cloth, ritual ladles,[71] *darbha* grass, and a sacred thread; and on her house is drawn a lotus.[72] She should be carefully noted as belonging to the clan of Brahmāṇī, O fair woman.

47 (¿) The hero worships her out of desire to become a Sky-traveller (?).[73] O goddess,[74] [a yoginī] born in the clan of Brahmāṇī bestows *siddhi* upon those sharing her own Mother-clan.[75]

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head, reaching up to her hairline," remarking that "the three lines are probably in the form of a trident (*triśūla*)" (p. 178, n.). Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.256cd, *lalāṭe dṛśyate cordhve trayo rekhā triśūlagāḥ* ("and on [her] upper forehead are seen three lines, forming a trident"). In the latter case, and in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.28cd as well, the description concerns the Māheśvarī-clan yoginī, for whom the mark of the *triśūla* is especially appropriate. For the yoginī of the Brahmāṇī clan, the lines are perhaps parallel and vertical instead.

[71] It seems that *srucī* is equivalent to *sruc*, "wooden ritual ladle," a usage attested in the *Niśvāsatantra*, in e.g. *Mūlasūtra* 3.4b. Note the absence of vowel-sandhi across the pāda boundary of 45cd.

[72] Although the grammar is ambiguous, it seems unlikely that all the items listed in 45cd–46ab construe with *likhitaṃ*. The articles listed from *daṇḍa* to *upavīta* are characteristic paraphernalia of a Brahmin and Brahmā, and probably consitute the accoutrements of a Brahmāṇī-clan yoginī. She presumably draws upon her house the insignia of the lotus. This has confirmation in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.25b, describing the Brahmāṇī-clan yoginī: *padmaṃ ca likhyate gṛhe*. But note, however, the long list of insignia drawn by the Vārāhī-clan yoginī in 62cd–63abc.

[73] In 47a, what A reads as *tadarśanan* could be interpreted as *taddarśanaṃ*, perhaps meaning, "a hero attains her *darśana*/vision out of his wish to become a Sky-traveller (*khecara*)." Isaacson, however, suggests the possibility of reading *tadarcanaṃ*, an emendation both paleographically and semantically highly plausible. In support of this, other descriptions of yoginīs in this chapter end by exhorting the *sādhaka* to worship them, and stating the results thereof. Cf. especially LXXIII.52cd, 56ab, 60cd, and 70ab. Furthermore, elision of final *-t/d*, as would be the case with *taddarśanan*, occurs in A most frequently when it would not affect the metrical weight of the preceding syllable.

[74] Although *devī*, as read the MSS in 47c, is not impossible, the vocative *devi*, ubiquitous at the end of odd pādas, seems more probable. *devatā* is the term far more common for yoginīs, who in any case are in this section referred to by words for women—*pramadā*, ("woman") and *kanyā* ("maiden").

[75] The expression *svāṃśasiddhipradāyikā*, "bestowing *siddhi* to those of her own 'portion'," should be understood as meaning *svamātṛkulāṃśānāṃ sādhakānāṃ siddhipradāyikā*, "bestowing *siddhi* upon *sādhaka*s who possess/partake of her own Mother-clan portion." See also the annotation ad LV.113.

Compare the description of the Brāhmaṇī-clan yoginī with that in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.22–26:

mukhaṃ yasyās tu dṛśyeta samantāt parimaṇḍalam |
vaktre śmaśru bhruvau dīrghe locane ca suśobhane || 22 ||
śuklavastrapriyā saumyā akṣobhyā satyavādinī |
brahmaghoṣapriyā nityaṃ brāhmaṇī ca prakīrtitā || 23 ||
padmamudrā pradātavyā ūrdhvamudrātha vā punaḥ |
ajinaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ caiva pratimudrā vidhīyate || 24 ||
daśamī parvaṇī tāsāṃ padmaṃ ca likhyate gṛhe |
brāhmaṇīkulajātānāṃ yogeśīnāṃ varānane || 25 ||

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48 One with dimpled cheeks,[76] whose frontal locks have curly ends,[77] with an elevated nose, fair and pale, with lovely eyes;

49–50 [having] a trident (¿) on her forehead, adorned on the forehead, etc. (?);[78] one who has attained knowledge of past, present, and future, and who draws on her house a spike,[79] a bull, skull, or else another excellent emblem; with teeth of brightness surpassing moonlight,[80] intent on chastity;

51 engaged in the worship of Śiva,[81] and kind towards Śaiva ascetics; she would

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brahmeśānāṃ ca ghorāṇāṃ sidhyate sā na saṃśayaḥ |
māsamātraṃ vidhiṃ yāvat tadā kāmānugā bhavet || 26 ||

Cf. also *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.247cd–55ab.

[76] Cf. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.34ab, *gaṇḍābhyāṃ kūpakau yasyā dṛśyate vaktrasaṃsthitau.*

[77] In 48b, A's reading *kuṇḍalāgrāsrakesinī* seems implausible. Most probably, this should be emended to *°āgrāgrakeśinī*, on the basis of 61b and 71c: *piṅgalāgrāgrakeśinī* and *piṅgalāgrāgrakeśī ca*, respectively. This finds support also in *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* 20.14b, *kuṭilāgrāgrakeśinī*. Considering the similarity of *ś* and *g* in old Newārī, and the constant confusion between *ś* and *s* in A, this is a minimal emendation. Its interpretation is not entirely clear, however: if Apte's dictionary is correct in that *agrakeśa* means "front line of hair" then this perhaps means "whose hair in front (*agrakeśa*) has curly ends (*kuṇḍalāgra*)." Presumably, the idea would be that strands of hair with curly ends fall along her hairline. Other potential meanings for *agrakeśa* should be kept in mind however, involving, perhaps, *agra* in the sense of "top" and "mass." Note that where the MSS read *piṅgalāgrāgrakeśinī* in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 30.1d, Törszök emends to *piṅgalogrordhvakeśinī*, a conjecture she attributes to Isaacson made on the basis of the iconographical description *piṅgalordhvakeśa* common in Buddhist sources (Törszök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spritis," 102). This seems unlikely now in light of the multiple parallels mentioned above.

[78] 49ab appears corrupt as given in A: *triśūlaṃ sulalāṭeṣu lalāṭādiṣu bhūṣiṇī*. Although the precise text is difficult to reconstruct, this suggests the lexemes *triśūla*, *lalāṭa*, *lalāṭādi*, and *bhūṣiṇī*, which might allow us to interpret the verse: "[she has] the trident [insignia drawn] on the forehead, and is ornamented on the forehead, etc." *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.256cd attests to the presence of the *triśūla* on the forehead of the Māheśvarī-clan yoginī: *lalāṭe dṛśyate cordhve trayo rekhā triśūlagāḥ*. In 49ab, the degree of assonance and the repetition of *lalāṭa* are, however, suspicious, and the locative plural *lalāṭeṣu* extremely unlikely. We might diagnostically conjecture for 49a something along the lines of *triśūlaṃ sulalāṭe ca/tu*. The text of 49b is plausible as given, but I consider it equally likely that this could be a corruption from *lalāṭādisubhūṣiṇī*. Note, however, the phonetically and contextually similar text of *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.41b (by emendation): *sulalāṭā subhāṣiṇī* ("having a nice forehead, and speaking well"). This might suggest something along the lines of *triśūlaṃ sulalāṭe tu sulalāṭā subhāṣiṇī*—but with the unlikely repetition of the word *sulalāṭa*.

[79] In 50d, A reads *śūlañ ca likhite gṛhe*, which is implausible. Precisely the same problem is present in 55b, where A reads *śaktiñ ca likhite gṛhe*. One could emend to *likhitaṃ* on analogy of 46b (*padmañ ca likhitaṃ gṛhe*). However, it seems more likely that the indicative verb *likhate* underlies *likhite*. This finds support in the latter's *-e* ending, and more importantly, from the parallel *likhate* in 59b and 69b (the latter by emendation from *likhete*).

[80] It is possible that A's spelling *jotsnā* for *jyotsnā* is original in 50c. One in fact finds both; cf. *jyotsnārūpā* (in I.127a) and *jotsnārūpā* (XIV.258a). Once there even occurs *jyośnā*, perhaps a vernacular pronunciation (LXXIII.100b). Paucity of evidence makes it difficult to distinguish between authorial and scribal orthography, however, and the spelling has in this case been regularized.

[81] Although a Śaiva goddess could in theory be, as the MSS read, *śivārāvaṇasaṃyuktā* ("connected with the howling of jackals"), this would be an unusual expression. More contextually appropriate,

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be one who delights in fasting on the tenth and fourteenth days [of the lunar fortnight].

52 Seeing such a woman, a *sādhaka* belonging to her Mother-clan, engaged in the practices of heroes, should mark her [as] born in the clan of Māheśvarī.[82] After being worshipped for six months,[83] she bestows the fruits of yoga and liberation.[84]

53 One who is lean and pinkish, with tawny yellowish eyes,[85] radiant, with a long

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and a relatively minor emendation given the similarity of *dha* and *va*, might be *śivārādhanasaṃyuktā*, "engaged in/connected with worship of Śiva." One finds similar expressions describing *yogins*; cf., e.g., *dhyānārādhanayuktānāṃ yoginām mantriṇām api* (*Mālinīvijayottara* 20.61cd); and *yogaiśvaryaguṇopetāḥ* [*em.*; °*gaṇo*° MSS] *śivārādhanatatparāḥ* (*Tantrasadbhāva* 10.544cd). Cf. also *śarvadhyānaratās* in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.32d, describing Māheśvarī-clan yoginīs.

[82] It seems that the nominative *kulodbhavā* is original in 52c, though quasi-accusative in sense, and is described by the nominative feminine adjectives in 52ef. Cf. 55cd and 59cd–60ab. That the nominatives are original is especially clear from 59c, where appears the nominative pronoun *sā*.

[83] The apparent masculine ablative singular or accusative plural in 52c, *ṣaṇmāsārādhyamānā(n/t)*, surely results from a spurious case-ending added to the feminine nominative.

[84] The expression *yogamokṣaphalapradā* is perhaps ambiguous; *yogamokṣa* might be a *tatpuruṣa*, "liberation through means of yoga." Cf. *Matsyapurāṇa* 185.11: *yogino yogasiddhāś ca yogamokṣapradaṃ vibhum | upāsate bhaktiyuktā guhyaṃ devaṃ sanātanam* (to which my attention has been drawn by Isaacson, personal communication). However, *yogamokṣa* finds attestation elsewhere as a dvanda, and this might be preferable here. Cf. *Niśvāsatantra, Guhyasūtra* 4.6c, *yogamokṣavibhāgārthaṃ*; and perhaps *yogamokṣavibhūti* in 9.283d of the same text. It is possible *yoga* in this usage has the sense of *samādhi*, "meditative absorption." One might also consider the possibility that *yoga* is corrupt for *bhoga*, reflecting confusion between two common idioms: *bhogamokṣa*[*-phalapradā*, etc.], and *yogabhoga-*, in which *yoga=mokṣa/mukti*. Cf., e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 7.29b, *ṣaṇmāsād yogabhogadam*; and *Śivopaniṣad* 1.35cd, *vidyādānaṃ ca kurvīta bhogamokṣajigīṣayā*.

Compare the foregoing description of the Māheśvarī-clan yoginī with that found in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.27–33:

lamboṣṭhī ca viśālākṣī raktapiṅgalalocanā |
āḍhyā ca subhagā dhanyā gaurī campakagandhinī || 27 ||
dīrghā dīrghakarālā ca vicitravasanapriyā |
tisro lekhā lalāṭasthā ūrdhvasīmantam āśritāḥ || 28 ||
hasate ramate caiva brahmacaryavyavasthitā |
raṇājire mṛtānāṃ tu kathāsu ramate sadā || 29 ||
īdṛśīṃ pramadāṃ dṛṣṭvā śūlamudrāṃ pradarśayet |
ākuñcayed vāmapādaṃ dhanuś caiva pradarśayet || 30 ||
parivartanaṃ tu vāmena pratimudrāṃ dadanti hi |
caturthī pañcamī caiva navamy ekādaśī tathā || 31 ||
caturdaśī amāvāsyā -m- ubhapakṣe ca pūrṇimā |
māheśvarīkulā hy etāḥ śarvadhyānaratās tu tāḥ || 32 ||
varadāḥ sādhakendrāṇāṃ sarvakāmaphalapradāḥ |
sarvakāmaprasiddhyartham – – – – – – nti hi || 33 ||

Cf. also *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.255cd–61ab.

[85] Cf. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.34cd: *raktagaurā yadā sā tu haripiṅgalalocanā*; and *Abhidhānottara* 41.12cd (=*Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 19.12cd): *raktagaurā tathā nityaṃ raktapiṅgalalocanā*. It seems likely that

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neck, hairy, and having curly hair;[86]

54 always fond of child's play, she laughs and sings in an instant. She runs and jumps, and becomes angry suddenly.

55 She would always have a staff in hand, and draws a spear on her house.[87] The best of *sādhakas* should mark her as born in the clan of Kaumārī.[88]

56 One should worship her according to precept out of desire for *siddhi* on [this very] earth.[89] She gives to the *sādhaka* whatever supernatural experience he prays for.[90]

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dīrghasaṃgrīvā simply means *dīrghagrīvā, metri causa*, although this is unusual and suspect.

[86] *barbbaroruhā*, as read the manuscripts, is perhaps original, but its interpretation uncertain. *barbara* seems likely to mean "curly." Note the iconographical description *kṛṣṇabarbaramūrdhaja* in *Śāradātilakatantra* 10.17b—"having dark, *barbara*, hair;" the commentator Rāghavabhaṭṭa glosses *barbaramūrdhaja* as *kuṭilakeśa*, "curly hair." Note also the iconographical description *barbarordhvaśiroruhā*, probably meaning, "she whose hair (*śiroruhā*) is curly (*barbara*) and stands upwards," in *Kubikāmata* 2.4:

> *nīlāñjanasamaprakhyā kubjarūpā vṛkodarā |*
> *īṣatkarālavadanā barbarordhvaśiroruhā ||*

Kubjikāmata 16.45c reads, also in describing a goddess, *barbaroruhapiṅgākṣī*. These parallels point toward understanding *barbaroruhā* as "having curly hair;" Isaacson (personal communcation) suggests that this should be understood as a contraction of *barbaraśiroruhā*.

[87] On the emendation *likhate* for *likhite*, see the annotation above on verse 49.

[88] As in 52c and 59c, *lakṣayet* appears to take an object in the nominative feminine, here *kaumārīkulasaṃbhūtā*, as though the construction were *lakṣayet sādhako yat sā kaumārīkulasambhavā*. See the annotation on verse 52 above.

[89] 56b, *bhūtale siddhikāṅkṣayā*, seems to be in contrast with e.g. *pātālasiddhi*, the power to enter subterranean worlds, and *khecaratva*, becoming a Sky-traveller. Cf. 47b, *khecaratvajigīṣayā*, the impetus for worship of the Brahmāṇī-clan yoginī.

[90] Compare the description of the Kaumārī-clan yoginī with that found in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.33–40:

> *gaṇḍābhyāṃ kūpakau yasyā dṛśyete vaktrasaṃsthitau |*
> *raktagaurā yadā sā tu haripiṅgalalocanā || 34 ||*
> *kuñcitāś ca samāḥ keśāḥ paṭṭaṃ dhārayate śire |*
> *lalāṭe tu yadā tasya ekā rekhā tu dṛśyate || 35 ||*
> *dīrghagrīvā tu sā jñeyā dīrghāṅgī raktakeśa sā |*
> *nityaṃ hi ramate rakte pītavastre 'tha nīlake || 36||*
> *hasate ramate caiva akasmāc ca prakupyati |*
> *calacittā bhaven nārī kalaheṣu ca rajyate || 37||*
> *īdṛśīṃ pramadāṃ dṛṣṭvā śaktimudrāṃ pradarśayet |*
> *ghaṇṭāmudrā ca dātavyā dvitīyā ca prayatnataḥ || 38||*
> *parivartanaṃ tu vāmena pratimudrāṃ dadāti hi |*
> *ṣaṣṭhī tu parvaṇī tasyāḥ kaumārīkulajāḥ striyāḥ || 39||*
> *ṣaḍdoṣā siddhidā sā tu kārttikeyakulodgatā |*
> *sampradāyaṃ ca sā tuṣṭā dadate sārvakāmikam || 40 ||*

(It seems likely that the odd *ṣaḍdoṣā* in 40a is corrupt for *ṣaṇmāsāt*; cf., e.g., *Tantrasadbāva* 16.254cd: *ṣaṇmāsād varadā devi svakīyāṃśasya sādhake.*) *Tantrasadbhāva* 261cd–265ab seems also to describe the Kaumārī-clan yoginī, although the name is not provided.

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57 A woman whose head is shaped like a parasol, who is seen to possess the auspicious marks, whose color is of a blue lotus,[91] whose face and teeth are pointy,

58 whose practice of the observances is "leftward;"[92] her ritual conduct [too] accords with her nature. She would draw the insignia of the wheel [on her house],[93] and her gaze (¿) follows after its object (?).[94]

59–60 She ever draws the insignia of the conch and a mace on her house. By this, a wise man with his heart devoted to the observances should mark [that] she, a maiden who magically changes form, is a [yoginī of the] Vaiṣṇavī [clan], devoted to the observances.[95] Through serving [her], she becomes a bestower of *siddhi* upon lordly *sādhakas* of her own clan.[96]

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[91] The occurrence of *kṛṣṇā indīvaraśyāmā* in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.41c, in a parallel context, suggests possibility that here, *kṛṣṇā* and *indīvaravarṇābhā* could be distinct descriptions.

[92] In 58a, we should presumably follow D in emending A's senseless *vāmanācāraceṣṭā* to *vāmenācāraceṣṭā*. D's reading here is surely a scribal emendation, for this manuscript's dependence upon A is otherwise pervasive. The expression *ācāraceṣṭā* appears synonymous with *kulācāraviceṣṭita* in 1d, discussed in the footnote thereon. *vāmenācāraceṣṭā* appears to mean *vāmācāraceṣṭā*, "one engaged in the left-handed observances." Its sense could perhaps be more general, however; cf. *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 16.12ab: *vāmena yāti yā nārī yoginyo vāmataḥ sadā*. The same two pādas occur as *Abhidhānottaratantra* 39.11ab and *Saṃvarodayatantra* 9.7ab, the latter having the variant *ḍākinī* for *yoginyaḥ*.

[93] It would be simple enough to assume a lost *anusvāra* and emend *cakramudrā* to the accusative. Note however that while masculine *mudrā* names are in this section given in the accusative, in A, feminine ones appear consistently in the nominative. Cf. *śaṅkhamudrā* and *gadā* in 59ab, and *daṃṣṭramudrā* in 62c, all objects of *likhate*. It seems preferable in light of this consistency to retain the nominatives. In parallel *yoginīlakṣaṇa* material in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29, the manuscript evidence seems to support both possibilities, and Törszök emends to the accusative.

[94] It is not clear how one should interpret 58d, *dṛṣṭiś caivārthavartinī*, assuming the text is correct. I have tentatively understood this to mean *dṛṣṭiś caivārtham anuvartate*, "and [she possesses] a gaze that follows [its] object."

[95] The instrumental *tena* in 59c appears to express causality ("by this means"), while *caryāśīlena cetasā* seems to be associative, construing with the subject *vidvān*. Concerning the quasi-accusative nominatives *sā ... vaiṣṇavī*, cf. 52c and 55c. The syntax, in other words, seems roughly to be *tena vidvān [sādhakas] caryāśīlena cetasā lakṣayed [yat] sā kanyā vaiṣṇavī[kulajā]*.

[96] *sādhakeśvarām* in 60d is a secure example of a masculine genitive plural in *-ām* for *-ānām, metri causa*. Cf., e.g., LV.100d (°*samāśrayām*) and LV.144c (*tilām*). On the Vaiṣṇavī-clan yoginī, cf. the description in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.41–46:

> *lambastanī sujaṅghā ca sulalāṭā subhāṣiṇī |*
> *kṛṣṇā indīvaraśyāmā mudgaśyāmātha vā bhavet || 41||*
> *cipiṭā caiva hrasvā ca sthūlajaṅghā ca yā bhavet |*
> *pītavastrā bhaven nityaṃ skandhagrīvāvalambinī || 42||*
> *īdṛśīṃ pramadāṃ dṛṣṭvā śaṅkhaṃ tasya pradarśayet |*
> *cakramudrāthavā tasyā dvitīyāṃ darśayet punaḥ || 43||*
> *parivartanaṃ ca vāmena pratimudrāṃ dadāti sā |*
> *dvādaśī parvaṇī tāsāṃ cakraṃ ca likhyate gṛhe || 44||*
> *vaiṣṇavīnāṃ yoginīnām etad bhavati lakṣaṇam |*

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61 [A woman] with full lips and large eyes, whose frontal locks have tawny ends,[97] who is ever fond of the act of painting,[98] skillful in dance and music,

62 always fond of spirits and meat, lusty, (¿) ... (?);[99] she draws on her house the insignia of the fang,[100] or else the staff or chain,

63–64 and she likewise draws a snout, an angle,[101] or a cremation ground, a lotus, or skull. Her sacred day is the twelfth of both lunar fortnights; both Vārāhī and Vaiṣṇavī are ever fond of the same sacred day.[102]

65 She should be recognized by the Indra of *sādhaka*s, his mind overpowered with mantra. After one sees such characteristics, following the [appropriate] response-*mudrās*, after one month she bestows *siddhi* upon the *mantrin* carrying out the

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sādhakasyābhiyuktasya sarvakāmasukhāni ca || 45 ||
yoginīvaiṣṇavīnāṃ tu siddhayogeśvarīmate |
vijñeyā sādhakair nityaṃ khecaratvajigīṣubhiḥ || 46 ||

Cf. also *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.265cd–69ab, although the name Vaiṣṇavī does not appear.

[97] On the interpretation of *piṅgalāgrāgrakeśinī*, see the annotation on verse 48 above.

[98] *citrakarma* in 61c need not refer specifically to painting, but to "a variety of activities." The reference to dance and music suggests otherwise, however.

[99] It is difficult to interpret what the MSS transmit in 62b as *sarvasātvikā*. The obvious meaning, "entirely sattvic [in nature]," seems improbable in light of her being *māṃsāsavaratā* and *lolupā*. Ending with *-sāttvikā*, this is probably an adjective describing the nature or genus of the Vārāhī clan-born yoginī; cf., e.g., *yakṣasattvā* in *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.123d, describing yoginīs of the Kaumārī and Vaiṣṇavī clans. Few possibilities for emendation come to mind, among which *svalpasāttvikā* ("having little *sattva guṇa*") is perhaps worth mentioning. Cf. *svalpacittālpasāttvikāḥ*, 1.12d. There, however, the meaning seems more likely to be "having very little intelligence and little [heroic] spirit (*sattva*)." Paleographically closer would be *śarvasāttvikā*, "possessing the nature of Śiva"—but this seems little appropriate with reference to the Vārāhī-clan yoginī.

[100] A is remarkably consistent in writing *draṃṣṭra* for *daṃṣṭra*, as here in 62c. This might suggest that the orthography is original. However, in two cases this would engender the egregious metrical fault of a heavy fifth syllable in an even pāda: III.165d, *dhūsro lohitadraṃṣṭavān*, as given in A; and 71b below, *koṭarākṣī ca draṃṣṭiṇī*, as reads A. Note also that this spelling is not restricted to A, which might increase the possibility of it being scribal: I note it in e.g. the printed edition of the *Rudrayāmala Uttarakāṇḍa* (26.53a and 70.10d) and in the MSS of the *Tantrasadbhāva*, as reported by Dyczkowski in 3.221b. Primarily on consideration of the metrical evidence, I have regularized the spelling.

[101] The masculine or neuter *ghoṇaṃ* in 64a seems unusual for the feminine *ghoṇā*, "snout." However, *ghoṇa* occurs in compound twice elsewhere in the *BraYā*, viz. XXIX.120a (in the goddess name *ghoṇanāsā*) and LXXX.146c (*ghoṇaśabdakṛtottrāsaṃ*, describing Bhairava); in this text, the feminine *ghoṇā* seems not to occur at all. More dubious, however, is *koṇaṃ* in 63b, perhaps meaning "angle."

[102] *sā* in 64b appears to construe with *dvādaśī*, while 64cd seems to form a separate sentence. Note the absence of the *-t* ending of the optative *vijānīyā(t)* in A, quite common when this does not affect the meter. In 64d, also note the possibility that *ekaparvaratā* could instead mean "devoted to a single sacred day."

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observances.[103]

66 A woman dark and malodorous, who has a long neck and fingers,[104] [whose] teeth have a very beautiful shine and eyes are very round;

67 always fond of red clothing, draping a garment from her shoulders, always fond of scents and flowers; she becomes rich in wealth.

68 She laughs and takes pleasure (¿) ... (?).[105] She would draw the *vajra* insignia on her very own house.[106]

69 And she draws a winnowing basket, tail, (¿) or cloth (?),[107] [or] another great

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[103] The syntax of 65cdef seems problematic, for both *°ānusāriṇā* in 65d and *mantriṇaḥ* in 65f appear to refer to the practitioner, despite being in different cases. One might hence consider emending to the genitive *°ānusāriṇaḥ*. It is also conceivable that *anusāriṇā* is intended somewhat freely in the sense of *anusārataḥ*. On the Vārāhī-clan yoginī, cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.269cd–73ab. *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29, which appears to break off after verse 51, might describe the Vārāhī-clan yoginī beginning with 29.44, for the description matches that of *BraYā* in assigning to her the *daṇḍa* and *daṃṣṭra* ("staff" and "fang") insignia:

romaśā sarvagātreṣu kṛṣṇapiṅgalalocanā |
karālavikṛtākārā ghorā ca sthūladaṃśanā || 47 ||
lamboṣṭhī kṛṣṇavarṇā ca kolākṣī bhagnanāsikā |
nṛtyagāndharvakuśalā meghavarṇā mahādyutiḥ || 48 ||
īdṛśīṃ pramadāṃ dṛṣṭvā daṃṣṭrāṃ tasya pradarśayet |
daṇḍaṃ vāpi tatas tasyā darśayed aviśaṅkitaḥ || 49||
– – – – – – – – varadā sādhakasya tu |
nayate śivasāyojyaṃ kalpānte dakṣaṇāśanī || 50 ||
parivartanaṃ tu vāmena mudrā tāsāṃ na saṃśayaḥ |
lakṣaṇīyās tu tā nityaṃ bhūrloke krīḍayanti ca || 51 ||

Törszök ("Dotrine of Magic Female Spirits," 101, 180, 196), however, believes this to describe the Yāmyā-clan yoginī, which is quite plausible; Vārāhī and Yāmyā alternate in Śaiva lists of the Mothers, as I discuss in the annotation on 11.16.

[104] In 66a, what A transmits as *śyāmavaigandhinī* seems likely to be a corruption of two separate adjectives, viz. *śyāmā vaigandhinī*, as *caiva* suggests.

[105] *yogayogānusārataḥ*, as reads A in 68b, is difficult to interpret. The phrase *yogayogena* does occur elsewhere in the *BraYā*; cf. LXXI.111b, quoted in chapter 5 of this thesis (n. 42), where I conjectured this to mean "by joining in combination." This seems little applicable in the present case. An alternative text might be *yogāyogānusārataḥ*—perhaps "according to whether or not it is appropriate [to do so]." This phrase could alternatively mean *yogaviyogānusārataḥ*: "She laughs and sports/takes pleasure, depending upon whether [she is in] union or separation [with a lover?]." None of these options appear compelling, however.

[106] *svayam eva* in 68d might suggest interpreting 68cd to mean "she would, just spontaneously, draw the *vajra* insignia on [her] house." However, I suspect that *gṛhe ... svayam eva* is supposed to mean *svagṛha eva*; cf. *svagṛhe ... likhate* in 59b, 62c, and 73a.

[107] *°paṭa* in 69a, as an insignia or item of Indrāṇī, seems problematic. This is rather unlikely to have the technical sense of a painted scroll as locus of the deity. It could perhaps mean "cloth." Cf. *paṭṭiśa* in 73b and the discussion thereon.

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emblem. These are the characteristics of [yoginīs] born in the clan of Indrāṇī.[108]

70 After six months of worship, successfully propitiated, they bestow *melaka*. [The *sādhaka*] traverses the worlds entirely, working all [kinds of] wonders.[109]

71 A woman whose body is emaciated, whose nose is broken, who has sunken eyes, has fangs, whose frontal locks have tawny ends,[110] whose gaze is upward, and who is terrifying;

72 [who] always speaks of the dead or of battle, and who is ever fond of celibacy; who always speaks solely about cremation grounds, who is fond of speaking about *sādhakas*;[111]

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[108] In 69c, A's °*kulajāyātā* is clearly corrupt, and underlying this is most probably °*kulajātānāṃ*. For 69d is something of a stock phrase, and construes with a genitive; cf., e.g., *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.45ab: *vaiṣṇavīnāṃ yoginīnām etad bhavati lakṣaṇam*. A similar construction occurs, for instance, several times in *Laghuśaṃvara* 19, viz. 19.5cd, 11cd, 12ab, and 25cd.

[109] A's reading in 70d, *vicaraty akhilaṃ lokāṃ*, might be plausible, understanding *akhilaṃ* as an adverb and *lokāṃ* as *lokān*, accusative plural. This possibility has been tentatively adopted. However, the emendations *akhilaṃ lokaṃ* and *akhilān lokān* should both be given consideration. Cf., e.g., *Kubjikāmatatantra* 4.28, *vicared akhilān lokān*; and *Mahābhārata*, XIII.134.57, *sṛjaty akhilaṃ lokaṃ*. Note that B's text appears to have been emended: *vicared akhilāṃl lokān*. On the Indrāṇī-clan yoginī, cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.273cd–77.

[110] Regarding *piṅgalāgrāgrakeśī* in 71c, see 48b and the footnote thereon.

[111] This verse has a close parallel in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.29:

hasate ramate caiva brahmacaryavyavasthitā |
raṇājire mṛtānāṃ tu kathāsu ramate sadā ||

The latter passage, however, describes the Māheśvarī-clan yoginī.

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73 She draws on her house a skull and spear;[112] she, always fond of wine and meat, one should know to be [a yoginī of the clan of] the leader of the Mothers.[113]

74 She ever grants *melaka*, the teachings of the lineage (*saṃpradāya*),[114] and boon[s]

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[112] *paṭṭiśa* in 73b could be a spear-like weapon, as modern lexicons such as Apte's suggest. The word appears in lists of weapons in *Svacchandatantra* 3.84 and *BraYā* LXV.18cd–20ab (19ab reading, in A, *paraśuṃ bhindipālañ ca saktitomarapaṭṭisaṃ*). But note the comments of Kāṇhapāda in his *Yogaratnamālā* commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, ad I.vii.4c:

> *paṭṭīśam ityādi | aṅgulidvayena paṭṭabandhābhinayaḥ paṭṭīśaḥ | ...*
>
> paṭṭīśam] *em.*; pattīśam *Ed.* aṅguli°] *em.*; aṅgurī° *Ed.*
>
> "[Regarding] '*paṭṭiśam*, etc.': *paṭṭīśa* is the gesture of fastening a cloth with two fingers..."

Note that the commentator appears to read *paṭṭīśaṃ darśayet* rather than *paṭaṃ saṃdarśayet*, as is printed in Snellgrove's edition. In any case, according to this commentator, these are probably synonyms, for *paṭṭiśa* signifies the *mudrā* for simulating the tying of a *paṭa* or *paṭṭa*, "cloth" (perhaps for a turban). Cf. °*paṭa* in 69a. This meaning for *paṭṭiśa* or *paṭṭīśa* seems attested elsewhere as well; note for example *BraYā* IV.404cd–405ab, which seems to refer to the *avaguṇṭhanaka*s ("covers") used in *pūjā* as *nānāpaṭṭisavistara*, "having a variety (*vistara*) of many fabrics (*nānāpaṭṭisa*)":

> *yathāvibhavataḥ prāptair avaguṇṭhanakais tathā || 404 ||*
> *avaguṇṭhayitvā mantrajñaḥ nānāpaṭṭisavistaraiḥ |*

Although the word can hence be used both in the sense of a weapon and a cloth, the former seems more appropriate as an emblem the yoginī draws upon her home.

[113] The expression *mātṛnāyikā* refers to Cāmuṇḍā, the seventh of the Mothers and their "leader," when not transcended by Yogeśvarī/Aghoreśī/Bhairavī. Although the *BraYā* frequently does add Yogeśvarī to the Mothers, she is absent from the seven Mother-clan system presented in this chapter.

[114] In scriptures of the Vidyāpīṭha and related material, "obtaining the *saṃpradāya*"—usually bestown by yoginīs—finds frequent mention as a reward for successful ritual. See for example *BraYā* XLIV.304–05:

> *anena vidhinā devi yoginyaḥ paśyate dhruvam |*
> *ādiṣṭas tābhyataḥ kuryāt siddhiyāgaṃ tu sādhakaḥ || 304 ||*
> *taṃ kṛtvā sidhyate mantrī saṃpradāyañ ca vindati |*
> *khecaratvaṃ bhavet tasya vīro bhavati śāśvataḥ || 305 ||*
>
> 305d śāśvataḥ *corr.*; sāsvataḥ A
>
> "Through this ritual process, O goddess, one certainly sees the yoginīs.[a] Instructed by them,[b] a *sādhaka* should perform the *yāga* for [attainment of] *siddhi*. Having done this, the *mantrin* achieves *siddhi*, and he obtains the *saṃpradāya*. He would attain the state of being a Sky-traveller, and becomes an eternal [i.e. undying?] hero."[c]
>
> [a] *yoginyaḥ* in XLIV.304b appears to be accusative in sense.
>
> [b] *tābhyataḥ* seems to be a non-standard ablative or instrumental.
>
> [c] One could instead consider emending to the adverbial *śāśvatam*.

Cf. III.231cd and LXXII.13ab (*tatas tu jāyate siddhiḥ saṃpradāyañ ca vindati*), XLIV.305ab (*taṃ kṛtvā sidhyate mantrī saṃpradāyañ ca vindati*), and LXXXII.143ab (*anyathā na labhet siddhiṃ* [em.; *siddhiḥ* A] *saṃpradāyaṃ na vindati*). *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 23 describes a practice by which one brings forth the yoginīs at a *pīṭha* or another sacred place, obtaining from them their respective *saṃpradāya*s:

> *tatas tatra kva cit kṣetre yoginyo bhīmavikramāḥ || 24 ||*
> *samāgatya prayacchanti saṃpradāyaṃ svakaṃ svakam |*
> *yenāsau labdhamātreṇa saṃpradāyena suvrate || 25 ||*
> *tatsamānabalo bhūtvā bhuṅkte bhogān yathepsitān |*
>
> "Then, there in some sacred field, terrible and powerful yoginīs assemble, and bestow their respective *saṃpradāya*—*saṃpradāya* by which, as soon as it has been obtained, one becomes equal to them in power, and enjoys one's choice of surpernal experiences."

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to a *sādhaka* who knows the method of giving response-*mudrā*s and is intent upon

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Such promises of obtaining the *saṃpradāya* occur frequently in *yoginīlakṣaṇa* material, as is the case in the present chapter. Cf. *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.260 and 282, which describe yoginīs as giving the *saṃpradāya* to practitioners of their own clans (*aṃśa*): *svakīyāṃśasya vīrasya saṃpradāyaṃ prayacchati*; and *svāṃśasya caiva vīrasya dadāti saṃpradāyakam*, describing the Kumārī-clan and Cāmuṇḍā-clan yoginīs, respectively. Cf. also *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 29.40cd, describing the Kumārī-clan yoginī: *saṃpradāyaṃ ca sā tuṣṭā dadate sārvakāmikam*.

Promises of receiving *saṃpradāya* unfortunately receive little elaboration. Note the definition Kṣemarāja provides, in the sense of an esoteric transmission given to those showing signs of Śiva's highest grace, commenting ad *Netratantra* 14.11: *samyak tīvratamaśaktipātaṃ vicārya tadvate dīyata iti saṃpradāyaḥ*: "Having properly (***samyak***) judged [there to be] a most intense descent (°***pātaṃ vicārya***) of *śakti*, it is given (***dīyate***) to the one possessing this; hence [the word] *'saṃpradāya'*. In *BraYā* 1.102cd–03, its meaning appears distinct from that of 'scripture' (*śāstra*), perhaps signifying "lineage of transmission" or even "secret teaching":

> *etac chāstraṃ kalau cānte yoginyaḥ śakticoditāḥ* ||
> *apahṛtya prayāsyanti saṃpradāyañ ca suvrate* |
> *śaktyantaṃ nātra sandeha evaṃ vai bhairavo 'bravīt* || 103 ||
>
> "And at the end of the Kaliyuga, the yoginīs, impelled by the *śakti*, shall snatch this scripture and the lineage of transmission (*saṃpradāya*) and depart to the limit of the *śakti [tattva]*, O pious woman, no doubt. *Thus did speak Bhairava.*"

On the problems of this verse, see the footnotes thereon.

It seems likely that in 74c and in similar passages, "attaining the *saṃpradāya*" signifies communication of higher esoteric wisdom by a yoginī to the practitioner of her own clan. That these were teachings beyond those given at initiation is clear from the fact that their attainment requires intensive post-initiatory practice. Note, however, that the Buddhist author Jayabhadra, commenting ad *Laghuśaṃvaratantra* 38.8d (*saṃpradāyaṃ ca vindati*), remarks, *saṃpradāyaṃ ca vindatīti trailokye yat sukhaṃ tad anubhavatīty arthaḥ* ("and 'he obtains the *saṃpradāya*' means 'he experiences what[ever] bliss exists in the three-fold universe'."). That receiving the *'saṃpradāya'* can refer, however, to obtaining secret teachings, finds confirmation in e.g. *Tantrasadbhāva* 6, which classifies as threefold the mantra-practices heroes of the clans divinely receive: *upadeśa* ("instruction"), *saṃpradāya* ("the tradition"), and *kaulika* ("clan-based [wisdom]").

> *pāraṃparyakramāyātaṃ na ca likhyati pustake* || 173 ||
> *kulaṃ tu kaulikaṃ devi kulāmnāyād ihāgatam* |
> *na ca labhyati gūḍhārthaṃ kulaṃ devi ca kaulikam* || 174 ||
> *tadaṃśānāṃ tu vīrāṇāṃ prāptaṃ kulajakaulikam* |
> *sa ca prāptiprabhedena bhidyate tu tridhā punaḥ* || 175 ||
> *upadeśaṃ ca prathamaṃ saṃpradāyaṃ dvitīyakam* |
> *kaulikaṃ ca tṛtīyaṃ syāt kasyāyātaṃ nibodhata* || 176 ||
> *ye yoginīgṛhe labdhā upadeśā varānane* |
> *yoginīdevatair labdhāḥ saṃpradāyāḥ śivoditāḥ* || 177 ||
> *khecarair yoginīdattāḥ kaulikās te na saṃśayaḥ* |
>
> 175c prāpti°] *em.*; prāptiḥ MSS 176d nibodhata] *em.*; nibodhataḥ MSS 177a labdhā] *em.*; labdhvā MSS
>
> "And the [mantra-teachings] which have come down through the lineage of transmission are not written in a book[a]. [173] But the clan (*kula*) and clan-based (*kaulika*) [mantra-teachings] have come to this [world] through the Clan Lineage; and the *kula* and *kaulika*, which have secret meanings, are not obtained [in books?]. [174] But that arising from the *kula*, and the *kaulika*, are obtained by the heroes of their [yoginīs'] clans (*aṃśa*). And that is threefold, divided by the ways it is obtained. [175] The first is *upadeśa* ("instruction"); the second is *saṃpradāya* ("the tradition"); and the third would be *kaulika* ("based in the clans"). Listen to what comes from whom [176]: Those obtained in the home of a yoginī [living among mortals] are *'upadeśa'*, O fair woman. Those obtained from deity yoginīs[b] are

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meditation.[115]

75 The Seven Mothers who bestow *siddhi* have been taught in the *Yāmalatantra*.[116] O goddess, those [yoginīs] with mixed characteristics have a mixture of their forms.[117]

76 Divided into the 'perfected' (*siddhā*) and 'unperfected' (*asiddhā*),[118] (¿) by their wish a *sādhaka* knows [them],[119] through characteristics, by [his] enlightened awareness, [or] through analysis of inferential marks (?).[120]

'saṃpradāya', spoken by Śiva. Those given by Sky-traveller yoginīs[c] are *'kaulika'*, no doubt. [177–78ab] ..."

[a] It seems that *likhyati* (173d) and *labhyati* (174c) are non-standard passive forms, third person singular, *metri causa*.

[b] The expression *yoginīdevatair* seems to be a karmadhāraya, "yoginīs who are deities," with °*devataiḥ metri causa* for *devatābhiḥ*.

[c] *khecarair yoginīdattāḥ* is problematic; grammatically, it could mean "given to yoginīs by *khecaras*, but this seems rather unlikely. I have instead interpreted this to mean "given by yoginīs who are *khecarīs*," as though *khagāminībhir yoginībhir dattāḥ*.

These categories in fact correspond to primary divisions of mantra, defined first in *Tantrasadbhāva* 3.49–57ab.

[115] For a description of the Cāmuṇḍā-clan yoginī, see *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.278–82, where however her name is absent; but note the description *lambastanī ca nirmāṃsā* (279a).

[116] Note that *mātarāḥ* in 75a is a plural formed from a non-standard stem *mātarā* for *mātṛ*. See the annotation on 1.83.

[117] A's reading in 75cd is difficult to interpret: *vimiśralakṣaṇaṃ devi etadrūpavimiśritāḥ*. This could somewhat elliptically mean, "there are [also] mixed characteristics, O goddess: [yoginīs] having a mixture of these forms." It seems preferable, however, to emend °*lakṣaṇaṃ* to the feminine plural, in agreement with °*vimiśritāḥ*. Note that *Tantrasadbhāva* 16 teaches sub-sets of mixed (*miśra*) yoginīs connected with the Seven Mothers, beginning in 53cd:

> *tās tu bhedais tathā miśraiḥ saṃsthitāḥ kathayāmi te* ‖ 53 ‖
> *brahmāṇyādi samārabhya yogeśyantāvasānataḥ* |
> *sthitāś caikonapañcāśad ekaikāḥ sapta saptasu* ‖ 54‖
>
> 53d saṃsthitāḥ] *corr.*; saṃsthitā MSS 54c sthitāś] *em.*; sthitā MSS 54d ekaikāḥ] *corr.*; ekaikā MSS
>
> "I shall likewise teach you those existing with mixed types. Starting with Brahmāṇī and ending with Yogeśī, there are forty-nine [of them], seven [mixed] for each one of the seven [Mothers]."

Such sub-categories do not receive elaboration in *BraYā*.

[118] It is not clear whether *siddhāsiddhavibhāgās* modifies °*vimiśritāḥ* in 75d, or whether it begins a new sentence. The division into *siddhā* and *asiddhā* could indeed bear upon all yoginīs, and not merely those of mixed clans. And while 76cd might refer to the special ways by which mixed-clan yoginīs are recognized, it could also apply generally to the recognition of goddesses. The translation provided attempts to reflect this ambiguity.

[119] °*icchāyā* appears to be instrumental, for *icchayā*, with metrical lengthening. See the annotation on 1.37a.

[120] The reading of the MSS in 76d, *bodhāliṅgavivecanā*, seems unintelligible. It appears probable that this pāda should modify the verb *vetti*, as does *lakṣaṇataḥ* in 76c, or else provide a feminine accusative plural, in agreement with °*vibhāgās* in 76a. One might indeed make some sense of an ablative *li-*

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77 O fair woman, the essence of the Tantra, the gateway to *siddhi,* which always produces direct perception [of the goddesses], has been taught for the Indras among *sādhakas.*

Thus ends chapter seventy-three of the *Picumata,*
named the "Chommā Section."

ṅgavivecanāt: "[one knows them] through analysis of inferential marks." Loss of final *-t* in the ablative singular is extremely common in A. It might also be possible that A's *bodhā* is for *bodhāt*, in the sense of *jñānaprabodhāt*, "the awakening of knowledge." Although the degree of uncertainty is high, these conjectures have tentatively been adopted.

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XCIX

Encounters with the Clans

Bhairava spoke:

1 O Maheśānī, I shall tell you the manner in which 'encounter' (*melāpa*) with the clans [of goddesses] takes place;[1] listen, O woman of long eyes.[2]

2 O beautiful one, *melāpa* with the clans would transpire because of the observances of one abiding by the restraints, while reciting mantras, being dedicated to fire ritual, abiding in meditation.[3]

3–4 Occasionally [too], through the way of ritual gruel (*caru*),[4] or the awakening of knowledge, (¿) the predominance of the mantra's potency (?),[5] or through

[1] In 1ab, *melāpakaṃ ... kulātmakam* appears equivalent in meaning to *kulamelāpaka*, an expression occurring in 2b below and in *BraYā* LV; cf. *Ūrmikaula* 4.126c, and *kulamelaka* in *BraYā* LV.85b. This denotes transactional, power-bestowing encounters with goddesses of the clans (*kula*)—a characteristic aim of ritual in the cult of yoginīs. Other sources more commonly use the expression *yoginīmelaka* (or °*melāpa*) in this sense, which is rare in the *BraYā*; it occurs twice in chapter LVIII.

[2] In 1c, A's implausible *avidhāsyāmi* should surely be emended to *abhidhāsyāmi*, with the preceding *-m-* understood as a hiatus breaker.

[3] This verse contains syntactical ambiguities. 2abc could enumerate five separate conditions from which—presumably in combination—ensue *melāpa*: the practitioner's *caryā*, *niyama*, *japa*, *homa*, and *dhyāna*. However, in 2a, *caryayā* could depend upon the genitive *niyamasthasya*, as has been adopted in the translation. 2b is problematic; the MSS read the nominative *homatatparaḥ*, which if correct, should probably be interpreted as though genitive, i.e. °*tatparasya*. However, one might consider emending to the adverbial °*tatparam*, construed with the genitive present participle *japataḥ*: "[*melāpa* would transpire] for one reciting mantras, being intent on the fire ritual." 2abc may hence delineate as few as three conditions that bring about *melāpa*.

[4] *carumārga* presumably refers to the practices of the *carubhojin*, "eater of ritual gruel," third and lowest in the threefold typology of the *sādhaka* taught in *BraYā* XLIV. The way of the *carubhojin* forms the subject of *BraYā* XCII. As the name suggests, consumption of substances characterizes the ritual of this *sādhaka*—sexual fluids in particular. Practices of the *carubhojin* include the *sādhana* of Garttābhairava, elaborated in *BraYā* LXIX, in which sexual practices feature prominently.

[5] The meaning of A's *mantravīryapradhānena* is unclear; though here it appears to be a substan-

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the arising of bodily purity, through the bestowal of the clan-observances,[6] or through one's ritual purification, [the yoginīs] grace [a *sādhaka*] by accomplishing *melāpa*.[7]

5 When one possessing great inner power is a fit recipient of the clan-*siddhis*,[8] as he gazes, he looses [his] natural fear.

6 For this person, in whom the heroic spirit has arisen,[9] [the yoginīs] become visible.[10] But never otherwise, Great Goddess, even for one fatigued [by toil].

7–8 This is the Pledge of yoginīs:[11] to [a mortal] of weak spirit, [there shall be] no giving *darśana*, no speaking, no being affectionate, and no appearing externally; (¿) giving up creatures of lowly birth and those unfit for sacrifice (?);[12] not be-

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tive, one would normally expect a word ending in *pradhāna* to be a bahuvrīhi adjective. It is possible that °*pradhānena* occurs for °*prādhānyena*, which would be unmetrical—i.e. "due to the predominance of the mantra's potency." It is however tempting to conjecture °*prabhāvena*, i.e. "through the force of the mantra's potency"; cf., e.g., *Kulārṇavatantra* 15.13 (*upadeśasya sāmarthyāt śrīguroś ca prasādataḥ | mantraprabhāvād bhaktyā ca mantrasiddhiḥ prajāyate*).

[6] *kulācārapradānena*, as read the MSS in 4a, is not entirely convincing. While a *kulamantra* may certainly be "bestown/given"—cf. *BraYā* LV.25c—it seems odd that *kulācāra* ("observances/practices of the clans") would be spoken of thus.

[7] The list of conditions for bringing about encounters with yoginīs in verses 2–4 bears comparision with *Svacchandatantra* 15.32cd–38; see also *BraYā* LXXIII.40, 43. On the connection drawn in 4cd between *melāpa* and Śiva's grace, cf. *BraYā* LV.24cd–26; *BraYā* LXXIII.40–43 links the manifestation of yoginīs to Śiva's will or volition (*icchā*).

[8] In 5b, *mahaujasaḥ* (as corrects B; *mahojasaḥ* in A and D is also plausible) appears to be nominative singular, for the "correct" *mahaujāḥ*. One would expect *ojas* to be thematized as *oja*; however, there are other cases in which *s*-stems appear to be thematized by addition of *-a*. Note e.g. *manasaḥ* as nominative in *BraYā* XLVI.31d (*[tiṣṭheta] ekāgramanasaḥ sthitaḥ*). Cf. Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," xl.

[9] On the notion of "heroic spirit" (*vīrasattva*), cf. *BraYā* XIV.215d, quoted in chapter 1, section 1 (n. 44). This quality is a prerequisite for success in the "nondual" rites connected with yoginīs. In the *BraYā*, *sattva* alone often carries this meaning; cf. 216d and 217d in the same passage. The expression *vīrasattvakṛta* appears clumsy—as though perhaps a bahuvrīhi compound, *kṛtavīrasattva* (*vīrasya sattvaḥ kṛto yasmin saḥ*).

[10] In 6b, the manuscripts read *dṛṣṭenāyānti*; this is undoubtedly a corruption of *dṛṣṭer āyānti*, reflecting confusion not uncommon in old Newārī between *n* and *r*. Cf. *BraYā* LXXIII.44b, where the MSS read *dṛṣṭir āyānti gocaraṃ*—preserving the correct *-r* but transmitting *i* for *e*.

[11] As the context makes clear, *yogīnām* in 7a is an irregular genitive plural for *yoginīnām*, *metri causa*. This could be viewed as formed from a new feminine stem, *yogī*. *yogīnām* occurs twice elsewhere, but in both cases could mean *yoginām* ("for/of yogins"); cf. *BraYā* LII.189ab: *yaṃ jñātvā sarvayogīnāṃ kāmikī siddhi jāyate*. The masculine *yogi* does however occur for *yoginī* not infrequently in the *BraYā*; cf., e.g., XIV.110ab (*melakaṃ yogibhiḥ sārdhaṃ khecaratvam avāpnuyāt*) and CI.28c (*dadate yogisaṅghas tu kaulaṃ samayam uttamam*). Cf. Törzsök, "Doctrine of Magic Female Spirits," xxxviii, xli.

[12] The interpretation of 8a is uncertain. It appears necessary that this compound, *janmahīnapaśutyāga*, express two pledges, since otherwise 7b–8d enumerates only eight of the nine 9a refers to. This could be interpreted as meaning, "giving up [the company of?] those low with respect to birth (*janmahīna*), and

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ing proud in concealment;[13] no pride in one's [esoteric] knowledge; [and] no [bestowing] grace but by the will of Śiva.[14]

9 Endowed with nine pledges, they sport as they please, my dear. They grant the wishes of the Indras among *sādhaka*s,[15] up to the state of Śiva.[16]

10 And the other [types] of *melāpa* are called "violent" (*haṭha*); one should employ these for the *ḍākinī* hordes, O fair-faced woman, but not for the pure [yoginīs].[17]

11 Having thus attained *melāpa*, O fair woman, Indras among *sādhaka*s obtain their desired wishes; but [when] by inverse [means], [the results are] contrary.[18]

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bound souls (*paśu*) [i.e. the uninitiated]." However, *Tantrasadbhāva* 7.116cd–17ab suggests an alternative possibility:

> *nāpaśuṃ bhakṣayen mantrī janmahīnaṃ na homayet* || 116 ||
> *śākinīnāṃ priyaṃ bhadre yoginīnāṃ priyaṃ na hi* |

In context, *paśu* here appears to mean "appropriate sacrificial victim"—one that is *lakṣaṇānvita* (7.115d). One could hence interpret the passage as follows: "A *mantrī* should not eat an unsuitable sacrificial creature, nor offer in fire sacrifice one of lowly birth. For [these creatures are] dear to *śākinī*s, not dear to yoginīs." On the basis of this parallel, it seems appropriate to emend the °*paśu* of *BraYā* XCIX 8a to its negation, °*apaśu*, i.e. reading *janmahīnāpaśutyāgas*: "giving up creatures of lowly birth and those unfit for sacrifice." In this case too, it remains difficult to account for the *-ā* ending A and D transmit; B's ablative is presumably a scribal emendation.

[13] It is uncertain whether *tiraskāra* refers to the yoginīs' self-concealment, or perhaps rather their role in censuring/punishing—*nigraha*, as opposed to *anugraha* ("favoring, grace"). The implication of this pledge might however be that yoginīs are agents of Śiva's power of "obfuscation" (*tiraskāra*), much as they are viewed as agents of his grace (cf. 4cd, 8d)—*tiraskāra* and *anugraha* being two of Śiva's "five functions" (*pañcakṛtya*).

[14] One might construe 8d as a nominal sentence: "no grace that is not the will of Śiva." However, parallels suggest that *aśivecchā* is adverbial in sense, as though *aśivecchayā*; see the annotation on *BraYā* LXXIII.40.

[15] Note the occurrence of *dadanti* as the plural of √*dā*, for *dadati*. In the *BraYā*, correct parasmaipada indicative forms of √*dā* alternate with irregular ones—the third person singular *dadati* and third person plural *dadanti*—while irregular ātmanepada forms are common as well: *dadate* and (once) *dadāte* for the third person singular. I note no occurrence of *dadante*, although this occurs in e.g. the *Tantrasadbhāva*.

[16] *kāmān śivapadāntikān* refers to supernatural powers or experiences, *siddhi/bhoga*, connected with the ascending series of *tattva*s, culminating in those connected with the *śivatattva*—presumably liberation itself. Cf. *BraYā* LXII.26: *raktādyā devatāḥ sarvā dine ṣaṣṭhe mahātmanaḥ* | *yacchanti khecarā siddhiḥ sadāśivapadāntikā* (or perhaps *khecarīsiddhiḥ*?). *Svacchandatantra* 15.23–34 presents a detailed account of *melaka* in which the yoginī bestows or prognosticates *siddhi*s associated with a series of *tattva*s.

[17] This verse is suggestive of a distinction referred to in Śaiva sources between two varieties of *melaka*: "pleasing/pleasant" (*priya*) and "violent/forceful" (*haṭha*). Descriptions of the "forceful," dangerous variety are found in e.g. *BraYā* XIV.205–219ab and *Tantrasadbhāva* 16.327–357; the remainder of the latter chapter concerns *priyamelāpa*. For a non-scriptural source making this distinction, note *Tantrāloka* 28.371. However, while the *BraYā* distinguishes *melāpa* from *haṭhamelāpa*, it makes no reference to *priyamelāpa* as such. I plan to address the topic of *yoginīmelaka* in a future publication.

[18] It appears that 11abc concerns the desirable variety of *melāpa*, while 11d refers to the "forceful" (*haṭha*) type. It might also be possible to interpret the entire verse as referring to forceful *melāpa*; the implication would be that through this, *sādhaka*s do obtain the desired results, but using dangerous

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12 Just as [a woman] who has attained the state of a goddess through inverse [means] would become a *ḍākinī*, in the same way, O goddess, a *sādhaka* becomes a victim (*paśu*) among them [*ḍākinī*s].[19]

13 But through this very path, (¿) because of [his] slaughter by means of the [esoteric] knowledge of the *śaktis* (?),[20] by [their] power this person too, after giving up his body, again attains the state of belonging to the clans [of goddesses], and is reborn knowing his [past] birth.[21]

14 But through the way of victims,[22] [the *sādhaka*] of cruel nature does not obtain lordship in the manner of one who has become perfected (*siddha*) in *melāpa*;[23]

15 nor [does one] worshipping with flowers, incense, and perfumes in ritual to Śiva (¿) from ... one attains the ultimate *melāpa* with the *śaktis* (?).[24]

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methods.

[19] This verse continues the description of *haṭhamelāpa*, perhaps alluding to *raktākṛṣṭi* ("extraction of blood") and other parasitic practices by which the *ḍākinī*, et al, obtain power through a victim (*paśu*). Though ambiguous, a distinction appears posited between the female practitioner in 12ab (signalled by the gender of *prāptā*) and the male *sādhaka* in 12cd. Note that A reads *ḍāginī* in 12b, an orthography not observed elsewhere in this MS that is probably influenced by vernacular pronunciation. One of the MSS of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* reads thus ad 6.51a (cf. *ḍāgī* in *Siddhayogeśvarīmata* 22.13a), while this is apparently common in texts of the Buddhist *Catuspīṭhatantra* cycle (Isaacson, personal communication, March 2005).

[20] The expression *śaktivijñānaghātana* is obscure: perhaps "striking/slaying through the esoteric knowledge of the *śaktis*," i.e. *ḍākinī*s? This could hence refer to the vile techniques of *raktākṛṣṭi*, etc. Cf. chapter 2, section 3 (in the discussion of the *Mālatīmādhava*), and chapter 3, n. 29, in part I of the present thesis. That the *sādhaka* is slain is suggested by the reference to his leaving the body in 13ef.

[21] The syntax of 13abcd is somewhat ambiguous. It is expected that *kulānām* should construe with *sāmānyatām*, for the expression *kulasāmānyatā*, "the state of equality to/membership in the clans [of goddesses]," occurs frequently. Cf., e.g., *BraYā* XCVII.16cd (*ṣaṇmāsābhyantarād devi kulasāmānyatāṃ vrajet*) and *Tantrāloka* 4.58c. However, *prabhāvena* also requires a genitive. One possibility is to construe *kulānāṃ* with both, or else with *prabhāvena* alone, understanding *sāmānyatām* as meaning *kulasāmānyatām*. However, it might be that *prabhāvena* somehow connects with *śaktivijñāna*—i.e. "through the power of the esoteric knowledge/techniques of the goddesses" who slay the *sādhaka*, he is reborn with knowledge of his past birth (and, presumably, other desired powers).

[22] The term *paśumārga* appears to refer to the (rather unpleasant) way alluded to above of attaining power through "forceful" encounters with the goddesses. That the individual is described as "of cruel nature/spirit" (*krūrasattva*) in 14d suggests the possibility that his own (post-rebirth?) practices emulate those of *ḍākinī*s.

[23] In 14a, I follow Isaacson's suggestion of emending *siddhiḥ* to *siddhaḥ* (personal communication, May 2005). It seems *melāpake siddhaḥ* would refer to the individual perfected through *melāpa* of the non-forceful (*haṭha*) variety.

[24] It seems *śivādhvara* refers to exoteric worship of Śiva of a *saumya* variety, possibly *liṅgapūjā*. The syntax is uncertain: the particle *vā* appears to place 15ab in contrast with 14cd, for it would be difficult to account for should 15abcd form a single sentence. However, the puzzle of *nityodayād* in 15c renders

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16–17 Thus, whatever various *siddhis*—lowly, middling, and best—[arise] while worshipping (¿) ...(?) the Wheel of Seventeen Clans[25] without having a palpable encounter with visible *śaktis*,[26] my dear, the best of *sādhaka*s obtains all of these in *melāpa*.[27]

18 Meditating on the Wheel of the Clans, O queen of the gods, he knows everything past, present, and future, whether concerning himself or someone else.[28]

Thus ends chapter ninety-nine of the *Brahmayāmala*,
the *Tantra of Twelve-thousand Verses*, in the Bhairava-stream [of revelation].

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the degree of uncertainty high. It is unclear how this unusual expression might be interpreted here.

[25] The *kulasaptādaśacakra*, or *kulacakra*, as it is referred to in 18d, is delineated in *BraYā* XIV. Its core consists of a circle of eight petals on which are installed the sixteen vowel-deities, presided over in the center by the *smaraṇa*-mantra (HŪṂ), i.e. Bhairava. It is also referred to as the *khecarīcakra* (XIV.67d), and it is from this that the *kulavidyā* is extracted—an important mantra in the system of the *BraYā*.

In 16d, the MSS' *guham* is highly problematic. It is perhaps conceivable that this is a metrically shortened form of *guhyam*, "secret," here perhaps "secretly;" no other possibilities worth mentioning come to mind.

[26] It is unclear how the MSS' *vyaktiśaktīnāṃ* in 16a could be interpreted. More plausible is the emendation *vyakta°*, i.e. "of the manifest [i.e. visible] *śaktis*." This finds support in 16b's *sphuṭamelāpakam*, which appears to mean "visible/manifest encounter;" cf. LXXIII.23.

[27] Note the non-application of sandhi across the pāda-boundary in 17ab, *metri causa*.

[28] As above, sandhi is not applied across the pāda-boundary in 18ab.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix A

Chapter Colophons of the Brahmayāmala in its Oldest Nepalese Codex (nak 3-370)

I. Sambandha. ff. 1v–4v. *iti mahābhairave tantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne sambandhapaṭalaḥ prathamaḥ.*

II. Mantroddhāra. ff. 4v–5r. *iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ dvitīyaḥ.*

III. Mahāyāga. ff. 5r–11v. *iti mahābhairave dvādaśasāhasrake picumate navākṣaravidhāne mahāyāgapaṭalaḥ.*

IV. Pratimālakṣaṇa (I). ff. 11v–38v. *iti mahābhairave picumate dvādaśasāhasrake pratimālakṣaṇa caturthapaṭalaḥ.*

V. Yantrakarma. ff. 38v–42v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake yantrakarma pañcamapaṭalaḥ.*

VI. Pratimālakṣaṇa (II). ff. 42v–43r. *iti picumate pratimālakṣaṇo nāma ṣaṣṭhapaṭalaḥ.*

VII (labelled ix). *Devatādhyāna. ff. 43r–43v. *iti picumate navamapaṭalaḥ.*

VIII. Samādhiyojana. ff. 43v–44v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake samādhiyojana aṣṭamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

IX. Lakṣabheda. ff. 44v–45r. *iti picumate lakṣabheda navamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

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X. Devīnāṃ Mantroddhāra. ff. 45r–50v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake devīnāṃ mantroddhāra daśamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XI. Mantroddhāra. ff. 50v–57r. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasre mantroddhārapaṭalaḥ ekādaśamaṃ.*

XII. Tritattvayāga. ff. 57r–63v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake tṛtatvayāga dvādaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XIII. Navayāga. ff. 63v–64v. *picumate navayāgapaṭalaḥ trayodaśamaḥ.*

XIV. Khecarīcakra. ff. 64v–72r. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake khecarīcakrapaṭalaḥ caturdaśaḥ.*

XV. Vetālasādhana. ff. 72r–73v. *iti picumate vetālasādhanapaṭalaḥ pañcadaśamaḥ.*

XVI. Puṣpādhikāra. ff. 73v–75v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake puṣpādhikārapaṭalaḥ ṣoḍaśamaḥ.*

XVII. Vidyācakra. ff. 75v–92r. *iti mahābhairave picumate dvādaśasāhasrake vidyācakra saptadaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XVIII. Japavidhāna. ff. 92r–94v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake japavidhānapaṭalo [']ṣṭādaśamaḥ.*

XIX. Bhautikacakra. ff. 94b–97r. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake bhautikacakrapaṭalaḥ ekūnavinsatimaḥ.*

XX. Agnikāryavidhi. ff. 97r–98r. *iti picumate agnikāryavidhipaṭalaḥ vinsatimaḥ.*

XXI. Vrata. ff. 98r–102v. *iti picumate vratapaṭalaikaviṃśatimaḥ.*

XXII. Guhyāmṛta (I). ff. 102v–07r. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake guhyāmṛtapaṭalaḥ dvāvinsatimaḥ.*

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XXIII. Mṛtyuñjayavidhi. ff. 107r–12r. *iti picumate mṛtyuñjayavidhiḥ mantrodhārapaṭalaḥ trayovinsatimaḥ.*

XXIV. Guhyāmṛta (II). ff. 112r–17v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake guhyāmṛtapaṭala caturvvinsatimaḥ.*

XXV. Yāganirṇaya. ff. 117v–27v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake yāganirṇṇayaḥ paṭalaḥ pañcavinsatimaḥ.*

XXVI. Mudrāmantroddhāra. ff. 127v–29r. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake mudrāmantroddhāraḥ paṭalaḥ ṣaḍviṃsatimaḥ.*

XXVII. Śaktitritayayāga. ff. 129r–30v. *iti mahābhairave brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake śaktitritayayāgapaṭalaḥ saptāvinsatimaḥ.*

XXVIII. Vijayabhairava. ff. 130v–32v. *iti brahmayāmale vijayaḥ bhairavapaṭalaḥ aṣṭāvinsatimaḥ.*

XXIX (labelled xxx). Mūlayāgavidhi. ff. 132v–39v. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake mūlayāgavidhiḥ trinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XXX (labelled xxxi). Śivarudrabheda. ff. 139v–41v. *iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake śivarudrabhedapaṭala ekatrinsatimaḥ.*

XXXI (labelled xxxii). Prakriyā. ff. 141v–46r. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake prakriyāpaṭalaḥ dvātrinsatimaḥ.*

XXXII (labelled xxxiii). Dīkṣā. ff. 146r–56r. *iti brahmayāmale dīkṣāpaṭalas trayatrinsatimaḥ.*

XXXIII (labelled xxxiv). Abhiṣeka. ff. 156r–67r. *iti brahmayāmale abhiṣekapaṭala catutrinsatimaḥ.*

XXXIV (labelled xxxv). Aśeṣayāgaśṛṃkhalana. ff. 167r–84v. *iti mahābhairave mūlatantre dvādaśasāhasrake picumate aśeṣayāgaśṛṃkhalanapaṭalaḥ pañcatṛnsatimaḥ.*

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XXXV (labelled xxxvi). Nāḍīsañcāra. ff. 184v–85r. *ity ucchuṣmatantre picumate nāḍīsañcārapaṭalaḥ ṣaṭtṛṃsatimaḥ.*

XXXVI (labelled xxxvii). Tattvadīkṣā (I). ff. 185r–87r. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake tatvadīkṣāpaṭalaḥ saptatriṃśatimaḥ.*

XXXVII (labelled xxxviii). Tattvadīkṣā (II). ff. 187r–88r. *iti mahābhairave brahmayāmale tatvadīkṣāpaṭalaḥ aṣṭatṛṃśatimaḥ.*

XXXVIII (labelled xxxix). Srotanirṇaya. ff. 188r–90v. *iti brahmayāmale srotranirṇṇayapaṭalaḥ ekūnacatvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

XXXIX (labelled xl). Asidhāravrata. ff. 190v–91v. *iti brahmayāmale aśidhāravratapaṭalas catvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

XL (labelled xli). Bindu. ff. 191v–92r. *iti brahmayāmale bindupaṭalaḥ ekacatvārimśatimaḥ.*

XLI (labelled xlii). Nyāsa. ff. 192r–93r. *iti brahmayāmale nyāsapaṭalaḥ catvārinsatimaḥ.*

XLII (labelled xliii). Mudrā. ff. 193r–94r. *iti brahmayāmale mudrāpaṭalaḥs tricatvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

XLIII (labelled xliv). Krīḍākarma. ff. 194r–95v. *iti picumate krīḍākarmapaṭalaś catuścatvāriṃsatimaḥ.*

XLIV (labelled xlv). Sādhakādhikāra. ff. 195v–212r. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake sādhakādhikārapaṭalaḥ pañcacatvāriṃśatimaḥ.*

XLV (labelled xlvi). Mahāmanthāna. ff. 212r–15v. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake mahāmanthāna ṣaṭcatvārinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XLVI (labelled xlvii). *Siddhamaṇḍala. ff. 215v–217r. *iti picumate saptacatvārinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

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XLVII (labelled XLVIII). Garttāyāga. ff. 217r–17v. *garttāyāge aṣṭacatvārinsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XLVIII (labelled XLIX). Yantrārṇava. ff. 217v–18v. *iti picumate yantrārṇṇavo nāmaḥ ekūnapañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XLIX (labelled L). Kroṣṭhukalpa. ff. 218v–19r. *iti picumate kroṣṭhukalpaṃ pañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptam iti.*

L (labelled XLVIII). Yantrādhikāra. ff. 219r–20v. *iti picumate yantrādhikāra aṣṭacatvāriṃsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LI (labelled XLIX). ff. 220v–21r. *iti brahmayāmale vidyāpīṭhe ekūnapañcāsamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LII (labelled L). ff. 221r–25v. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake pañcāṣatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LIII (labelled LI). Yoginībhedayāga. ff. 225v–26v. *iti brahmayāmale yoginībhedayāgapaṭalaḥ ekapañcāsatimaḥ.*

LIV (labelled LII). Mudrāpīṭhādhikāra. ff. 226v–231v. *iti brahmayāmale mudrāpīṭhādhikāro nāma dvāpañcāṣamaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LV (labelled LIII). Chommādhikāra. ff. 231v–235v. *cchommādhikāras tṛpañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LVI (labelled LIV). *Caturviṃśayoginīyāga. ff. 235v–38v. *iti picumate catuḥpañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LVII (labelled LV). *Aghoreśvarīkalpa. ff. 238v–40r. *iti picumate +pañca+pañcāsatima paṭalaḥ.*

LVIII (labelled LVI). Kulacaryāvibhāgapaṭala. ff. 240r–43r. *iti picumate kulacaryāvibhāgapaṭalaḥ ṣaṭpañcāsatimaḥ.*

LIX (labelled LVII). ff. 243r–45v. *iti picumate saptapañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

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LX (labelled LVIII). Ṛtukālanirṇaya. ff. 245v–46r. *iti bhairavasrotasi picumate ṛtukālanirṇṇaya aṣṭapañcāsatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXI (labelled LIX). Sūtrādhikārapaṭala. ff. 246r–53r. *iti sūtrādhikārapaṭalaḥ ekūnaṣaṣṭhitamaḥ.*

LXII (labelled LX). Kaṅkālabhairavādhikāra. ff. 253r–55r. *iti kaṅkālabhairavādhikāro nāma ṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXIII (labelled LXI). Sakhāmitrakiṅkarādhikāra. ff. 255r–59v. *iti sakhāmitrakiṅkarādhikāro nāmaḥ ekaṣaṣṭhimah paṭalaḥ.*

LXIV (labelled LX). Yakṣiṇīsādhana. ff. 259v–61r. *iti mahābhairave yakṣiṇīsādhanapaṭala ṣaṣṭhimaḥ.*

LXV (labelled LXIII). Guḍikāsādhanādhikāra. ff. 261r–62r. *iti mahābhairavasrotsi vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale guḍikāsādhanādhikāra triṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXVI (labelled LXIV). *Picutantranirṇaya. ff. 262r–63v. *iti picumate catuḥṣaṣṭimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXVII (labelled LXVII). *Phetkārabhairava. ff. 263v–66r. *iti picumate pañcaṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXVIII (labelled LXVI). Añjanayoga. ff. 266r–67v. *iti picumate añjanayoga ṣaṭṣaṣṭimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXIX (labelled LXVII). Garttāyāga. ff. 267v–70v. *iti picumate garttāyāgasaptaṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXX (labelled LXVIII). Oṣadhiparyāya. ff. 270v–74r. *iti picumate oṣadhiparyāye aṣṭaṣaṣṭhimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXI (labelled LXIX). Picubheda. ff. 274r–277v. *iti picumate picubheda ekūnasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

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LXXII (labelled LXX). Śaktiyāgakalpa. ff. 277v–78r. *iti brahmayāmale śaktiyāgakalpasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXIII (labelled LXXI). Chommādhikāra. ff. 278r–280r. *iti picumate cchomādhikāro nāma ekasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXIV (labelled LXII). *Kūṭabhedalakṣaṇa. ff. 280r–86r. *iti picumate dvāsaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXV (labelled LXXIII). ff. 286–87r. *iti brahmayāmale tṛsaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXVI (labelled LXXIV). Hairambhabhairava. ff. 287r–90v. *iti picumate hairambhabhairavo nāma catussaptimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXVII (labelled LXXV). Mahāmardakabhairava. ff. 290v–92r. *iti picumate mahāmarddakabhairavo nāma pañcasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXVIII (labelled LXXVI). Yoginīpṛthakyāgavidhi. ff. 292r–93r. *iti brahmayāmale yoginīpṛthakyāgavidhi ṣaṭsaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXIX (labelled LXXVII). *Devatāpṛthakkalpasādhana. ff. 293r–94r. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātaṃntre saptasaptatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXX. Kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpatti. ff. 294r–305r. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake kapālakhaṭvāṅgotpatti aśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXI. Kañcukīsādhana. ff. 305r–06v . *iti picumate kañcukīsādhana ekāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXII. Utphullakādhikāra. ff. 307r–11r. *iti picumate utphullakādhikāro nāma dvāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXIII. Śaktitrayavidhāna. ff. 311r–12v. *iti brahmayāmale śaktitrayavidhānā nāmaḥ trayośītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXIV. Uttarādhikāra. ff. 312v–19r. *uttarādhikāro nāmaḥ caturāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

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LXXXV. Samayādhikāra. ff. 319r–21v. *samayādhikāro nāmañ cāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXVI. Liṅgalakṣaṇādhikāra. ff. 321v–25v. *liṅgalakṣaṇādhikāro nāma ṣaḍāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXVII. Jñānamuṣṭi/Uttaratantrādhikāra. ff. 325v–33r. *picumate jñānamuṣṭi uttaratantrādhikārasaptāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXVIII. Kūrmaprastāra. ff. 333r–39v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake uttarottare kūrmaprastāra aṣṭāśītimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

LXXXIX. ff. 339v–41r. *iti picumate mahātantre ekūnanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XC. *Jhaṅkārabhairava. ff. 341r–42v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake navatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCI. *Ārādhakavṛtti. ff. 342v–44v. *iti picumate ekāvatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCII. *Carvāhārasādhakavṛtti. ff. 344v–46r. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake dvānavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCIII. *Tālakavṛtti. ff. 346r–48r. *iti brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake trinavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ*

XCIV. *Sarvātmakavṛtti. ff. 348r–48v. *iti picumate dvādaśasāhasrake caturnnavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCV. ff. 348v–49v. *iti vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale pañcanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCVI. ff. 349v–51v. *iti brahmayāmale ṣaṇṇavatiḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCVII. *Kulayoga. ff. 351–52r. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre brahmayāmale saptanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCVIII. *Kulabheda. ff. 352r–53v. *iti brahmayāmale aṣṭānavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

XCIX. *Yoginīmelāpa. ff. 353v–54r. *iti bhairavasrotasi brahmayāmale dvādaśasāhasrake navanavatimaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

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C. *Kṣurikaprayoga. ff. 354r–57r. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate dvādaśasāhasrake śatasaṅkhyātmakaḥ paṭalaḥ.*

CI. *Kālavañcana. ff. 357r–58r. *iti bhairavasrotasi mahātantre vidyāpīṭhe brahmayāmale navākṣaravidhāne picumate dvādaśasāhasrake ekottaraśatimaḥ paṭalaḥ samāptaḥ.*

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